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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN A SMALL POLISH TOWN¹

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ABSTRACT

The status pattern was based on occupation, money, learning, and lineage. No matter which of the above denominators is used, however, one finds with slight variations the same people on the same point of the social scale. Wealth alone did not assure a person of status. It was a source of prestige only in so far as it enabled a man to contribute to the welfare of the community. Since the value of money was unstable, it was expected that money would be used to obtain the greater and more lasting sources of status: learning and lineage.

Various bases for social stratification existed in Stoczek. The old biblical classification was still adhered to but served only for religious purposes and at times tended to play havoc with the existing status pattern. According to the biblical classification, the Jews were divided into priests (*Cohanim*), Levites (*Leviam*), and Israelites (*Israelim*). The priests had the function of blessing the

congregation on holidays. Before the blessing ceremony those members of the community who enjoyed the greatest prestige served the priests by pouring water over their hands. It often happened on holidays that the "beautiful Jews," men of highest status, poured water on the hands of some "plain Jews" who were priests.

¹ This paper is part of a study of a small-town Jewish community in central Poland in the period between the two world wars. The town is called Stoczek and is located fifty-five miles from Warsaw. In 1938, when the writer left Poland, the town's population was 4,000, out of which 2,500 comprised the Jewish community.

The paper is based on interviews with ten survivors on seven biograms received from Stoczek people now living in Israel and on the recollections of the writer, who lived in Stoczek from 1925 to 1938. Unfortunately, those interviewed do not constitute a representative sampling of the population, since so few survivors remain. Furthermore, the generalizations made are not based on direct observation of the community but rather on recollection. Ideally, a study such as this should be made on the spot, as the Lynds have done with *Middletown*. This, of course, is impossible as far as

the Jewish communities in Poland are concerned, for they no longer exist. Apart from literary sources, the only way that their culture can be reconstructed is by interviewing persons who once lived in the small towns of Poland. This approach must, of course, be used with caution, since recollection is not identical with the facts of life as they once were.

Despite these limitations, the writer undertook this study for two main reasons: (1) no studies of this kind appeared in prewar Poland (this one might, therefore, prove to be of some value to those who may in the future try to reconstruct past Jewish culture in Poland) and (2), although the particular constellation described in this study no longer exists, many people who are products of this culture now live in various parts of the world. This study may be of some value in studying the Israeli culture of today and in understanding Jewish subgroups which contain people reared in the small-town Jewish communities of eastern Europe.

The existing status pattern was based on classifications in terms of occupation, money, learning, and lineage. This was recognized by the culture, which evolved special terms to designate each category. It is the aim of the writer, however, to show that, no matter which of the above denominators one uses, one will find the same people with slight variations on the same point of the social scale.

Occupationally, the community was divided into three groups. At the bottom of the scale were the "men of labor," wage laborers and craftsmen. Among the manual occupations there existed a hierarchy of preference extending from watchmakers down to such lowly occupations as barbers, porters, and shoemakers. Above the men of labor stood the "businessmen," who ranged from small storekeepers to owners of forests and mills. Although no statistics are available, it is safe to estimate that about 30 per cent of Jewish men were businessmen while about 69 per cent were workers. The third category, "learners," less than 1 per cent of the population, devoted all their time to learning, from which they derived no material benefit. No one looked down on them for not occupying themselves with making a living. On the contrary, they were treated with great respect. Usually the wife was the economic provider, and she was highly respected for being married to a man who devoted his life to learning. Parents-in-law often supported such a learner and his family.

Even though there was stigmatization of manual labor, an impoverished businessman who resorted to such labor was not looked down upon but pitied. It was assumed that no *balebatisher mensh*, man of middle-class respectability, would resort to manual labor unless he had no other alternative. On the other hand, a worker who became a businessman did not automatically gain in status but had to start living "respectably" in order to reach higher status.

The classification in terms of money presents a more complicated picture than that in terms of occupation. When former resi-

dents of Stoczek were asked to identify the source of prestige in their town, they invariably answered "not money." And yet, when they were asked to name the most highly esteemed people in Stoczek, they named those with much money, good lineage, great learning, or a combination of these. This apparent inconsistency becomes clear when one looks at the particular meaning ascribed to money in Stoczek.

In observing the people in Stoczek, one is impressed with their great desire to have money. This desire was expressed vividly in everyday conversation and in stock phrases. Even the poorest would start a sentence with "I should have as many millions as" and finish in a variety of ways, such as "the pairs of shoes I made" or "the number of chickens I sold." To an outsider it may have sounded strange that a man in rags who did not have enough money to buy bread spoke in terms of millions. In Stoczek it was the accepted way of talking and was never questioned or analyzed. Colorful terminology existed in reference to various gradations of wealth ranging from the very rich *magnates* and *gvirim*, through the rich *oishers*, to the poor *orime lait* and the very poor *kaptzunim*.

Presents and rewards to children were given mostly in the form of money, and, just as the Christian child looked forward to his Christmas present, so the Jewish child looked forward to his *Chanukah* (Feast of the Candles) money.

Why was there such great emphasis on money in Stoczek? Did it represent the longing for food and material comforts of an impoverished community? It did represent that, but not that alone. As we shall see from the subsequent analysis, the material benefits of money, although recognized and enjoyed, were not its most significant ends. There were rich people who were envied for having money but who commanded no respect. By comparing the moneyed people who commanded respect with those who did not, we find one outstanding difference. Respected people used part of their money to do good deeds, *mitzvos*, for the needy. And, indeed, the common denominator of all good deeds

was that they flowed from the haves to the have-nots.

The culturally favored response in the giving pattern was to the situation rather than to the individual. As one informant put it, "The man who did not look to see whether he would get his money back but rather whether the borrower needed it was considered to be good." Thus, one was required to help a person in need no matter who he was. This manner of help marked the donor as having a true "Jewish heart."

The point that was emphasized most in describing a man was his charitableness. "He is a man of great charity (*baal tsdokoh*)," was a description in itself which would bring a definite picture of the man to the listener's mind. In addition to charity, performing a *gmilus khesed*, act of loving kindness, that is, lending money to people in need without charging interest or demanding notes and securities, was considered a good deed. Aid to a sick person also ranked high as a good deed. The phrase "to save a Jewish soul" was used without additional elaboration. Well-to-do women sent the best food and delicacies to poor people who were sick and to destitute mothers who had just given birth. It was a good deed to visit the sick and people in mourning. The greater the social distance, the higher did the deed rank. Bringing peace to the community or to a divided family also ranked very high as a good deed, and a man who was known as a peacemaker earned much prestige in Stoczek. Moreover, an individual who did a good deed for an orphan received greater credit than if he had performed a similar deed for any other person in the community.

The one who performed good deeds for the needy overcame his initial human failing of not being able to project himself into the position of the needy. "The well-fed does not believe the hungry one," went the saying. His returns for doing good deeds were, therefore, very high. The belief was prevalent that, when a man died and was called before God to be judged, his good deeds came forth to testify for him. Men at funeral processions chanted, "Charity prevents death."

Thus, using money to do good deeds meant storing up credit for the afterlife. However, one also received high earthly rewards in terms of honor and respect.

Although giving brought prestige, taking when in need was shameful. An event which vividly illustrates the shame connected with taking occurred when the city council voted a substantial sum of money for milk to be distributed in school to needy children. The neediest of Jewish children did not accept the milk, while Polish children stood in line for it, even if they were not from the most destitute families. This shame of taking is especially puzzling in view of the fact that the one who took afforded the giver the opportunity to do a good deed. Therefore, it might seem that giving and taking was a reciprocal relationship. Why, then, was shame felt? The fact is that the culture did not recognize the giving and taking pattern as a reciprocal relation. Rather, the act of giving was phrased as an unselfish deed which originated in the giver's being a man of mercy and good heart. Only when we remember this particular phrasing, do we come to understand the role of shame.

Because taking was so shameful, the ideal pattern for an individual who gave charity was to deposit the gift with the needy person without confronting him and without his knowing the source of help. On the one hand, he thus showed that he did not give to gain prestige and, therefore, bore testimony to the culture's phrasing of giving. On the other hand, he spared the taker the shame of facing the giver. The ideal pattern is understandable when we recall that, although charity and good deeds bring a person benefits in his afterlife and assure him of honor in this world, individual motivation for doing good is supposed to be induced not by those rewards but by the person's "Jewish heart." Actually, however, very few acted in terms of the ideal pattern, preferring to reap the earthly benefits of prestige for their good deeds.

A mechanism was developed whereby the taker was spared the shame of confronting the giver, and yet the giver could have the

satisfaction of being known as such. There were persons, often children of good families, who went from house to house to collect money for specific needy people. This was considered a noble act which brought much admiration for both grown-ups and children who engaged in it.

Where neither of the above methods of giving was used, and the giver confronted the taker, the giver was expected to make the shame bearable by setting into motion the mechanism of "beautification." Beautification, the process of making the taker feel equal, was used to remove the shame of the have-nots. The feelings of shame were not only characteristic of the poor but also of those who lacked any of the things that the culture valued highly. Although the culture did not recognize that the lack of possessions which it held significant, such as parents, children, money, and health, was in itself shameful, nevertheless, people so deprived were considered more sensitive and more easily shamed.

One of the acts of beautification was to ask a needy stranger—a wanderer, beggar, or soldier who happened to be passing through the town—to a Sabbath or holiday meal. To beautify him, such a man was called a "guest" and was, indeed, treated like a very worthy guest of the family. He was given an honorable place at the table, served the choicest foods, asked to lead in the after-meal prayer, to sing a hymn, and invited to relate some news. Even the stylized conversation between the head of the house and the guest becomes meaningful when one understands the mechanism of shame and beautification. The guest did not start the conversation, for he was imbued with shame. He was constantly approached by the host, who, in addressing him, substituted the expression "a Jew" for "you." Thus, the head of the family would ask: "From where does a Jew hail?" "What is a Jew's name?" "Perhaps a Jew will sing a hymn?" In acting thus, it was as though the host were saying to the man: "You are poor; you cannot spend the holiday with your family, and you are, therefore, ashamed.

But we are both Jews. I will make you forget your shame and make you feel like an equal."

To marry off an orphan or a girl from a very poor family ranked high as an act of beautification. A certain man in Stoczek attained the pinnacle of prestige by arranging a double wedding for his daughter and an orphaned girl. Since it was shameful for a bride-to-be not to have a trousseau, a person who supplied such a girl with a trousseau performed a good and beautifying deed. Adoption of an orphan also ranked high as an act of beautification. To make an orphan feel that he belonged and was not deprived, by providing him with parents and home, was indeed a *mitzva* ("good deed").

In order to understand the particular function of shame in the charity pattern, it is worth while to look at a situation in which shame did not exist. Professional beggars who came to Stoczek were insolent and arrogant. They seldom expressed thanks for the alms they received and often insulted the donor into giving more. The word *shnorer* ("beggar") was charged with much negative meaning and was used as an insult by both adults and children. The contempt and dislike of the beggar is explained by his behavior. The beggar discovered, and capitalized upon his discovery, that he was actually doing the donor a favor. He seemed to serve notice that he did not owe anyone thanks and honor for the donation given him, since he was thereby helping the donor reach salvation. Consequently, since the beggar did not feel shame, there was no need for the giver to exert himself in order to beautify him, and indeed he did not.

Yet, even these lowly outcasts, the beggars, were supposed to be imbued with the Jewish characteristic of shame during the Sabbath and holidays. And, because it was assumed that they experienced shame on those days, the donor tried to beautify them. As was shown earlier, the beggar who was invited to a Sabbath or holiday meal was not referred to as a beggar but as a guest. Looking back on her memories of the beggar, the writer feels that during the Sabbath and

holidays he abandoned his insolence and arrogance and conformed with the general pattern of behaving in a manner befitting one who receives charity.

No local people begged in Stoczek, for they were ashamed to do so. Only if they were in dire need did they beg in other towns, under the pretense of going there to work. The fact that these beggars confronted strangers and not their own townspeople made it easier for them to discover the reciprocity of the give-and-take situation and helped to erase the feelings of shame.

Just as a man who beautified a deprived person performed a good deed and was greatly respected for it, so the man who shamed such a person committed a sin and was looked upon with contempt. All members of the community were thought to be imbued with the Jewish susceptibility to shame, and it was, therefore, considered evil to do anything that would tend to shame another person. "One is not allowed to shame a human being," was the stock phrase. One was not supposed to point to a person's lowly occupation, state of deprivation, bad health, or misfits in the family, for that would produce shame. "As a child I had a friend from that family in which there was a *shmadke* (woman who changed her faith). My mother warned me that I should never mention the word 'convert' or anything similar in her presence so as not to hurt her," related one informant.

In both beautification and shaming it was presupposed that the act flowed from a man of higher status to a man of lower status. It was not conceivable that a man could beautify a person who stood higher than himself in the social scale. Such a man could afford honor but never beautify. The same was true of shaming. A man might be looked down upon by the community for being "insolent" to one of higher status but never for having "shamed" him.

Shame performed important functions in the culture of which the people in the community were not aware. On the one hand, it prevented people from asking for help,

which the culture defined as highly dishonorable. This tended to perpetuate the belief that those who were able to help would move forward without being asked by the needy. Shame also averted refusal, which was painful for both the person who refused and the one who was refused. Furthermore, it tended to prevent abuses in taking, for one would not expose himself to the shame of taking unless he were in great need. There were, of course, deviants who asked for help without needing it and took advantage of the good hearts of others, but they were considered to be very lowly people. On the other hand, shame helped to set in motion the whole mechanism of beautification. By using beautification, the giver would emerge feeling like a giver and not as in the beggar situation, where the giver was made to feel that he was taking as much as giving. Furthermore, he received part of his reward immediately in the form of honor and thanks from the man to whom he gave rather than having to wait for his return until the afterlife.

The purpose of this detailed discussion of the giving-taking pattern is to show that wealth alone did not assure a person of status in the community. Wealth was a source of prestige only in so far as it enabled a man to contribute to the welfare of the community, to do good deeds, and to give charity. Consequently, money was greatly valued, since with it one could obtain status. As the sayings went: "The rich man has this world and the next world" and "With money you can buy *yikhus* (lineage) and *koved* (honor and respect)." The substance of these sayings is that, by doing good deeds, the rich man not only assured himself of honor but also secured a "seat in heaven" for himself.

Just as a man did not gain status by virtue merely of obtaining money, his status did not diminish if he lost his money. An impoverished man of high status was pitied for not being able to live in the manner befitting him, but he did not suffer in prestige. One of the most highly regarded men in Stoczek was a community-minded man, once very rich, who had lost his wealth. It was often recalled how charitably he had behaved

when he had money, and he continued to be honored in all ways due to a man of high status.

However, it must not be deduced that money was valued only in so far as it enabled a person to do good deeds. The role of money in enabling a person to eat well, dress well, and have pleasure in so doing was clearly recognized. But the man who used his money only to satisfy his physical needs was lacking in Jewishness. Such a man would be referred to as a pig and the Polish saying, "Maciek (popular Polish given name) made it; Maciek ate it," was applied to him.

Nevertheless, the mere possession of money, even when it was not used in the socially prescribed manner, gave one a sense of power. A wealthy man who did not use part of his money to do good deeds did not receive *koved*, and people spoke badly of him, but he was afforded deference, even if this was spurious. The reason for such deference was tied to Jewish experience with the outside world. Money was the only Jewish value that non-Jews appreciated. Hence, men of wealth had more contact with city officials than the rest of the community. It was assumed that a man who had money and did not "behave the way a Jew should," that is to say, did not give charity, was low enough to cause trouble with the officials for anyone who did now show him deference. "It is better not to start with such a one," went the saying, and people tried to keep out of his way.

Having examined the meaning of money in Stoczek, we can turn to the problem of conspicuous consumption. People were very much afraid of other people's jealousy. It was pointed out endlessly that "you are not allowed to take out other people's eyes," that is, that one should avoid making others jealous. Thus, ostentation was discouraged from childhood on, and society called for private enjoyment of the items of consumption. Ostentation was condemned also because of the effect it had on strengthening the hostile attitudes of the Polish population. Despite conscious discouragement in

terms of the above two factors, however, ostentatiousness tended to flourish. Evidently, conspicuous consumption must have exercised an important latent function, since it persisted despite all verbal attacks. The explanation lies in the meaning of money in Stoczek. Display of wealth served notice of two things: (1) the displayer was in a position to dispense favors and (2) he was powerful enough to deal with the outside world.

Since the value of money was unstable, it was expected that the person who had it would use it to obtain more lasting sources of status, such as learning and lineage. Thus the dictum was to educate one's sons and marry one's daughters into *yikhus* ("lineage").

We have previously discussed learning as part of the social stratification in terms of occupation. We now come to a discussion of learning as a separate basis of social stratification. Before describing the status that went with learning, however, it is necessary to clarify the nature of Jewish learning. Learning was not considered a process which stopped at any given time or point but was conceived to go on throughout one's life. "The Torah (learning, teaching, and doctrine) has no bottom," went the saying. This concept of learning as a continuous process is reflected in the terms applied to a learned man. He was never referred to as a "learned man" when one spoke of his absorption with Jewish learning. The expression "He is an educated man" applied to secular education. "He knows how to learn" and "He is a great learner" designated a man's standing in Jewish learning. The words *talmid khokhom* denoted a man of highest Jewish learning and not merely a "smart student."

Learning was considered so valuable that it needed no validation in terms of good deeds. To be sure, a man who shared his learning with others received additional prestige, but the fact alone that "he knew how to learn" assured him status. Thus, even if he did not share his learning or give charity, he was never "common" or a "pig," terms which referred to a man of wealth who did not share his wealth. It was quite

conceivable that a man could have much wealth and yet not behave properly, but it was unimaginable that a man of learning could behave improperly. Learning was equated with refinement, and the term *aydele Yid* ("refined Jew") meant a learned man. The rich man, even if he were charitable and did good deeds but had no learning, did not reach his maximum status until he married his children into *yikhus*. The learner needed only to be greatly learned to reach highest status. Thus, the learner created his own *yikhus* and did not need ancestral support.

Just as learning did not need validation in terms of other things, so it was not supposed to be used as a means of obtaining material benefits. Learning was a goal in itself, and one pursued it with love and joy. Persons who devoted their spare time to learning and were known to sit up until late at night studying were talked about with reverence. "He cannot tear himself away from learning," went the saying. The learned man would often be turned to for advice and opinions on community and world affairs. Men used to come to a learner's house on Saturday afternoon so that he "should learn with them." With them, he posed questions, answered difficult questions, and interpreted the text. Children were sent to such a man to be tested in their learning. It was inconceivable that he would accept money as a reward, and no one dared to offer it to him. The learner's rewards were great respect and joy from the fulfilment of one of the most important commandments of Jewish law, teaching the people.

However, not only status went with learning but a sense of power as well. The learners felt so powerful that a case once occurred wherein a learned man opposed the rabbi on a certain issue. Only someone highly powerful, highly honored and esteemed, would dare to do so. This power is also borne out by the fact that the learners were not bound by the same pattern of behavior as the rest of the community. As we have seen, taking was shameful, and yet the learner could be supported without shame by his

wife or even by strangers. Children and youths who went to out-of-town *yeshivas* (schools of higher learning) ate in other people's houses without feeling shame. There is a striking similarity between the learner at the top of the social pyramid and the beggar at the bottom, neither of whom was ashamed to take. It would be inconceivable of course for someone in the culture to compare the two, since they were on opposite sides of the social scale. However, this comparison helps to reinforce our hypothesis concerning the functions of shame. The learner was very much aware that by devoting himself to learning he was doing the community a great favor. He kept the heritage of the Torah alive. Similarly, the beggar knew that he was the actual giver and could, therefore, receive without shame.

There remains to be discussed, among the sources of status, that which was called in Stoczek *yikhus*. *Yikhus* was a very important concept and yet was so elusive that it is hard to define. A notable fact is that each person knew the other's *yikhus*. It was one of the first things to be established when two strangers talked to each other or when two people spoke about a third. *Yikhus* is pedigree, lineage in terms of learned, wealthy, and charitable ancestors, that is, in terms of ancestors of high status. However, since *yikhus* was not necessarily cumulative, each person considered himself to be a man of *yikhus*, although he might not have been recognized to be so by others. He merely traced back to some ancestor, no matter how far removed, who was learned or prosperous and generous and leaned on him for self-esteem. The people whom the whole community considered to be of great *yikhus* were those whose families traced themselves back to revered rabbis, greatly learned men, and very rich persons who were community-conscious and gave *tzdokoh*, justice, meaning charity.

Yikhus, like learning, was based on solid and permanent foundations. However, a man of *yikhus* had to live up to his position. If he was not learned and charitable, he did not receive honor and respect, although it was

never forgotten that he came from a good family. In fact, he was looked upon as having squandered his inheritance.

We have now completed the analysis of status in Stoczek in terms of occupation, money, learning, and lineage. What we find is a convergence of status so that, for example, the workers, the poor, and the uneducated were likely to be the same people. The community divided itself into three classes. When we talk about class, like professor McIver, "we shall mean any portion of a community which is marked off from the rest, not by limitations arising out of language, locality, function or specialization, but primarily social status."² At the top of the social pyramid in Stoczek were the beautiful Jews. It is interesting to note that beautiful Jew never referred to physical beauty but to endowment which the culture valued. To the class of beautiful Jews belonged people of great *yikhus*, much learning, and those who combined wealth with much charity giving. Occupationally, they were usually men of independent means or learners. The middle class were the *balebatim*. To them belonged the shopkeepers and traders who had some means and some learning. At the bottom of the scale were the plain Jews, workers and craftsmen, who had little learning, no *yikhus*, and little or no money.

However, there were exceptions, people who fitted into one category occupationally and into another in terms of money or learning. There were a few workmen in Stoczek who spent all their spare time learning and were known to "know how to learn a little." Thus, occupationally they were at the bottom of the scale, but they were in the center of the learning scale. Such men were talked about in the following manner: "He is a worker but he is a *balebatisher mensh* (man of middle-class respectability)." On the other hand, there were some wealthy men of no education. One man in town who was known for his wealth and charity was spoken of by the learners as barely knowing how to read the Hebrew prayers. He was nevertheless re-

spected because he gave bountifully. Men of great wealth who neither were charitable nor knew "how to learn" were referred to in the lowest terms.

The chief role of the beautiful Jews was to devote themselves to the welfare of the community and to be at the community's disposal. The members of the community came to them for help and advice on family, business, and religious matters. People of high status did not receive any material advantage from playing their role of community-minded, learned, and charitable individuals. They derived honor and respect and a good name in the community. "A good name is better than money," went the saying. Honor was, indeed, conceived to be something distinct from material possessions. The Jews often employed the following Polish saying: "I do not possess money, but I have honor." *Koved* ("honor") lived on, even after a person died. The beautiful Jew was long remembered after his death, and, when one talked about his son, one always mentioned that the father "gave much charity" or that the father was "a great learner."

Class distinction in Stoczek was very definite, and the people below owed deference to the people above. A man who did not behave with proper respect toward the man above was known to be "insolent" and was looked down upon by the whole community. If a man of the lower class used obscene language in the presence of people of the upper class, and that occurred very rarely, he was talked about as a "fellow from the streets." The man of high status did not argue with a man from the lower class who behaved disrespectfully to him. It was below his dignity to do so. Although there was much contact between the classes, as when persons of higher status attended weddings, funerals, circumcisions, and *bar mitzvahs* of the poor, the relationship was never that of equality but that of the man higher up beautifying the man below. There were no friendships between adults of different classes. The culture held that men of higher status could not mix with men of lower status because in the end the people below would not remember "who

² Robert McIver, *Society* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), p. 167.

you are and who they are," that is, would behave disrespectfully. Where attempts at social intercourse between individuals of unequal status ended with the person of lower status behaving disrespectfully, people quoted the Polish saying: "Do not mix with slops, and the pigs will not eat you."

There was strong condemnation of faking status, and a man who "pretended to be big" was spoken of with great contempt and derision. The cultural concept existed that one could not hide his social background, for sooner or later one's behavior would reveal it. To bear out this conception, two Polish proverbs were often quoted: "You can tell a gentleman by his boots" and "The awl slips out of the bag."

Since a man's true social standing was easily discernible, one was supposed never to boast about it. A person who bragged was characterized as "he blows from himself." One was not supposed to talk about the good deeds he performed, and people were very careful not to transgress in this matter. People of the upper class were also expected not to engage in gossip. A beautiful Jew who heard members of his family speaking of another, even if not in a derogatory manner, after admonished them with the following saying: "Our teachers say that one should not discuss another person, for even if one starts with good words, one finishes with evil ones." Neither did a beautiful Jew engage in "empty words," which embraced small talk as well as gossip. He was supposed to talk about worthy matters and, if he had nothing worthy to say, to remain silent. A beautiful Jew would not laugh excessively, since this was considered to be a sign of stupidity and merited the observation, "Why do you laugh so much? Is stupidity pushing you?"

The members of the upper class were expected more than others to live up to the ideal cultural ways prescribed for the whole community. A man who broke a vow would lose face, and particularly so if he were from the upper class. All men were supposed to act with justice, especially the beautiful Jews. Obscene language was never used by the upper class.

The culture recognized appropriate behavior in accordance with the class to which one belonged. Such fitting behavior was nurtured from childhood. A mother whose son or daughter did not behave properly admonished her child by saying, "It does not befit a child of so-and-so (here she mentioned the full name of the husband) to behave thus."

Membership in a class was, for the most part, hereditary. Theoretically, higher status could be achieved by every Jew. The two "elevators," to use Sorokin's terms, were money and learning. A boy from the lower class who was talented and ambitious could become a learner, and, if he had luck, he could become well to do. However, a man who rose from the lower class, unless he were a learner, was on shaky ground. Money alone did not bring prestige to an individual. In order to be eligible for prestige, a newly rich man had to begin to behave in a "respectable manner." But even if he gave charity and tried to behave respectably, every misstep, no matter how trivial, caused people to refer to his lowly origin. It was also implied in Stoczek that a man of the lower class who became wealthy grew bad in the process of attaining wealth. "Woe, oh, woe, when a beggar becomes a lord," was the often employed Polish saying. In contrast to the newly rich, the position of a learned man who came from the lower class was not different from that of other learned men. The fact that his father was a worker was mentioned only to point to his great personal worth, for in spite of such an obstacle he had risen to be a learner. It was inconceivable that he could behave in any other way than properly, since the culture equated learning with refinement.

There was actually little movement upward in the social scale. On the contrary, there was mass descent in terms of money and occupation. This descent, however, was not marked by loss of prestige. The wave of organized anti-Semitism and planned boycotting of Jewish stores made it almost impossible for a poor Jewish man to make good. Advancement in terms of learning was

also hampered by great economic obstacles. It is true that a poor youth who was capable and devoted himself to learning could always be accepted in a *yeshiva* and did not have to starve. But a poor family could ill afford to relinquish the little money that a boy would bring in if he worked.

It was generally recognized that opportunities for advancement were meager. Although to be smart, *klig*, was highly valued in the culture, nevertheless, there was no attempt to correlate smartness with specific class, occupation, or status. Nowhere in the people's sayings or in their actions do we find an attempt to place wisdom in a certain class or claim that it is more prevalent in any group. It is inconceivable that a man who did not advance in Stoczek could have said of himself, "I guess I am stupid."

The social status of the Jew determined his seat in the synagogue. All seats were

oriented to the east, for when a Jew prayed, he always faced east toward Jerusalem. The men of highest prestige occupied places nearest to the eastern wall. At the western wall sat the lower class, and in between the beautiful Jews and plain Jews sat the people from the middle class, the *balebatim*.

Status was also expressed in marriage. It happened occasionally that an impoverished good family made arrangements for a son to marry the daughter of a rich man who had risen from the lower class. This was considered a tragedy for the *yikhus* family and a highly significant event for the wealthy family. The community definitely thought the first to be the loser and the second the gainer. This further bears out the generalization that the values of lineage and learning were placed far above that of money.

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EMINENCE AND LEVEL OF SOCIAL ORIGIN

BEVERLY DAVIS

ABSTRACT

Analysis of a sample of 803 native males listed in *Who's Who in the East* for 1942-43 shows a direct relationship between the attainment of eminence and the level of social origin as measured by father's occupation, and an association of field of eminence and level of origin. No consistent relationship between the formal educational requirements of the field and the origin of its eminent persons was established. The religious affiliation of the eminent varies directly with the socioeconomic level of the denomination. The data suggest differences in the patterns of attaining eminence of migrants and natives in an area.

It is generally conceded that eminence has as a prerequisite a mental capacity above the average. This fact in itself, however, fails to validate the argument of Sir Francis Galton that reputation for achievement, or eminence, is a reliable measure of exceptional mental capacity or genius. The frequency of eminent individuals within a population cannot be considered an exact reflection of the frequency of individuals of exceptional mental capacity within it.¹

This statement is upheld by a consideration of what constitutes eminence and the conditions of its achievement. Eminence is accorded to an individual either by his contemporaries or by posterity; thus, it depends upon his reputation for achievement among them. If so, the criteria cannot remain constant under shifting environmental conditions and varying forms of social organization. Note, for example, the differences in the recognition given individuals in the military service in time of peace and time of war. The assumption that all individuals possessing exceptional mental capacity enjoy the opportunity for its fulfilment is unwarranted. Rather, many individuals of exceptional capacity, hampered by the inaccessibility of essential opportunities, remain unrecognized.

The position of the individual within the stratification system of a particular society is a major determinant of the accessibility

to him of such essential opportunities. Thus, a relationship might be expected between the level of social origin and the attainment of eminence.

In several studies Joseph Schneider has examined this relationship historically.² The present study extends his type of analysis to an essentially contemporary period. The relationship of level of social origin and the attainment of eminence is studied for the eastern United States between 1942 and 1943. Such limitation in time and space controls the first factor, the definition of eminence, while examining the conditions of its achievement.

The hypotheses which the study tests are:

1. The lower the level of origin of the individual within a given system of stratification, the smaller is the probability that he will attain eminence.

2. The individuals of a lower level of origin within the given system of stratification who attain eminence will do so most frequently in those fields requiring the least formal training.

3. The attainment of eminence involves either maintaining or moving into a position of high socioeconomic status. It therefore

¹ For differentiation of fame and genius see Charles H. Cooley, "Genius, Fame and the Comparison of Races," in *Sociological Theory and Social Research* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930).

² "Fame and Social Origin," *Social Forces*, Vol. XIV (March, 1936); "Social Class, Historical Circumstances and Fame," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIII (July, 1937); "Definition of Eminence and the Social Origins of Famous English Men of Genius," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III (December, 1938); "Class Origin and Fame: Eminent English Women," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V (October, 1940); "Social Origins and Fame: The United States and England," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X (February, 1945).

would be expected that the religious affiliations of eminent men would be predominantly with denominations recruiting members from the higher socioeconomic levels and that the ratios of eminent persons to the general membership would vary directly with the socioeconomic level of the several denominations.

4. The data suggest a fourth hypothesis, subject to further testing, that the patterns of attainment of eminence by socioeconomic origin for migrants to an area and for the natives will differ because of selective factors in migration.

METHOD

Source of data.—In the present study inclusion in *Who's Who in the East* (1942-43) was used as an objective criterion for judging attainment of eminence. A number of considerations influenced the choice.

The bases used by the editors in the selection of individuals for *Who's Who in the East* are as follows: that the individual be recognized as outstanding within his section of the country as indicated by frequency of inquiries regarding him at library reference services and that he be one of "those who guide and control the activities and welfare of wide areas of our country, in all important avenues of private, public, business and intellectual endeavor."³

The biographical sketches of such individuals provide the information necessary for classification by level of origin, defined for present purposes in terms of the occupation of the father. By taking occupation⁴ as

³ *Who's Who in the East* (Boston: Larkin, Roosevelt & Larkin, Ltd., 1943). Subjective elements necessarily enter into the editorial decisions to include or exclude individuals; and arbitrary rules may be applied in the case of those holding particular kinds of positions (e.g., university presidents). The resulting difficulty in interpreting the meaning of "eminence" is well recognized in the literature on research using biographical compilations and will not be further discussed here. In the present research it seemed unwise to attempt adjustments for any presumed editorial biases.

⁴ Rather than, for example, education, income (amount, source), political or economic attitudes, religious affiliation.

the index of socioeconomic level, it was possible to use an adaptation of the Edwards' socioeconomic scale.⁵

Who's Who in the East includes only individuals living at the time of publication. Thus, their attainment of eminence has taken place under approximately comparable economic, political, and social conditions. This eliminates the problem of comparing different time periods presented by the use of biographical encyclopedias (e.g., *Dictionary of National Biography*), which typically include individuals born over a span of centuries under highly variable conditions.

In spite of these advantages, certain drawbacks in the use of *Who's Who in the East* must be recognized.

The breadth of possible interpretation of data is immediately limited. The noted characteristics and the observed patterns associated with the attainment of eminence are based upon a study of the East; whether or not identical or even similar characteristics are associated with such attainment in other major areas of the United States would necessitate further studies of a similar nature. A recent study noted regional differences in vertical mobility, finding the Northeast an area of higher vertical mobility (i.e., greater ease of entrance from any lower occupation stratum) than the Midwest and Southwest.⁶ This suggests there may be regional differences in the attainment of eminence.

The occupational composition of the East differs from that of the rest of the country. Urbanization decreases the proportion in agricultural pursuits. The fact that the national capital lies within the area greatly increases the proportion in the political and military spheres; the concentration of colleges inflates the proportion of educators.

⁵ Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States* (16th Census, 1940) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943).

⁶ Stuart Adams, "Regional Differences in Vertical Mobility in a High Status Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XV (April, 1950).

However, the East is an area sufficiently diversified to present an adequate number of individuals within the various classifications of eminence—academic, commercial, industrial, and political.

A related problem is the possibility of and effect of selective migration to the East. Though both migrants and nonmigrants were included in the sample, they were tabulated separately. It seemed virtually impossible to dichotomize the data in such a way that the migrant group would be homogeneous. Place of birth, location of educational institution (primary, secondary, etc.), or area of first employment might have been used as criteria for defining migratory status. The criterion chosen was geographic location of the secondary school. Previous residence would undoubtedly be determined by the location of the family. Upon completion of high school, however, the individual is perhaps first able to exert a preference in the matter of location.

A further limitation is imposed by the particular year (1943) in which the volume selected for study was published. The choice of the individuals included probably was very slightly, if at all, influenced by World War II. It seems likely that the war years brought new and perhaps swifter channels to eminence (e.g., the military). The permanence of such new channels, however, might be questioned. Before these possible effects of war can be determined, the prewar channels require more detailed study as a basis of comparison.

Sample.—Certain conditions of eligibility were imposed upon the data studied in the selection of the sample. The Schneider studies note different patterns for males and for females in the attainment of eminence. The present study was restricted to males. Nativity was controlled by including only those born within continental United States, for the conditions by which the foreign-born attain eminence may, and very probably do, differ considerably from those for the native. Furthermore, difficulties would be encountered in any attempt to classify the foreign-born by level of social origin. It would have

been highly desirable to control race throughout the study for similar reasons. However, it was impossible to identify race on the basis of the information given. Probably the proportion of races other than white is so small that no serious bias is introduced.

These limitations reduced the universe from approximately 26,000 to 15,000. As the sampling in the study would deal with a finite universe (native males included in the particular volume), the criterion of representativeness was met by numbering eligible individuals alphabetically and drawing a sample with Tippet's numbers.⁷ On this basis, 1,000 cases were selected, roughly a 7 per cent sample.

To those included in the sample for whom complete information was not given (276) inquiries regarding occupation of father were mailed. It was impossible to follow up all cases, as seven years had intervened since publication, and current mailing addresses could not be obtained. For 154 inquiries, the return was 79. Hence the number of cases without complete information was reduced to 197.

Complete information was obtained for 803 individuals, or 80 per cent of the sample originally drawn. It is important to determine as nearly as possible whether the sample is seriously biased by lack of complete data for the remainder. Some indication that this is not the case is shown by a comparison, with reference to certain demographic characteristics, of the cases for which father's occupation was given in the publication with those responding and with those not responding to the follow-up (see Table 1).

There remains the possibility that those of a higher level of origin would more frequently list the occupation of their father than individuals of a lower level of origin. However, a comparison of the distributions of the two groups by levels of origin shows

⁷ "Tracts for Computers," No. XV, ed. Karl Pearson, *Random Sampling Numbers* arranged by L. H. C. Tippet (London: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

that the differences are small and well within the range of sampling variation.

Base population.—Since the mean age of the sample was fifty-five in 1943, a rough approximation to the occupational distribution of men in the generation of the fathers of the sample group was obtained from the *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900). The number of males over sixteen years of age by specific occupations was summed for those states composing the eastern United States as defined in *Who's Who in the East*: Con-

only for the East, ratios could be calculated only for nonmigrants (572). It would have been desirable to obtain a population base for the computation of ratios for migrants. However, it was impossible to do so because it cannot be assumed (1) that the migrants were drawn from all states in proportion to the population; (2) that there were no differences by level of social origin in the geographic origin of migrants; or (3) that there were no differences by field of attainment in the geographic origin of migrants.

TABLE 1
SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE, BY TYPE
OF INFORMATION ON FATHER'S OCCUPATION

CHARACTERISTIC	ALL CASES	FATHER'S OCCUPATION KNOWN		FATHER'S OCCUPATION UNKNOWN
		Given in Publica- -tion	Obtained by Corre- spondence	
Per cent migrants.....	28.8	28.7	30.0	27.9
Per cent with some college education.....	93.4	93.4	93.1	92.0
Average age (1943).....	55.1	54.7	55.8	55.1
Average age at first marriage.....	29.7	29.7	28.2	30.2
Per cent married.....	89.6	89.6	89.4	90.3
Number of cases.....	803	724	79	197

necticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The specific occupations were grouped in such a way that they would conform as nearly as possible to the socioeconomic groupings of Edwards. In the professional, the merchant and managerial, the clerical, and the laboring socioeconomic groups the conformity is close. However, in the case of agriculture the base obtained includes laborers as well as owners. Although the base populations provide only an approximation to the socioeconomic distribution of the actual parental generation, the degree of error is probably not great enough to vitiate broad comparisons.

Since the base population was obtained

A population base for the specific religious denominations was obtained from the tables of *Religious Bodies*.⁸ The number of male members as of 1936 reported by the individual churches of the specified denominations for the states of the East was compiled. The data were for a period approximately seven years before the publication of *Who's Who in the East*, but it is assumed that changes in the number of denominational affiliates during the intervening years will not seriously distort comparisons. However, it must be recognized that differences in the manner of reporting by the individual churches and differences in the criteria for membership in the different denominations exist.

⁸ *Religious Bodies* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1936), Vol. II.

RESULTS

The present study was so designed that the data procured would provide a basis for the confirmation or denial of the initial hypotheses.

The first hypothesis: the lower the level of origin of the individual, the smaller is the probability that he will attain eminence.

The nonmigrants (572) were classified according to level of origin in terms of the father's occupation. Table 2 shows the num-

TABLE 2

SAMPLE OF NATIVE MALES CLASSIFIED
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION PER
100,000 MALES IN BROAD OCCUPA-
TION GROUPS IN 1900

Father's Occupation	Sample Cases per 100,000 Base Population
Professional.....	73.5
Business.....	38.0
Clerical.....	4.9
Labor.....	1.2
Agricultural.....	4.2

ber of men of eminence by level of origin per 100,000 males in the corresponding base population (i.e., males in broad occupation groups in 1900).

It will be noted that the ratio of men of eminence to the base population shows a consistent decrease as the level of origin declines. The ratio of men of eminence whose origin as measured by father's occupation was the professional stratum was twice the ratio of those who came from the business stratum, fifteen times the ratio of eminent men from the clerical stratum, and nearly seventy-five times the ratio of those from the labor stratum.

The above comparison excludes the agricultural group whose position in a primarily urban system of stratification is extremely difficult to determine. As previously noted, the category includes agricultural laborers and tenants as well as owners and managers, hence, all strata of the rural system of stratification. In terms of the ratio of eminent men to the base population, the agricultural group apparently falls between the clerical

and the labor strata of the urban system of stratification.

The findings confirm the first hypothesis. Those individuals whose level of origin is low are less likely to attain eminence.

The hypothesis of Schneider that the level of origin is associated with the field in which eminence is attained is verified by the present study. This is shown in Table 3, which presents the divergency of observed from expected cases for the cross-classification of origin by field of attainment. The following points are worth noting: (1) In the arts and medicine there is a consistent decrease in the ratio of actual to expected frequencies as the level of origin declines. (2) Twice the expected number of individuals of the clerical and labor strata attained eminence in the clergy, fewer than would be expected from the business group. (3) Considerably more individuals from the agricultural group attained eminence in education than would be expected on the basis of marginal totals. (4) More individuals who became eminent in business originated in the business stratum than would be expected on a chance basis; this reflects the effect of occupational inheritance.

Occupational inheritance was analyzed for specific professional fields, those in which the father was in medicine, education, law, engineering, or the clergy. Of those sons whose fathers were engaged in the specified occupations (233), 35 per cent experienced direct occupational inheritance; 91 per cent entered either the same or another profession.

The second hypothesis: the individuals of a lower level of origin who attain eminence will do so most frequently in fields requiring the last formal educational training.

In the arts and business, 21 per cent of the eminent had no training beyond the secondary level; in the army, the clergy, education, engineering, law, and medicine, only 2 per cent lacked some college training. With this dichotomy of fields, the distribution of individuals of specified levels of origin is shown in Table 4.

It will be noted that in the case of eminent men in business, the hypothesis is confirmed; that is, in general, a higher proportion of those of lower levels of origin who attained eminence did so in business. The high proportion who originated in the business stratum may be explained by occupational

scholarships, cost of specialized training, proximity to facilities for training, period of financial dependency, etc.

The third hypothesis: the ratios of eminent persons to the general church membership varies directly with the socioeconomic level of the several denominations.

TABLE 3

RATIO OF ACTUAL TO EXPECTED (INDEPENDENCE) FREQUENCIES FOR CASES
CROSS-CLASSIFIED BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND FIELD OF ATTAINMENT

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	FIELD OF ATTAINMENT						TOTAL CASES
	Arts	Business	Clergy	Education	Law	Medicine	
Professional.	1.48	0.61	1.14	0.95	1.31	1.11	283
Business.	0.87	1.50	0.47	0.80	0.66	1.08	272
Clerical and labor.	0.71	1.15	2.00	0.95	0.86	0.82	107
Agricultural.	0.35	0.61	0.98	1.68	1.21	0.72	109
Total cases.	101	219	36	219	117	79	771

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF EMINENT MEN BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
AND SELECTED FIELDS OF EMINENCE

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	PER CENT BY FIELD OF EMINENCE				NUMBER OF CASES
	Arts	Business	Other Fields	All Fields	
Professional.	18	10	72	100	301
Business.	11	32	57	100	279
Clerical.	10	26	64	100	42
Labor.	9	25	66	100	67
Agricultural.	4	14	82	100	114
All levels.	13	20	67	100	803

inheritance. However, in the arts, the opposite is found; there is a consistent decrease with declining levels of origin in the proportion of those attaining eminence who did so in the arts. Thus, the second hypothesis is only partially confirmed.

Formal education, measured in terms of degrees granted by institutions of higher learning, is but one essential to the attainment of eminence. Many other factors operate which are not revealed and whose influence cannot be measured—availability of

The number of eminent men belonging to specified denominations per 10,000 base population (number of male affiliates in 1936) is shown in Table 5. The ratios for the Congregational, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Unitarian denominations, whose members are generally considered of the higher socioeconomic strata,⁹ are considerably higher than are those for the Baptist, Methodist,

⁹ Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CCLVI (March, 1948).

and Roman Catholic denominations. Though the base populations for specific denominations are such that precise comparisons cannot be made, nevertheless, the difference in ratios confirms the hypothesis.

TABLE 5

SAMPLE CASES PER 10,000
MALE CHURCH MEMBERS
IN 1936, BY DENOMINA-
TIONS

Denomination	Sample Cases for 10,000 Members
Unitarian	20
Congregational	4
Episcopalian	4
Presbyterian	4
Baptist	1
Methodist	1
Roman Catholic	0.1

The extremely high ratio for the Unitarians is challenging. The ratio is seven times those for the other three denominations whose members manifest the characteristics of the upper socioeconomic strata. This difference probably cannot be explained by socioeconomic factors alone. The ratios are not related to the origin, by denomination, of eminent men; rather, they reflect the extent to which eminent men are affiliated with specified denominations. It is quite possible that the high ratios reflect in part the tendency of mature individuals to leave the family church for such reasons as prestige.

The fourth hypothesis: the patterns of attainment of eminence by socioeconomic origin exhibited by migrants to an area and the natives will differ because of selective factors in migration.

The small number of migrants (231) imposed limitations on the manipulation of data. Thus, it was impossible to control certain factors in an attempt to determine the nature of the selective factors. Nevertheless, the observed differences between migrants and nonmigrants are suggestive.

By field of attainment, the observed number of migrants exceeded the expected number particularly in education, the army, and the arts. This may be partially explained by

the presence of many educational institutions in the East, the location of West Point, Annapolis, and the Capital, and the dominance of New York City in the arts. By level of origin, the observed number of migrants from the agricultural group was nearly twice that expected on the basis of marginal totals.

Over half of the migrants from the agricultural group attained eminence in education, while nearly two-fifths of all migrants who became eminent in education were of agricultural origin. Inspection of the cases of individual migrants of agricultural origin in education revealed that a number are in academic disciplines related to agriculture or in the extension service.

These findings suggest that further study of the patterns of attaining eminence for migrants and natives is warranted.

RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS

The data verify the basic hypothesis of this study, namely, the lower the level of origin of an individual, the smaller is the probability that he will attain eminence. In the United States in the early twentieth century, the socioeconomic group engaged in professional pursuits constituted the upper stratum. The rate at which it produced men of eminence was twice that of any other group.

Recently the distribution of the population by socioeconomic groups has been changing. The professional group has increased while the agricultural has decreased. Within the labor stratum, the proportion of skilled workmen has increased; of the unskilled, decreased. If the rates at which the various occupation groups produce eminent men were to remain constant, the frequency of men of eminence within the total population would be greatly increased.

As eminence is a matter of recognition by contemporaries or by posterity, it is conceivable that the frequency of men so recognized will increase with accompanying increases in the scope of communication. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the crite-

ria of recognition will so change that the frequency of the eminent will decrease. For example, educational status is apparently one criterion of eminence. As the educational level of the population as a whole increases, the attainment of eminence on the basis of educational achievement may become more difficult.

As the temporal element was held constant in the present study, there is no indication of trends. Nevertheless, the association of levels of origin and the attainment of eminence might be expected to continue.

The relationship of level of origin and the field in which eminence is attained which is documented in this study verifies the hy-

pothesis and conclusion of Schneider that the kind of eminence a person is likely to achieve is limited by his social origin. This in turn is apparently associated with opportunity, for example, formal education. Possibly, with the extension of such opportunities to individuals of lower socioeconomic levels, the intensity of the association of level of origin and the attainment of eminence will diminish. That it will disappear entirely seems unlikely, however, for there remain socioeconomic differences in home environment, patterns of association, and basic values and attitudes.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF STATUS ADVANTAGES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

The Soviet regime came to power in 1917 with a program of improving the opportunities for occupational success of the former "exploited" class at the expense of the former "exploiting" class. At first, sociocultural factors inherited from pre-Revolutionary society, together with functional imperatives of the new society, largely defeated efforts toward this goal. Later, upon industrialization, the need for nonmanual specialists was so great as to reduce differences in opportunities, but the descendants of the former "exploiting" classes continued to enjoy greater chances of getting nonmanual occupations.

According to the ideology proclaimed by the Bolshevik party before and after its accession to power in Russia in November, 1917, societies were divided into two groups: "exploiters" and "exploited" or "expropriators" and "expropriated." The "exploiters" were the upper classes, by and large the nonmanual workers (and nonworkers) who lived on "unearned income" derived from the ownership and control of the means of production with a monopoly of privilege, particularly of access into their own group. The "exploited" were, in the original Marxist theory, the urban proletariat, but in the Leninist revision the poor and, for many purposes, the middle peasants were conceived of as a rural equivalent of the proletariat, even though they owned capital in land and tools.² One of the major immediate goals of the Revolution was the improvement of the life-chances of the oppressed classes at the

expense of the "expropriators." Workers and peasants were to have new and greater opportunities for becoming members of the new dominant class, while the old ruling class was to lose its privileges. This goal was expressed in such slogans as "the expropriation of the expropriators" and "the dictatorship of the proletariat," as well as in the line of the old Communist International hymn, "Those who were nothing shall become everything."

From the earliest years of its power, the Soviet regime attempted to make room at the top for the "oppressed" by destroying the foundations which supported (or which could, in the future, support) the status of members of what it considered to be the "former exploiting classes" and the means by which they were able to transmit this status to their children. Productive private property as well as ranks and titles of virtually all forms were abolished, so that aristocrats, owners, and employees were often made dependent for their livelihood on an openly hostile government. Being left without work or other source of income, they were then also subject to the labor conscription which was universal until 1922. Landowners or wealthy peasants were for a while deprived of all land in excess of what they could cultivate themselves. Inheritance was abolished, and savings were virtually confiscated. Returns from investments were either annulled or liquidated by nationalization of property without compensation. The "exploiters" were deprived of the right to vote or hold office, and entrance into the

¹ The author is indebted to the Russian Research Center for the support which made this study possible, and to many of his colleagues there for suggestions which have greatly improved it. The valuable assistance of Alex Inkeles and David B. Gleicher must especially be acknowledged. The research was sponsored in part by the United States Air Force under contract No. AF 33(038)-12909, monitored by the Air University Human Resources Research Institute.

² Handicraftsmen not employing the labor of others occupied a similarly ambiguous position and were also considered workers. In both cases the wealthier proprietors were classed together with the exploiters. For a general review of the Soviet stand in these matters, see G. Glezerman, *Likvidatsiia Eksploatatorskikh Klassov i Preodolenie Klassovykh Razlichii v SSSR* (Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1949), pp. 56 ff., 94 ff.

Communist party—from the beginning, the dominant political force—was made more difficult for them and their children than for workers and peasants and *their* children. “Nontoilers” were put in lower ration categories. Free education at all levels—an early measure which tended to equalize an advantage previously enjoyed by the wealthier classes—was supplemented by priority in admission to educational institutions for members of the proletariat and peasantry, and then replaced by special tuition fees levied on students from the “hostile” classes.³

It seems inevitable that such drastic measures would have some effect in displacing members of the former upper classes. But to fill the vacancies thus created, as well as the new ones which came into being in the course of industrialization and economic expansion, was a problem of a different order, one which there are good reasons to believe would not be so amenable to legislative solution. When the Bolsheviks attained power, they faced a situation not unlike that faced by the occupying powers in Germany after World War II: most of the intellectual and administrative specialists were considered tainted by their support of a hostile form of society and hence not usable by the new regime; yet, if this new regime was to maintain control of a functioning society, it needed people to do the kind of work that those specialists had been doing. The problem was difficult enough for the occupying powers to handle, but Russia of 1917, unlike Germany of 1945, was a culturally undeveloped country, in which more than two-thirds of the population were illiterate.⁴ Moreover, the Bolshevik ideology demanded, in effect, mobility from manual into nonmanual occupations, a relatively uncommon phenomenon. It is uncommon

partly because to become a nonmanual worker requires financial resources, but a Soviet regime could provide them to those whom it wished to have them. However, it also requires the possession of certain “cultural facilities,” of which strong motivation for a nonmanual job and for the education which usually precedes it and easy familiarity with a particular version of the written and spoken language are only the most obvious. These orientations and skills result from a fairly long period of socialization in an environment which favors their learning, and consequently they cannot easily be changed by fiat. It is the members of worker and farmer families in American society⁵ and presumably of worker and peasant families in Soviet society who would be least likely to manifest these traits.

And so the question arises: How successful was the Soviet regime in inducing the proletariat and peasantry to rise from hand work to head work in the face of opposing sociocultural elements inherited from pre-Revolutionary and of functional imperatives of post-Revolutionary Russian society? The question must be asked for two groups of people at two times: the proletarians and peasants, who were themselves gainfully occupied at the outbreak of the Revolution and whose opportunities for mobility would come during the years of “reconstruction” that immediately followed the Revolution; and their children, whose opportunities for mobility would be more likely to come in the course of the collectivization and industrialization of the Five-Year Plans.

MOBILITY IN THE 1920'S

The distribution of the responses of a group of Soviet D.P.'s⁶ to questions about

³ See especially James H. Meisel and Edward S. Kozera (eds.), *Materials for the Study of the Soviet System* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr Publishing Co., 1950), pp. 14–123.

⁴ *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia—Soius Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Moscow: Ogiz SSSR, 1947), pp. 1245–46.

⁵ Natalie Rogoff, “Recent Trends in Urban Occupational Mobility,” in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 413–14.

⁶ Responses to written questionnaires were collected from 2,725 Soviet displaced persons and refugees in western Europe and the United States during 1950–51. There was no illusion that the sample was representative of the Soviet population;

their fathers' pre- and post-Revolutionary occupational statuses is presented in Table 1. The table shows that the chances of the father who had been "exploited" before the Revolution of becoming a nonmanual worker, were only one-seventh as good as those of the former "exploiter." Furthermore, of the 102 "exploited" who did become nonmanual workers, only 16.7 per cent became members of the intelligentsia or the party-Soviet apparatus, compared to 47.3

noncaste society in which there are incentives for manual workers to take nonmanual jobs, some of them may be expected to be mobile, even without the assistance of a friendly government and despite the barriers imposed by differential socialization. A study made in 1933-34 of a roughly comparable sample of Americans shows, for example, that persons who began their occupational careers as manual workers had more than one-third as good a chance of becoming

TABLE 1
MOBILITY OF FATHERS AFTER THE REVOLUTION*

FATHER'S PRE- REVOLUTIONARY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	FATHER'S POST-REVOLUTIONARY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS					
	Nonmanual Workers		Toilers		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
"Exploiters"...	607	86.1	98	13.9	705	100.0
"Exploited"....	102	12.1	738	87.9	840	100.0
Total.....	709	45.9	836	54.1	1,545	100.0

* "After the Revolution" refers to 1917-29. "Exploiters" include the aristocracy, intelligentsia, landowners, officials of the Tsarist civil service, and army, merchants, and clergymen; "exploited" include works, handicraftsmen, and poor and middle peasants. "Nonmanual workers" include members of the party-Soviet apparatus, intelligentsia, and employees; "toilers" include workers, handicraftsmen, and poor and middle peasants.

per cent of the "exploiters." This hardly suggests that the Soviet regime had given the "exploited" equality of opportunity for occupational success, or even opportunities which were substantially better than they might otherwise have been.⁷ After all, in any

yet, in view of the scarcity of other data, it would be unwise simply to ignore these people. The type of information that only they could supply and the hypotheses that it and they might suggest could be properly used by checking them, as is done here, against what is known about social systems in general and about the Soviet social system in particular.

Limitations of space prevent a full explanation here of the methodological problems connected with the interpretation and classification of the responses. However, interested readers may request from the author a "methodological appendix" in which these problems are fully elaborated.

⁷ Of course, certain kinds of mobility, such as that of a peasant to worker status, do not appear in the above and following tables, since this study is

nonmanual workers as those who began as nonmanual workers (Table 2).

A major objection may, however, be offered to such data, derived as they are from disaffected members of Soviet society. The children of fathers who were successful in making the move from exploited to nonmanual status were perhaps not inclined to have been disaffected; if so, they would be underrepresented in the sample. To test this objection would require comparison of the rate of mobility of the formerly exploited fathers in the sample with the rate of mobility among the parent-population from which these fathers have been drawn. While precise information is not available, some revealing estimates can be made which will supply a rough answer to the question, "How much mobility is 12.1 per cent?"

exclusively of movement from manual to nonmanual occupations.

It is not to be expected that all the formerly exploited could become nonmanual workers. Specialization of economic function necessitates the co-ordination of operations, and if production is to be at least efficient enough to keep the society going, there must be more people performing the direct and relatively simple manual-productive operations than doing the co-ordinating or performing tasks demanding a relatively high order of mental skill. The occupational-class structure in a functionally specialized society—as both pre- and post-Revolutionary Russia were, to a large extent—assumes the

11.1 per cent of the formerly exploited toilers in that population (2,250,000 out of 20,250,000) could have been mobile. The exploited fathers of the sample show an even higher mobility rate, 12.1 per cent, but this ought not be taken as more than an accident of sampling. The mobility rate in samples of the same size might be expected (at a confidence level of 0.01) to fall as low as 9.6 per cent. Even then, when one reflects upon the meaning of the maximum rate, it seems virtually certain that the sample is not under-representative of formerly exploited mobile fathers. However, while such fathers may

TABLE 2
MOBILITY IN AN AMERICAN SAMPLE, 1933-34*

FIRST PERMA- NENT JOB (EIGHT MONTHS OR LONGER)	REGULAR OCCUPATION				TOTAL	
	Nonmanual		Manual			
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
	Nonmanual. . . .	272	73.9	96	26.1	368	100.0
Manual.	214	26.4	597	73.6	811	100.0
Total.	486	41.2	693	58.8	1,179	100.0

* Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1937), p. 95.

familiar pyramidal shape. It is therefore inconceivable for the exploited (toilers) and the exploiters (nonmanual workers) to have exchanged statuses after the Revolution, for that would mean turning upside down the occupational pyramid of the parent-population from which the fathers have been drawn⁸ and having, consequently, more than four times as many nonmanual workers as toilers. In short, the structure of a functionally specialized society sets a limit upon the rate of mobility which can be attained within a single generation. Since only 2,250,000 men in the parent-population held nonmanual jobs after the Revolution, a maximum of

not be underrepresented, it may be that formerly exploiting fathers are greatly over-represented, so that the difference in occupational opportunities shown in the sample is exaggerated. To clear up any doubt on this score, the investigation will be pursued into a study of such pertinent statistics as can be found, in order to make an estimate of the actual origins of nonmanual workers after the Revolution.

It is clear that Communist leadership recognized the problem of the available sources of skilled intellectual labor and that it was much less reluctant to resolve the dilemma by using pre-Revolutionary specialists than is generally thought. The program of the party adopted at its Eighth Congress in 1919 declared that

for the development of productive forces, the immediate . . . and full utilization of all special-

⁸ This parent-population consists of the married males enumerated in the 1926 census who were engaged in the occupations specified in Table 1. The precise method of construction is set forth in the appendix referred to in n. 1.

ists in science and technology left to us by capitalism is necessary, in spite of the fact that the majority of [them] are inevitably imbued with bourgeois ideas and habits. . . . The Party . . . will carry on a merciless struggle against the pseudo-radical, but in reality, ignorant and conceited opinion that the working class can overcome capitalism and the bourgeois order without the aid of bourgeois specialists.⁹

Lenin put the matter even more squarely when he told the party congress of the following year, "We must rule with the help of those who come from that very class which we have overthrown."¹⁰ After such forthright statements, it was no surprise that many former military officers, engineers, factory managers and owners, and agricultural and other specialists were permitted to return to their old jobs, though under a watchful political eye.¹¹

Each time a nonmanual position was filled by a member of the formerly exploiting classes, it obviously reduced chances of mobility for the formerly exploited. Yet, at the same time, the Soviet regime attempted to devise means whereby the adult members of its favored classes could move into vacant nonmanual positions. The two main devices were the "workers' faculties" and promotion from the ranks. The workers' faculties—*rabochii fakul'tet*, usually abbreviated to *rabfak*—were established in 1919¹² for the

purpose of giving adult workers and peasants (as well as party members) the opportunity, supposedly denied to them previously, of preparing themselves for a college education. Graduates of the *rabfaks* were automatically admitted to higher educational institutions, without having to take entrance examinations. Furthermore, unlike all other applicants, they did not have to undergo "verification of class position" (*klassovaya proverka*). Ironically, persons of "unfavorable" origin were thus enabled to use the *rabfak* to their own advantage: by taking manual employment for a brief period, they might enter the *rabfak* as "workers" and thereafter be relatively sure of completing their higher education. That this was done is confirmed not only by oral interviews with D.P.'s but also by official sources.¹³ In any case, not more than 100,000 persons could have graduated from the *rabfaks* between 1920 and 1928¹⁴—about 4 per cent of the total number of post-Revolutionary nonmanual workers in the parent-population. Of greater importance than the *rabfaks* was the more nearly "purely ideological" system of *vydvizhenchestvo*—promotion from the ranks, primarily of persons without specialized education. Soviet sources reveal that this institution did not live up to the high hopes placed in it. Not only was the number of *vydvizhentsy*, as beneficiaries of the system were called, considered "extremely insignificant" as of 1929, but many of those promoted were not "genuine" workers and peasants, while others who were promoted soon returned, or were returned, to their former jobs.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in 1929–30, about 22 per cent of all "industrial special-

⁹ Meisel and Kozera, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–15.

¹⁰ V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, XXX (4th ed.; Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1950), 428.

¹¹ D. Fedotoff White, *The Growth of the Red Army* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1944), pp. 37, 51–54; Gregory Bienstock, Solomon M. Schwarz, and Aaron Yugow, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 104; Sir John Maynard, *Russia in Flux* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), p. 261; Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development since 1917* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948), p. 112; "Ob Uchete i Mobilizatsii Spetsialistov Sel'skogo Khoziaistva," *Sobranie Uzakonenii i Rasporiazhenii Rabocheho i Krest'ianskogo Pravitel'stva*, No. 2 (January 30, 1919), art. 28.

¹² The original decree and some of the important amendments may be found in S. N. Shishkin, *Prava*

Uchashchikhsia i Uchashchikh (Moscow: Iuridicheskoe Izdatel'stvo NKIu, 1925), pp. 45, 55–63, 113–25.

¹³ "Tsirkuliarnoe Pis'mo VTsSPS," May 15, 1924, in Shishkin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁴ *Statisticheskii Spravochnik SSSR za 1928* (Moscow: Statisticheskoe Izdatel'stvo TsSU SSSR, 1929), p. 879.

¹⁵ G. Nikitskii, "Voprosy Vydvizhenchestva," in M. Steklov (ed.), *Sovetskaiia Demokratiia* (Moscow: Isdanie Zhurnala "Sovetskoe Stroitel'stvo," 1929), pp. 238–44.

ists of higher skill" grades were *praktiki*—i.e., "persons occupying the positions of specialists of higher skill [grades] without [having had] the appropriate education."¹⁶ This figure may be taken as the upper limit on the proportion of *vydvizhentsy* among such specialists at the end of the period under scrutiny. The proportion of *vydvizhentsy* among other higher specialists (with the exception of a few types, such as party officials and the

manual workers, forming approximately half of the total: free professionals and business proprietors (over whose composition the regime largely forsook control) and non-specialist white-collar employees (such as secretaries, typists, and clerks, whose jobs the regime did not regard as sufficiently strategic to staff with *vydvizhentsy*).

All in all—and taking into account also the fact that the figures from Soviet sources

TABLE 3
ESTIMATED MOBILITY OF MALE ADULTS AFTER THE REVOLUTION*
(In Millions)

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	POST-REVOLUTIONARY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS					
	Nonmanual Workers		Toilers		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
"Exploiters"	1.35	90.0	0.15	10.0	1.50	100.0
"Exploited"	0.90	4.4	19.35	95.6	20.25	100.0
Total	2.25	10.3	19.50	89.7	21.75	100.0

* "After the Revolution" refers to 1926. The status categories correspond to those used in Table 1.

highest managerial personnel¹⁷) was probably no larger, while among middle specialists it may be estimated that the proportion was less than half again as large.¹⁸ Finally, there were probably few or no *vydvizhentsy* among the three other main types of non-

¹⁶ *Plan Obespecheniia Narodnogo Khoziaistva SSSR Kadrami Spetsialistov (1929/30—1932/33 gg.)* (Moscow: Plankhozgiz, 1930), pp. 44, 47.

¹⁷ Dobb, without giving any source for the statement, says that "at the beginning of the First Five Year Plan . . . nearly a half of the posts at the higher managerial level were held by persons who lacked any specialized technical training" (*op. cit.*, p. 258). It is not inconceivable that even some of these had held managerial positions before the Revolution.

¹⁸ In the first Five-Year Plan, when the ranks of middle specialists grew most rapidly, the proportion of *vydvizhentsy* among them was scheduled to be about 50 per cent higher than among higher specialists (*Plan Obespecheniia Narodnogo Khoziaistva SSSR Kadrami Spetsialistov (1929/30—1932/33 gg.)*, pp. 55, 57).

on the advancement of toilers include some persons, for example, women, not in the parent-population of the present sample—it does not seem likely that the proportion of pre-Revolutionary exploited among all post-Revolutionary nonmanuals exceeded 20 per cent; but, to make the maximal allowance for error, this proportion will be doubled. If 40 per cent of the 2,250,000 post-Revolutionary nonmanuals had been members of the exploited classes before the Revolution, the distribution of the parent-population would be as it is shown in Table 3.

This table answers the question of sample bias. The sample of fathers, rather than being biased in the direction of underrepresentation of mobile persons from the formerly exploited group, is biased in the opposite direction. Making the most liberal allowances, 4.4 per cent of the formerly exploited in the parent-population were mobile, as against 12.1 per cent in the sample

(C.R. = 6.8).¹⁹ And the former exploiters certainly did have at least seven times better chances of becoming nonmanual workers than did the formerly exploited.²⁰ The relative sociocultural disadvantages of the Russian toiler were apparently too great for the Soviet regime to overcome to any substantial extent in the dozen years after the Revolution.

MOBILITY IN THE 1930'S

It may still be true, though, that persons from the formerly exploited class were not able to obtain a high rate of mobility until after 1929. In the first place, even as late as 1926, nearly half the population was illiterate; by 1939, however, this had been reduced to one-fifth.²¹ Furthermore, as Lenin had said, "not weeks, but long months and years, are needed for a new social class, and a hitherto persecuted class at that, one crushed by poverty and ignorance, to familiarize itself with its new position, to orient itself, to get its work going, to bring forth its organizers."²² And it was not until 1931 that Stalin announced: "Our country has entered a phase of development in which the working class must create its own industrial and technical intelligentsia."²³ For this was the era of the Five-Year Plans, compared to which the previous decade had been relatively economically stable. Industrialization and agricultural collectivization were now under way on a vast scale, creating a great demand for intellectual specialists of all kinds.²⁴ The growth of opportunities may

be illustrated by comparing the maximum mobility rates of the earlier and later parent-populations. It has already been pointed out that, at most, 11.1 per cent of the pre-Revolutionary exploited toilers could have become nonmanual workers after the Revolution. If, similarly, *all* the 14,000,000 nonmanual workers in the 1939 labor force came from the 61,750,000 persons of post-Revolutionary toiler background in the labor force,²⁵ 22.7 per cent of the latter would have been mobile.

The distribution of the respondents themselves, classified by their employment in steady jobs in the late 1930's and their fathers' post-Revolutionary occupational status,²⁶ is presented in Table 4. The chances for persons of toiler origin to achieve occupational success appear, indeed, to have increased; and, although those who did so are again overrepresented—since the hypothetical maximum rate of mobility was only 22.7 per cent²⁷—it seems likely, in view of the

²⁴ Alexander Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), pp. 213–21; Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1940–1950," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 468.

²⁵ This includes all gainfully occupied males and females other than forced laborers (who have been omitted throughout) (see appendix). It would make little difference if pre-Revolutionary origins were used instead of post-Revolutionary, since, as Table 3 reveals, not more than 5 per cent of the fathers changed their status. Use of post-Revolutionary origins makes it far easier to estimate the origins of the members of the labor force.

²⁶ See n. 25. If pre-Revolutionary origins had been used, the rate of mobility for children of the exploited would have been 33.0 per cent, and 83.6 per cent of the children of the exploiters would be shown as nonmanual workers.

²⁷ The respondents are, on the average, probably younger than the parent-population; the median age in 1939 of those of toiler origin was 26.1 years, while the median age of the entire Soviet population (not only the labor force) 15 years of age and over, excluding students, was about 32.4 years in 1939 (Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union* [Geneva: League of Nations, 1946], p. 143; *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, pp. 1225, 1228, 1233). It would be expected that, if anything, younger people, having had less time to work themselves up in the occupational hierarchy, would be less mobile than the older.

¹⁹ Although the problem cannot be discussed here, it is worth while pointing out that this upsets some a priori notions of the motives for disaffection.

²⁰ Table 3 shows an opportunity ratio of 20 to 1, but this ratio would have been lower (though not lower than it is in the sample) had "wealthy peasant" been included as an "exploiter" origin. That status was omitted, however, because of the ambiguity of its standing after the Revolution. Further details are given in the appendix mentioned in n. 6.

²¹ *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, pp. 1245–46.

²² *Sochineniia*, XXII (3d ed.; Partizdat TsK VKP[b], 1935), 457.

²³ J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1940), p. 378. (Italics supplied.)

economic growth referred to, that some of this increase represents a real improvement in opportunities. In the absence of even such fragmentary data as were used previously, it is impossible to estimate what the actual rate of mobility might have been. But the chances for occupational success of persons of nonmanual origin continued, at least in the sample, to be as good as they had been in the 1920's. The relationship between such persons in the earlier sample and the parent-population from which they were drawn would not lead to the expectation that they

maxed by a law of 1935 that opened higher educational institutions on equal terms to all who passed the appropriate entrance examinations,²⁹ and by the constitution of 1936, in which provisions discriminating against nontailors no longer appeared.³⁰

CONCLUSIONS

This study indicates that the chances for occupational success of persons of toiler origin ultimately improved, but *not at the expense* of those of nonmanual origin. After the Revolution most of the available specialists

TABLE 4
MOBILITY OF THE RESPONDENTS IN THE 1930's*

FATHER'S POST-REVOLUTIONARY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	RESPONDENT'S STEADY JOB IN THE 1930's					
	Nonmanual Workers		Toilers		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Nonmanual workers...	367	89.7	42	10.3	409	100.0
Toilers.....	190	29.5	454	70.5	644	100.0
Total.....	557	52.9	496	47.1	1,053	100.0

* For some comments on the derivation of this table see the appendix cited in n. 6.

are overrepresented in the 1930's. There are also other good reasons for believing that their chances for occupational success did not, in fact, decline: beginning in the early 1930's, the attitudes and regulations discriminating against persons of "hostile" origin were gradually withdrawn. In the very speech in which he urged that the working class "create its own . . . intelligentsia," Stalin also spoke of the need for a new attitude toward the "old technical intelligentsia," one of "attention and solicitude," and added: "It would [now] be stupid and unwise to regard practically every expert and engineer of the old school as an undetected criminal and wrecker." Later he said that "sons were not responsible for the offences of their fathers."²⁸ Such statements heralded a series of changes in the official attitude, cli-

were those who had held similar jobs before the Revolution, and they had to be used, whatever their ideological shortcomings. Therefore, during this period, despite a relatively, or even absolutely, depressed standard of living, a lowered official and, to some extent, unofficial evaluation of their status, and numerous legal obstacles which the regime placed in their way, these persons were able not only to hold their jobs but also to maintain the type of sociocultural environment in their homes and, perhaps, the informal occupational connections, as well,

²⁸ "O Prieme v Vysshie Uchebnye Zavedeniia i Tekhnikumy," *Sobranie Uzakonenii*, No. 1 (January 14, 1936), art. 2.

³⁰ Article 135 was most specific; it opened the suffrage to all, "irrespective of . . . social origin, property status or past activities." Many other rights and privileges had been tied to the right to vote.

²⁸ Maynard, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

which gave their children the same advantages with regard to status aspirations that they themselves had had. At the same time, the economy was not growing rapidly enough to permit a substantial influx into nonmanual jobs of persons from the formerly oppressed, but now favored, classes. When the Five-Year Plans were initiated, the need for nonmanual specialists was so urgent that the ideologically inspired reluctance to use persons of "hostile" origin melted away altogether before a competing ideological value, that of industrialization; and once more, those whose situation predisposed them toward nonmanual occupations were enabled to take them. But the number of such persons was now much less than the number of specialists needed. The remainder had to come from the toiling classes, and by the late 1930's a considerable proportion of nonmanual workers must have been of toiler origin.

What that proportion was remains a question. In 1936, Stalin asserted that "80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet intelligentsia are people who have come from the working class, from the peasantry, or from other strata of the working population."³¹ Apart

³¹ Stalin, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

from the wisdom of taking a tendentious statement at face value, one wonders whether this figure does not include persons who "earned" toiler origin by virtue of their own activities (e.g., *rabfak* graduates) or who falsified their origin to improve their chances for occupational success, a practice which oral interviews with the D.P.'s reveal to have been quite common. One wonders, too, whether the "other strata of the working population" might not include what Stalin, in the same speech, called the "working intelligentsia." Whatever the case, however, and without overlooking the significance of the presence of a large number of mobile people among the nonmanual workers, it seems certain that the chances of a person born to a nonmanual worker father to become a nonmanual worker himself continued to be higher than those of a person born to a toiler father, as is true in other industrial societies.³²

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³² For a theoretical argument that equality of opportunity is never possible in "an occupationally differentiated industrial society [with] a significantly solidary kinship system," see Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 159-61.

TOWARD A SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF OLD AGE: A RESEARCH NOTE

EDWARD NELSON PALMER

ABSTRACT

A statistical procedure for determining the chronological lower limits of sociological old age involves: (1) the establishment of norms of adulthood for various social criteria, (2) the determination of the ages at which deviations occur. The method will permit an inventory of sociological old age with reference to various indicia. It can be employed for the United States as a whole and for any subdivision by sex, color, occupation, and industry for such factors as labor-force participation, employment status, living arrangement and income.

The current terminological confusion surrounding the sociological concept of old age calls for a functional definition of it. This paper proposes a statistical procedure which will permit the use of sociological criteria in determining the chronological lower limits of old age, sociologically defined.¹

The procedure has two parts and contains two assumptions:

Part 1.—The establishment of norms of adulthood for various criteria:

Assumption 1.—The norm is established on the assumption that adulthood begins in the age group which has at least as large a proportion of persons possessing a characteristic as the proportion of all persons possessing it.

Part 2.—The determination of the age group at which deviations occur from the norms of adulthood established for each criterion:

Assumption 2.—The lower limit of old age is determined on the assumption that the aged are a group of adult persons who possess certain characteristics which differ in degree from other classes of adults.

The methodological procedure is explained by analyzing labor-force participation rates in Table 1. Deviations may be either positive or negative. This means that all aging is not necessarily indicative of decline. For example, labor-force participation, familial status, and income may decline in old age, but voting, creative activi-

ties, and participation in the community may increase with later years.²

TABLE 1
MALE PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR
FORCE BY AGE: UNITED
STATES, 1940*

Age	Male Labor Force (Per Cent of Population)
Total, 14 years and over...	79.0
Adult, 20 years and over..	86.7
14-19.....	34.4
20-24.....	88.0
25-29.....	94.9
30-34.....	95.6
35-39.....	95.3
40-44.....	94.1
45-49.....	92.9
50-54.....	91.1
55-59.....	87.8
60-64 (old).....	78.9
65-69.....	59.2
70-74.....	38.2
75 and over.....	17.8
Adult other than old, 20-59....	92.6
Old, 60 years and over.....	54.7

* Source: Compiled from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: Population*, Vol. IV, Part 1, Table 24, p. 90.

To establish norms of adulthood of a given characteristic:

1. Compute the percentage of all age groups possessing the given trait.

² I am indebted to Clark Tibbitts, chairman, Committee on Aging and Geriatrics, for this idea.

¹ With some modifications, the method is a quantitative application of the ideas advanced by Ruth Shonle Cavan *et al.* in *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 1-10.

Example: Seventy-nine per cent of all males 14 years of age and over were in the labor force in 1940.

2. Set the lower limit of adulthood by eliminating younger age groups which fall short of this percentage.

Example: Of the age group 14-19, 34.4 per cent were in the labor force, while of the age group 20-24 it was 88.0 per cent. Thus male adulthood, as defined by participation in the labor force, began at age 20.

3. Compute the percentage of all adults possessing a given characteristic. This is the norm of adulthood for that trait; if there were no differential by age, each age group would have the trait to the same expected degree.

Example: 86.7 per cent of the males 20 years of age and over were in the labor force in 1940. Thus if there were no differentials in labor-force participation, each adult age group would have an expected rate of 86.7 per cent.

To determine the point at which older age groups deviate in a given characteristic from the established norm:

1. Observe the age group at which the percentage for the given characteristic is more or less than the norm.

Example: At age group 60-64, the percentage of males in the labor force was 78.9. Thus the age group 60-64 was the lower limit of male old age for labor-force participation in 1940.

The general effect of this method is to permit (1) the description of the concentrations of differential possession of adult characteristics by age and (2) the determination of the pattern of differentials in the later years. The method may be applied extensively, since it can be employed for the United States as a whole and for any subdivision by sex, color, occupation, and industry for such criteria as participation in the labor force, employment status, marital status, living arrangements, and income. Limited data for such analyses are readily accessible in published census reports. The analysis can also be applied to voting, participation in the community, creative activities, and so on.

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THE DETROIT AREA STUDY: A TRAINING AND RESEARCH LABORATORY IN THE COMMUNITY¹

RONALD FREEDMAN

ABSTRACT

The Detroit Area Study is a research and training program whose objective is a series of cumulative studies of the important institutions of a metropolitan area. The central undertaking is an annual sample survey of a cross-section of the population of metropolitan Detroit; the cross-section studies are intended to relate to more intensive studies of special groups or institutions. The program has been organized to train graduate students in phases of systematic social research.

The Detroit Area Study is a research and training program at the University of Michigan² to train graduate students in methods of social science research by engaging them in basic community studies. The project is conducted in the belief not only that students will learn most if their experience goes beyond practice and discussion to meet rigorous professional standards of field study but also that accumulated systematic findings on problems focusing on a cross-section of a particular metropolis are valuable in themselves.

While the particular aspects of the Detroit Area Study are not individually unique, in combination they are. The principal features of the study are: (1) an annual sample interview study of a cross-section of the Detroit metropolitan area; (2) the proposed accumulated annual series of cross-section data; (3) the pursuit of basic research objectives of members of the social science faculty and their advanced graduate students; (4) the use of the extensive cross-section data as the proper comparative basis for intensive studies; (5) the participation of first-year graduate students in the various phases of the research as an integral part of university education; (6) the combination of professional and student staff to minimize

the conflict of research and training objectives.

TRAINING

The participants in the study include a large number of first-year graduate students, a small number of advanced graduate students on the Study staff, a faculty director, and a number of interested social science faculty members.

First-year graduate students are offered a research course required in the sociology department and optional in other social science departments. From September to June they participate in the principal steps of designing and executing a piece of research. All acquire some experience in the development of research objectives, design and selection of the sample, construction of an interview questionnaire, pretesting the questions, interviewing, code-construction, coding, and analysis.

All first-year graduate students in sociology at the University of Michigan are required to participate in this program, for the skills imparted should be acquired at least in minimum degree by every social scientist at an early stage of his training, not only for his own use but also for his understanding of research literature by reason of his experience. For example, in view of the great reliance on interview data in the social sciences today, we feel that all our students should know from personal experience something about the problems encountered in conducting a considerable number of interviews in a metropolitan community.

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 5, 1952, at Atlantic City.

² Funds for the operation of the Detroit Area Study come from the Committee on Individual Behavior and Human Relations of the University of Michigan out of a grant to the university by the Ford Foundation for training in the behavioral sciences.

We hold this experience to be so important that we have substituted participation in the Study for the traditional M.A. dissertation in sociology. The individually executed M.A. dissertation has at least two important drawbacks: first, it usually confines the student's experience with research techniques to a very narrow range; and, second, it is frustrating for the student to find that his individual resources do not permit him to meet the increasingly rigorous standards of research which he has learned in courses on methodology. We are trying to provide for our graduate students a facility comparable in some ways to the laboratory for graduate students in chemistry and physics.

The training course involves regular class sessions for lectures and discussions of research techniques; practical field-laboratory periods; seminars for discussion of the substantive aspects of the problems with the project staff and the social science faculty. These three activities are fitted together: the field activities are timed so that they follow the appropriate classroom discussion, and then there may be a second discussion.

Anyone who has worked with students in projects of this kind will recognize at least two important problems. One is that some students seem better suited than others to certain phases of the work, such as interviewing. We have proceeded on the notion that every person admitted to graduate study should have the right to participate in the various kinds of experience, except under very unusual circumstances. We believed originally that the results would meet at least minimum professional standards and now feel justified, after our first year's work. The only exceptions last year were several students from the Far East and one with a physical handicap, for whom we modified the interviewing.

A second problem is that of gearing the time schedule of a research project to the academic schedule of first-year graduate students. It is usually difficult enough for a research project to meet a pre-established time schedule without the necessity of co-

ordinating it with an independent schedule. One is strongly tempted to slough off the final phases of work, for example, the last 20 per cent of the interviewing. On the other hand, unless kept on schedule, the work may be dropped at a crucial stage because the student staff has dispersed with the ending of a semester.

During the first year of the Study, with minor deviations, we kept to the time schedule laid down in September. Yet the pressure of time made compromises necessary. For certain phases of the study—for example, sample design—the participation of the students was limited for lack of time. In such cases the whole process was verbally recapitulated for the class by the staff and advanced graduate students who had carried out the detailed work. Even in such phases of the work, the student appeared to learn more readily because of having had an active part in other parts of the project.

We learned that it is especially difficult for first-year graduate students to participate in the designing of the project. We plan to take account of this frankly next year by shifting the emphasis to critique and elaboration of models prepared by members of the staff. Pressures of the students' schedules also limit the time that can be devoted to refinement of research materials.

To minimize the conflict between what is best for training and what is best for research, professional help is used in certain phases of the work. We are very fortunate in having a direct administrative relationship with the Survey Research Center, from which such help is available. For example, the sampling section of the Center provided materials and directed work on the sampling design. Approximately half the seven hundred fifty interviews were taken by the professional field staff of the Center. The average student completed about twenty interviews, not too onerous an assignment and yet sufficient to introduce him to a range of situations. We gained thereby a valuable opportunity to compare professional and student performance.

This combination of student and profes-

sional work also makes it possible to separate to a certain extent the requirements of training and those of research. Thus, the size of the sample can be determined on grounds other than the students' time. This year all the coding was done by students in the course, but we hope, next year, to turn part of this work over to paid coders so that students will have more time for code-construction and analysis.

For the first-year graduate student the most serious defect is that the student has too small a share in the formulation of the basic design. This is true not only because he lacks the necessary background but also because this kind of creative work is very difficult to accomplish in a large group, especially where time is limited. This part of the training experience must be accomplished in other ways. Discussion and modification of the research models prepared by faculty members is one device, but it cannot fully meet the need. The skills acquired in the training project are important, but they do not meet all needs. Despite these problems, the experience of the first year has convinced us that this program is far superior to the individual project for methodological training.

The research training of the six advanced graduate students who worked closely with the Study was considerably more intensive than that of the first-year students. It involved supervisory and planning experience and greater participation in decisions of basic policy. A number of these students are now working on doctoral dissertations in sociology and political science based on data of this year's survey which they have helped to collect step by step. They have data for a significant and adequate sample of a great metropolis. In a number of cases, they are relating the data to other materials.

So far as research results are concerned, it will not be possible fully to assess the Study for some time. However, the students maintained high professional standards in the collection of data. For example, interviews were successfully completed at eighty-seven per cent of the addresses originally

selected for the sample, without any substitutions of addresses or respondents.³ This is very satisfactory in a study in a metropolitan area. It involved many call-back trips on the part of the students—in itself a revealing experience for most of them. The coding was also reliable. The sample results check closely on demographic data with census and other outside data, for such characteristics as income, persons per room, home tenure, race, and religion. Such validation gives us confidence that the sample design was executed correctly in the field and that the interviewing was adequate in the areas checked.

In both the training and research aspects of the project the best available techniques were used in the sampling and interviewing. The sample is a probability area sample of the Detroit metropolitan area, based on an average cluster of three interviews per block and stratified by major social areas. The interviewing combined both open-ended and fixed-answer questions. The interview training lasted several weeks and included role-playing and three pretests with "before" and "after" discussions of technique.

Almost all this year's students thought the experience very rewarding—especially when compared with the usual training. We hope now to make significant improvements, especially toward greater flexibility to take account of differing backgrounds.

RESEARCH

The integrating element of the Study from year to year is to be the accumulation of social data for a particular community rather than for a particular problem. We hope to study a cross-section sample of the metropolitan area with reference to a series of significant institutions or problems. The problems are selected from those submitted by members of the social science faculty of the University of Michigan who are willing to make a commitment of time for both the training and the research. Last year's project was on participation in community affairs, with particular reference to formal

³ In 1953 the response rate was 92 per cent.

organizations and political activity, in which the faculty of sociology and political science took part. Next year's project will be on certain aspects of the city family, the faculty participants being from the fields of sociology and psychology.

To my knowledge, a continuing study based on a cross-section sample of a metropolitan community is a unique undertaking. Until now, the lack of data on an adequate metropolitan sample has hampered judgments on competing theories about urban life. For example, so far as I know, we have had in the past no adequate data on the distribution of the members of formal organizations among significant groupings. Then, too, despite many theories about the decline of the extended family under urban conditions, we have no data on the number and kinds of persons in the city who have relatives outside their own households, or on the frequency of contacts with them. The Detroit Area Study aims to collect data about such crucial variables in connection with basic research investigations. We believe this provides a setting in which students may receive training in methods in connection with significant problems.

Plans for the future include the use of other kinds of material in relation to the cross-section survey, such as the findings achieved through participant observation and through the intensive study of particular groups, areas, and institutions. We believe that the value of all these will be greatly enhanced because they can be compared and related to the cross-section data. A small beginning was made in participant observation this past year by one student who worked in part of the city under the direction of a cultural anthropologist. Last summer a graduate student collected an

adequate sample of interviews about group membership in Negro areas. We may now compare those findings with similar data for the population of Detroit as a whole.

In the past, one of the problems with small intensive urban studies of this kind was that research workers have found it difficult to assess their findings in terms of similarity or difference from the general population. A basic objective of the Detroit Area Study is to provide a statistical framework in which local areas or institutions can be studied within the larger metropolitan context.

RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY

Since the project is focused year after year on a particular community, it is important to develop a co-operative relationship with local groups and leaders. For this purpose a Citizens Advisory Council has been set up, consisting of leaders in civic organizations, politics, labor organizations, business, research agencies, and so on. The development of mutually advantageous relationships takes time, but considerable progress has already been made. Members of the council have assisted us in solving field problems; they have provided research materials; and they have suggested research problems. Preliminary reports are sent to the members for suggestions and comments. We are now beginning to supply information of value to agencies and leaders in the community.

The experience of the first year of the Detroit Area Study has demonstrated, we think, that this kind of project can be used successfully for training in research in the social sciences and can yield new information of value both to scholars and to the community.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VIOLENCE AND THE POLICE¹

WILLIAM A. WESTLEY

ABSTRACT

A case-study of a municipal police force in the United States suggests that the illegal use of violence by the police is a consequence of their occupational experience and that the policeman's colleague group sanctions such usage. Policemen see this use of violence as morally acceptable and legitimate in terms of ends defined by the colleague group in preference to legal ends. They see these colleague-group ends as constituting a legitimation for violence which is equal or superior to the legitimation derived from the law. They conceive of violence as a personal property to be used at discretion.

Brutality and the third degree have been identified with the municipal police of the United States since their inauguration in 1844. These aspects of police activity have been subject to exaggeration, repeated exposure, and virulent criticism. Since they are a breach of the law by the law-enforcement agents, they constitute a serious social, but intriguing sociological, problem. Yet there is little information about or understanding of the process through which such activity arises or of the purposes which it serves.

This paper is concerned with the genesis and function of the illegal use of violence by the police and presents an explanation based on an interpretative understanding of the experience of the police as an occupational group.² It shows that (a) the police accept and morally justify their illegal use of violence; (b) such acceptance and justification arise through their occupational experience; and (c) its use is functionally related to the collective occupational, as well as to the legal, ends of the police.

¹ The writer is indebted to Joseph D. Lohman for his assistance in making contact with the police and for many excellent suggestions as to research procedure and insights into the organization of the police.

This paper presents part of a larger study of the police by the writer. For the complete study see William A. Westley, "The Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom, and Morality" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Department of Sociology, 1951).

² Interpretative understanding is here used as defined by Max Weber (see *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. Talcott Parsons [New York: Oxford University Press, 1947], pp. 88).

The analysis which follows offers both an occupational perspective on the use of violence by the police and an explanation of policing as an occupation, from the perspective of the illegal use of violence. Thus the meaning of this use of violence is derived by relating it to the general behavior of policemen as policemen, and occupations in general are illuminated through the delineation of the manner in which a particular occupation handles one aspect of its work.

The technical demands of a man's work tend to specify the kinds of social relationships in which he will be involved and to select the groups with whom these relationships are to be maintained. The social definition of the occupation invests its members with a common prestige position. Thus, a man's occupation is a major determining factor of his conduct and social identity. This being so, it involves more than man's work, and one must go beyond the technical in the explanation of work behavior. One must discover the occupationally derived definitions of self and conduct which arise in the involvements of technical demands, social relationships between colleagues and with the public, status, and self-conception. To understand these definitions, one must track them back to the occupational problems in which they have their genesis.³

³ The ideas are not original. I am indebted for many of them to Everett C. Hughes, although he is in no way responsible for their present formulation (see E. C. Hughes, "Work and the Self" in Rohrer and Sherif, *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1951]).

The policeman finds his most pressing problems in his relationships to the public. His is a service occupation but of an incongruous kind, since he must discipline those whom he serves. He is regarded as corrupt and inefficient by, and meets with hostility and criticism from, the public. He regards the public as his enemy, feels his occupation to be in conflict with the community, and regards himself to be a pariah. The experience and the feeling give rise to a collective emphasis on secrecy, an attempt to coerce respect from the public, and a belief that almost any means are legitimate in completing an important arrest. These are for the policeman basic occupational values. They arise from his experience, take precedence over his legal responsibilities, are central to an understanding of his conduct, and form the occupational contexts within which violence gains its meaning. This then is the background for our analysis.⁴

The materials which follow are drawn from a case study of a municipal police department in an industrial city of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. This study included participation in all types of police activities, ranging from walking the beat and cruising with policemen in a squad car to the observation of raids, interrogations, and the police school. It included intensive interviews with over half the men in the department who were representative as to rank, time in service, race, religion, and specific type of police job.

DUTY AND VIOLENCE

In the United States the use of violence by the police is both an occupational prerogative and a necessity. Police powers include the use of violence, for to them, within civil society, has been delegated the monopoly of the legitimate means of violence possessed

by the state. Police are obliged by their duties to use violence as the only measure adequate to control and apprehension in the presence of counterviolence.

Violence in the form of the club and the gun is for the police a means of persuasion. Violence from the criminal, the drunk, the quarreling family, and the rioter arises in the course of police duty. The fighting drunk who is damaging property or assailing his fellows and who looks upon the policeman as a malicious intruder justifies for the policeman his use of force in restoring order. The armed criminal who has demonstrated a casual regard for the lives of others and a general hatred of the policeman forces the use of violence by the police in the pursuit of duty. Every policeman has some such experiences, and they proliferate in police lore. They constitute a common-sense and legal justification for the use of violence by the police and for training policemen in the skills of violence. Thus, from experience in the pursuit of their legally prescribed duties, the police develop a justification for the use of violence. They come to see it as good, as useful, and as their own. Furthermore, although legally their use of violence is limited to the requirements of the arrest and the protection of themselves and the community, the contingencies of their occupation lead them to enlarge the area in which violence may be used. Two kinds of experience—that with respect to the conviction of the felon and that with respect to the control of sexual conduct—will illustrate how and why the illegal use of violence arises.

1. *The conviction of the felon.*—The apprehension and conviction of the felon is, for the policeman, the essence of police work. It is the source of prestige both within and outside police circles, it has career implications, and it is a major source of justification for the existence of the police before a critical and often hostile public. Out of these conditions a legitimation for the illegal use of violence is wrought.

The career and prestige implication of

⁴ The background material will be developed in subsequent papers which will analyze the occupational experience of the police and give a full description of police norms.

the "good pinch"⁵ elevate it to a major end in the conduct of the policeman. It is an end which is justified both legally and through public opinion as one which should be of great concern to the police. Therefore it takes precedence over other duties and tends to justify strong means. Both trickery and violence are such means. The "third degree" has been criticized for many years, and extensive administrative controls have been devised in an effort to eliminate it. Police persistence in the face of that attitude suggests that the illegal use of violence is regarded as functional to their work. It also indicates a tendency to regard the third degree as a legitimate means for obtaining the conviction of the felon. However, to understand the strength of this legitimation, one must include other factors: the competition between patrolman and detectives and the publicity value of convictions for the police department.

The patrolman has less access to cases that might result in the "good pinch" than the detective. Such cases are assigned to the detective, and for their solution he will reap the credit. Even where the patrolmen first detects the crime, or actually apprehends the possible offender, the case is likely to be turned over to the detective. Therefore patrolmen are eager to obtain evidence and make the arrest before the arrival of the detectives. Intimidation and actual violence frequently come into play under these conditions. This is illustrated in the following case recounted by a young patrolman when he was questioned as to the situations in which he felt that the use of force was necessary:

One time Joe and I found three guys in a car, and we found that they had a gun down between the seats. We wanted to find out who owned that gun before the dicks arrived so that we could make a good pinch. They told us.

⁵ Policemen, in the case studied, use this term to mean an arrest which (a) is politically clear and (b) likely to bring them esteem. Generally it refers to felonies, but in the case of a "real" vice drive it may include the arrest and *conviction* of an important bookie.

Patrolmen feel that little credit is forthcoming from a clean beat (a crimeless beat), while a number of good arrests really stands out on the record. To a great extent this is actually the case, since a good arrest results in good newspaper publicity, and the policeman who has made many "good pinches" has prestige among his colleagues.

A further justification for the illegal use of violence arises from the fact that almost every police department is under continuous criticism from the community, which tends to assign its own moral responsibilities to the police. The police are therefore faced with the task of justifying themselves to the public, both as individuals and as a group. They feel that the solution of major criminal cases serves this function. This is illustrated in the following statement:

There is a case I remember of four Negroes who held up a filling station. We got a description of them and picked them up. Then we took them down to the station and really worked them over. I guess that everybody that came into the station that night had a hand in it, and they were in pretty bad shape. Do you think that sounds cruel? Well, you know what we got out of it? We broke a big case in ——. There was a mob of twenty guys, burglars and stick-up men, and eighteen of them are in the pen now. Sometimes you have to get rough with them, see. The way I figure it is, if you can get a clue that a man is a pro and if he won't co-operate, tell you what you want to know, it is justified to rough him up a little, up to a point. You know how it is. You feel that the end justifies the means.

It is easier for the police to justify themselves to the community through the dramatic solution of big crimes than through orderly and responsible completion of their routine duties. Although they may be criticized for failures in routine areas, the criticism for the failure to solve big crimes is more intense and sets off a criticism of their work in noncriminal areas. The pressure to solve important cases therefore becomes strong. The following statement, made in reference to the use of violence in interrogations, demonstrates the point:

If it's a big case and there is a lot of pressure on you and they tell you you can't go home until the case is finished, then naturally you are going to lose patience.

The policeman's response to this pressure is to extend the use of violence to its illegal utilization in interrogations. The apprehension of the felon or the "good pinch" thus constitutes a basis for justifying the illegal use of violence.

2. *Control of sexual conduct.*—The police are responsible for the enforcement of laws regulating sexual conduct. This includes the suppression of sexual deviation and the protection of the public from advances and attacks of persons of deviant sexual tendencies. Here the police face a difficult task. The victims of such deviants are notoriously unwilling to co-operate, since popular curiosity and gossip about sexual crimes and the sanctions against the open discussion of sexual activities make it embarrassing for the victim to admit or describe a deviant sexual advance or attack and cause him to feel that he gains a kind of guilt by association from such admissions. Thus the police find that frequently the victims will refuse to identify or testify against the deviant.

These difficulties are intensified by the fact that, once the community becomes aware of sexual depredations, the reports of such activity multiply well beyond reasonable expectations. Since the bulk of these reports will be false, they add to the confusion of the police and consequently to the elusiveness of the offender.

The difficulties of the police are further aggravated by extreme public demand for the apprehension of the offender. The hysteria and alarm generated by reports of a peeping Tom, a rapist, or an exhibitionist result in great public pressure on the police; and, should the activities continue, the public becomes violently critical of police efficiency. The police, who feel insecure in their relationship to the public, are extremely sensitive to this criticism and feel that they must act in response to the demands made by the political and moral leaders of the community.

Thus the police find themselves caught in a dilemma. Apprehension is extremely difficult because of the confusion created by public hysteria and the scarcity of witnesses, but the police are compelled to action by extremely public demands. They dissolve this dilemma through the illegal utilization of violence.

A statement of this "misuse" of police powers is represented in the remarks of a patrolman:

Now in my own case when I catch a guy like that I just pick him up and take him into the woods and beat him until he can't crawl. I have had seventeen cases like that in the last couple of years. I tell that guy that if I catch him doing that again I will take him out to those woods and I will shoot him. I tell him that I carry a second gun on me just in case I find guys like him and that I will plant it in his hand and say that he tried to kill and that no jury will convict me.

This statement is extreme and is not representative of policemen in general. In many instances the policeman is likely to act in a different fashion. This is illustrated in the following statement of a rookie who described what happened when he and his partner investigated a parked car which had aroused their suspicions:

He [the partner] went up there and pretty soon he called me, and there were a couple of fellows in the car with their pants open. I couldn't understand it. I kept looking around for where the woman would be. They were both pretty plastered. One was a young kid about eighteen years old, and the other was an older man. We decided, with the kid so drunk, that bringing him in would only really ruin his reputation, and we told him to go home. Otherwise we would have pinched them. During the time we were talking to them they offered us twenty-eight dollars, and I was going to pinch them when they showed the money, but my partner said, "Never mind, let them go."

Nevertheless, most policemen would apply no sanctions against a colleague who took the more extreme view of the right to use violence and would openly support some milder form of illegal coercion. This is illustrated in the statement of another rookie:

They feel that its okay to rough a man up in the case of sex crimes. One of the older men advised me that if the courts didn't punish a man we should. He told me about a sex crime, the story about it, and then said that the law says the policeman has the right to use the amount of force necessary to make an arrest and that in that kind of a crime you can use just a little more force. They feel definitely, for example, in extreme cases like rape, that if a man was guilty he ought to be punished even if you could not get any evidence on him. My feeling is that all the men on the force feel that way, at least from what they have told me.

Furthermore, the police believe, and with some justification it seems, that the community supports their definition of the situation and that they are operating in terms of an implicit directive.

The point of this discussion is that the control of sexual conduct is so difficult and the demand for it so incessant that the police come to sanction the illegal use of violence in obtaining that control. This does not imply that all policemen treat all sex deviants brutally, for, as the above quotations indicate, such is not the case. Rather, it indicates that this use of violence is permitted and condoned by the police and that they come to think of it as a resource more extensive than is included in the legal definition.

LEGITIMATION OF VIOLENCE

The preceding discussion has indicated two ways in which the experience of the police encourages them to use violence as a general resource in the achievement of their occupational ends and thus to sanction its illegal use. The experience, thus, makes violence acceptable to the policeman as a generalized means. We now wish to indicate the particular basis on which this general resource is legitimated. In particular we wish to point out the extent to which the policeman tends to transfer violence from a legal resource to a personal resource, one which he uses to further his own ends.

Seventy-three policemen, drawn from all ranks and constituting approximately 50

per cent of the patrolmen, were asked, "When do you think a policeman is justified in roughing a man up?" The intent of the question was to get them to legitimate the use of violence. Their replies are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1*
BASES FOR THE USE OF FORCE NAMED
BY 73 POLICEMEN

Type of Response	Frequency	Percentage
(A) Disrespect for police.....	27	37
(B) When impossible to avoid..	17	23
(C) To obtain information.....	14	19
(D) To make an arrest.....	6	8
(E) For the hardened criminal..	5	7
(F) When you know man is guilty.....	2	3
(G) For sex criminals.....	2	3
Total.....	73	100

* Many respondents described more than one type of situation which they felt called for the use of violence. The "reason" which was either (a) given most heatedly and at greatest length and/or (b) given first was used to characterize the respondent's answer to the question. However, this table is exhaustive of the types of replies which were given.

An inspection of the types and distribution of the responses indicates (1) that violence is legitimated by illegal ends (A, C, E, F, G) in 69 per cent of the cases; (2) that violence is legitimated in terms of purely personal or group ends (A) in 37 per cent of the cases (this is important, since it is the largest single reason for the use of violence given); and (3) that legal ends are the bases for legitimation in 31 per cent of the cases (B and D). However, this probably represents a distortion of the true feelings of some of these men, since both the police chief and the community had been severely critical of the use of violence by the men, and the respondents had a tendency to be very cautious with the interviewer, whom some of them never fully trusted. Furthermore, since all the men were conscious of the chief's policy and of public criticism, it seems likely that those who did justify the use of violence for illegal and personal ends no longer recognized the illegality involved. They probably believed that such ends

fully represented a moral legitimation for their use of violence.

The most significant finding is that at least 37 per cent of the men believed that it was legitimate to use violence to coerce respect. This suggests that policemen use the resource of violence to persuade their audience (the public) to respect their occupational status. In terms of the policeman's definition of the situation, the individual who lacks respect for the police, the "wise guy" who talks back, or any individual who acts or talks in a disrespectful way, deserves brutality. This idea is epitomized in admonitions given to the rookies such as, "You gotta make them respect you" and "You gotta act tough." Examples of some of the responses to the preceding question that fall into the "disrespect for the police" category follow:

Well, there are cases. For example, when you stop a fellow for a routine questioning, say a wise guy, and he starts talking back to you and telling you you are no good and that sort of thing. You know you can take a man in on a disorderly conduct charge, but you can practically never make it stick. So what you do in a case like that is to egg the guy on until he makes a remark where you can justifiably slap him and, then, if he fights back, you can call it resisting arrest.

Well, it varies in different cases. Most of the police use punishment if the fellow gives them any trouble. Usually you can judge a man who will give you trouble though. *If there is any slight resistance*, you can go all out on him. You shouldn't do it in the street though. Wait until you are in the squad car, because, even if you are in the right and a guy takes a poke at you, just when you are hitting back somebody's just likely to come around the corner, and what he will say is that you are beating the guy with your club.

Well, a prisoner deserves to be hit when he goes to the point where he tries to put you below him.

You gotta get rough when a man's language becomes very bad, when he is trying to make a fool of you in front of everybody else. I think most policemen try to treat people in a nice way, but usually you have to talk pretty rough.

That's the only way to set a man down, to make him show a little respect.

If a fellow called a policeman a filthy name, a slap in the mouth would be a good thing, especially if it was out in the public where calling a policeman a bad name would look bad for the police.

There was the incident of a fellow I picked up. I was on the beat, and I was taking him down to the station. There were people following us. He kept saying that I wasn't in the army. Well, he kept going on like that, and I finally had to bust him one. I had to do it. The people would have thought I was afraid otherwise.

These results suggest (1) that the police believe that these private or group ends constitute a moral legitimation for violence which is equal *or superior* to the legitimation derived from the law and (2) that the monopoly of violence delegated to the police, by the state, to enforce the ends of the state has been appropriated by the police as a personal resource to be used for personal and group ends.

THE USE OF VIOLENCE

The sanctions for the use of violence arising from occupational experience and the fact that policemen morally justify even its illegal use may suggest that violence is employed with great frequency and little provocation. Such an impression would be erroneous, for the actual use of violence is limited by other considerations, such as individual inclinations, the threat of detection, and a sensitivity to public reactions.

Individual policemen vary of course in psychological disposition and past experience. All have been drawn from the larger community which tends to condemn the use of violence and therefore have internalized with varying degrees of intensity this other definition of violence. Their experience as policemen creates a new dimension to their self-conceptions and gives them a new perspective on the use of violence. But individual men vary in the degree to which they assimilate this new conception of self. Therefore, the amount of violence which is

used and the frequency with which it is employed will vary among policemen according to their individual propensities. However, policemen cannot and do not employ sanctions against their colleagues for using violence,⁶ and individual men who personally condemn the use of violence and avoid it whenever possible⁷ refuse openly to condemn acts of violence by other men on the force. Thus, the collective sanction for the use of violence permits those men who are inclined to its use to employ it without fear.

All policemen, however, are conscious of the dangers of the illegal use of violence. If detected, they may be subject to a lawsuit and possibly dismissal from the force. Therefore, they limit its use to what they think they can get away with. Thus, they recognize that, if a man is guilty of a serious crime, it is easy to "cover up" for their brutality by accusing him of resisting arrest, and the extent to which they believe a man guilty tends to act as a precondition to the use of violence.⁸

The policeman, in common with members of other occupations, is sensitive to the evaluation of his occupation by the public. A man's work is an important aspect of his status, and to the extent that he is identified with his work (by himself and/or the community) he finds that his self-esteem requires the justification and social elevation of his work. Since policemen are low in the occupational prestige scale, subject to continuous criticism, and in constant contact with this criticizing and evaluating public, they are profoundly involved in justifying their work and its tactics to the public and to themselves. The way in which the police

emphasize the solution of big crimes and their violent solution to the problem of the control of sexual conduct illustrate this concern. However, different portions of the public have differing definitions of conduct and are of differential importance to the policeman, and the way in which the police define different portions of the public has an effect on whether or not they will use violence.

The police believe that certain groups of persons will respond only to fear and rough treatment. In the city studied they defined both Negroes and slum dwellers in this category. The following statements, each by a different man, typify the manner in which they discriminate the public:

In the good districts you appeal to people's judgment and explain the law to them. In the South Side the only way is to appear like you are the boss.

You can't ask them a question and get an answer that is not a lie. In the South Side the only way to walk into a tavern is to walk in swaggering as if you own the place and if somebody is standing in your way give him an elbow and push him aside.

The colored people understand one thing. The policeman is the law, and he is going to treat you rough and that's the way you have to treat them. Personally, I don't think the colored are trying to help themselves one bit. If you don't treat them rough, they will sit right on top of your head.

Discriminations with respect to the public are largely based on the political power of the group, the degree to which the police believe that the group is potentially criminal, and the type of treatment which the police believe will elicit respect from it.

Variations in the administration and community setting of the police will introduce variations in their use of violence. Thus, a thoroughly corrupt police department will use violence in supporting the ends of this corruption, while a carefully administrated nonpolitical department can go a long way toward reducing the illegal use of violence. However, wherever the basic conditions here described are present,

⁶ The emphasis on secrecy among the police prevents them from using legal sanctions against their colleagues.

⁷ Many men who held jobs in the police station rather than on beats indicated to the interviewer that their reason for choosing a desk job was to avoid the use of violence.

⁸ In addition, the policeman is aware that the courts are highly critical of confessions obtained by violence and that, if violence is detected, it will "spoil his case."

it will be very difficult to eradicate the illegal use of violence.

Given these conditions, violence will be used when necessary to the pursuit of duty or when basic occupational values are threatened. Thus a threat to the respect with which the policeman believes his occupation should be regarded or the opportunity to make a "good pinch" will tend to evoke its use.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper sets forth an explanation of the illegal use of violence by the police based on an interpretative understanding of their occupational experience. Therefore, it contains a description and analysis of *their* interpretation of *their* experience.

The policeman uses violence illegally because such usage is seen as just, acceptable, and, at times, expected by his colleague group and because it constitutes an effective means for solving problems in obtaining status and self-esteem which policemen as policemen have in common. Since the ends for which violence is illegally used are conceived to be both just and important, they function to justify, to the policeman, the illegal use of violence as a general means. Since "brutality" is strongly criticized by the larger community, the policeman must devise a defense of his brutality to himself and the community, and the defense in turn gives a deeper and more lasting justification to the "misuse of violence." This process

then results in a transfer in property from the state to the colleague group. The means of violence which were originally a property of the state, in loan to its law-enforcement agent, the police, are in a psychological sense confiscated by the police, to be conceived of as a personal property to be used at their discretion. This, then, is the explanation of the illegal use of violence by the police which results from viewing it in terms of the police as an occupational group.

The explanation of the illegal use of violence by the police offers an illuminating perspective on the social nature of their occupation. The analysis of their use of brutality in dealing with sexual deviants and felons shows that it is a result of their desire to defend and improve their social status in the absence of effective legal means. This desire in turn is directly related to and makes sense in terms of the low status of the police in the community, which results in a driving need on the part of policemen to assert and improve their status. Their general legitimation of the use of violence *primarily* in terms of coercing respect and making a "good pinch" clearly points out the existence of occupational goals, which are independent of and take precedence over their legal mandate. The existence of such goals and patterns of conduct indicates that the policeman has made of his occupation a preoccupation and invested in it a large aspect of his self.

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OCCUPATIONAL SKILL AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE¹

JOSEPH FROOMKIN AND A. J. JAFFE

ABSTRACT

Occupations are classified as "skilled" or otherwise in accordance with the social, technical, and economic organization of the country. Since the latter differed greatly in the United States in 1950 and in the U.S.S.R. in 1926, occupations which are actually similar in both countries may, nevertheless, be classified differently. Comparison of the level of skill assigned to the same occupation in both countries revealed substantial differences, particularly in occupations called "skilled." In the U.S.S.R. many workers with modern machines were called skilled who in the United States were called operatives; but traditional crafts and white-collar occupations tended to be classified similarly.

INTRODUCTION

Societies which have achieved any large degree of division of labor often rank occupations according to some scale. Generally, whatever classification system is used will differentiate between "higher" and "lower" classes of occupations. Many students of the subject have concentrated, in particular, on the occupations thought of as "skilled." In general, this term has been used to include manual workers² only, and the studies are analyses and comparisons between the "skilled manual workers" and those considered as "unskilled" or "semiskilled." Persons supposed to have "professional" occupations have also been studied; very often, however, they are considered without reference to manual or skilled workers.

In this paper we are concerned largely with the factors which result in occupations becoming classified as skilled or otherwise. It is not our purpose to review classification schemes or to try to account for the fact that some occupations have higher social status

than others. In the analysis which follows some references to white-collar workers will be included but only as they impinge on the central problem.

COMPONENTS OF SKILLED OCCUPATIONS.

The level of skill assigned to any particular occupation is a result of a combination of factors. Although these influences may be found in all societies with a minimum degree of economic development, the ways in which they are separately evaluated and combined are functions of the social outlook and economic and technical organization of the society. Therefore, the level of skill assigned to any given occupation is always relative to particular social and economic conditions.

In this study we are attempting to test the above contention by comparing the United States in 1950 with the U.S.S.R. in 1926; the two countries were very different, not only with respect to social and economic organization, but also in degree of technological and economic development. Before elaborating on the nature of these differences, let us examine the factors which lead to an occupation being designated as "skilled."

Scarcity of a specific attribute, a form either of knowledge or of manual dexterity, is the first major influence. This factor can be subdivided as follows. First, there should be comparatively few people who possess the specific knowledge or dexterity. An illustration is the highly honored status of the let-

¹ This study elaborates a hypothesis suggested by A. J. Jaffe and C. D. Stewart in *Manpower Resources and Utilization* (New York, 1951, p. 198).

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² There is substantial but not universal agreement on the meaning of "manual work," as will be discussed subsequently.

ter-writer in China; in a literate country this occupation is a simple clerical occupation. Second, there should be a relatively large demand for that skill. In the absence of demand the knowledge or dexterity may result in the pursuit being classified as an avocation, such as speed-boat racing, archery, and the writing of symphonic music rather than an occupation.

The first circumstance may be more influential in ascribing a level of skill to one particular occupation, while the second may be a more important element in another occupation. For example, short supply almost alone will result in the classification of an armorsmith in present-day society as skilled; certainly there probably is but a limited demand for such services from the museums and the few others who wish to have a suit of armor made or repaired. On the other hand, a significant increase in demand for workers of a given occupation without a corresponding increase in supply may raise the imputed skill level; an illustration of this seems to be the classification of electricians as "professionals" in the United States Census of 1880.

An occupation which is relatively scarce and for which there is a large demand will not necessarily be considered as skilled unless a specific form of knowledge or manual dexterity is associated with it. An illustration is the position of domestic help in the United States today. The relative scarcity of domestics probably would not be relieved significantly if wages were raised; nevertheless, since no particular form of knowledge or manual dexterity is required for this occupation, it is hardly conceivable that domestics will have a high rating under any circumstances.

A long training period is the second major component of a skilled job. The skilled workman, almost by common definition, is one who has taken several years to learn his job; the semiskilled and unskilled are workers who require "little" training. This factor also subdivides into two elements as follows. First of all, the length of time required to teach an occupation is a function of the

amount and kind of training which the person brings with him. This training need not have been learned specifically on the job; it may simply be part of the general level of knowledge which the person acquired in his social world. If a job can utilize much of what one has learned as a member of society, then obviously no long training period is required. For example, in a mechanized society where people are almost universally familiar with and use automobiles, learning to drive is a simple operation which requires no particularly long training; as a result, driving is not considered as a skilled occupation. In a predominantly agricultural society almost devoid of machinery almost everyone will know how to farm as a result of being raised in that society, and no long training to teach farming will be required; accordingly, farming will not be considered as skilled. However, it is entirely possible that in the mechanized society farming will be considered skilled and that in the agricultural society driving a motorcar will be so regarded.

Second, the nature of the training methods will determine how long it takes to train a person adequately and, hence, influence the level of skill assigned to a given job. Poor or inadequate methods of training may compel a "long" training time, whereas with adequate methods the same skill may be quickly imparted.

In short, a skilled occupation is one which requires some special knowledge or manual dexterity for which the demand is relatively great and the supply relatively limited and which requires a considerable length of time to learn. These are all relative aspects and accordingly can vary from society to society in accordance with socioeconomic structure.

The level of skill imputed to an occupation at any time is not necessarily a function of the specified conditions at that time. Many occupations are now considered skilled because in the past conditions were such as to make the designation appropriate. If they were to be re-evaluated today, they would not be considered skilled; historical influences and certain institutional forms may perpetuate the old conception. Recent-

ly developed occupations are, of course, evaluated in terms of new, and presumably still applicable, conditions.

THE HYPOTHESIS

The U.S.S.R. in 1926 had already achieved some degree of economic development and industrialization and was at the beginning of a period of greatly increased rate of industrialization. In that year, however, it was still largely agricultural, and the population was largely illiterate and unused to work in modern factories with modern machinery.

The United States in 1950 was a highly developed and industrialized country, and even the agricultural sector was largely mechanized. The population was literate and familiar with modern machines of all types as well as with factory work.

We may suppose that in the U.S.S.R. the shortage of people familiar with modern machines, and the relatively backward state of the country together with a program of industrialization which required many more people than were available, would probably call for new workers who need long training. The skill rating that would probably be assigned to occupations requiring the operation of modern machines would presumably be higher than in the United States, a country with a long industrial history. To test the hypothesis, a comparison was undertaken between descriptions of 215 occupations listed in the U.S.S.R. census of 1926 and the level of skill assigned to the same occupations in the United States Bureau of the Census manual for 1950.³ The occupational titles of the United States and the U.S.S.R. census bureaus were used in assigning level

of skill in the following manner: The occupational titles in the Soviet census of 1926 are grouped under three categories: (1) workers, (2) employees, and (3) owners and the self-employed. The workers are further divided into the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled.⁴ The employee group is subdivided into professionals, managers, clerical and kindred workers (including sales personnel), and service workers.⁵

The United States Census Bureau classified the labor force into the following major occupational groups: professionals; farmers and farm managers; managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm; clerical and kindred workers; sales workers; craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; operatives and kindred workers; service workers; farm laborers and foremen; and laborers except farm and mine.⁶ As of 1940 and 1950 there was no longer any official distinction between skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers in the United States census. But the classification of manual workers into (1) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; (2) operatives and kindred workers; and (3) laborers and kindred workers seems to be a continuation of former tabulations, in which the labor force had been divided into

⁴ The division of workers into skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled was made on the basis of the distinction of trace-unions in the Soviet Union. "The grouping . . . mirrors a sum of factors, which in their turn determine the level of wages of a given occupation. The length of training and the time worked on a job, which is required of a given occupation, the complexity of a given type of work, as well as the difficulty of the work and the danger to the life and limb of the worker" (Tsentrálne Upravlenie, *op. cit.*, p. 521). This is similar to the components of skill presented above.

³ United States Bureau of the Census, 1950 *Census of Population, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries* (rev. ed.; Washington, D.C., 1950); Tsentrálne Statisticheskoe Upravlenie SSSR, Otdel Peripisi, *Vseotuznaya Perepis' Nassele- eniya 1926 goda, Prilozhenie k XVIII-XXXIV, Toman*, Otdel II: *Zanyatiia* (Moskva, 1929) [Central Statistical Bureau of the U.S.S.R., Bureau of the Census, *All Union Census of 1926, Supplement to Volumes XVIII-XXXIV, Part II: Occupations* (Moscow, 1929)].

⁵ Not all occupations listed in the U.S.S.R. census could be studied because of insufficient information about them. Some were simply listed as "other skilled," "other semiskilled," and "other unskilled." And many employers were simply listed as "owner of a metal shop" or "owner of a woodworking shop," etc. Altogether about 14 per cent of all nonagricultural workers could not be studied. We believe that the omission of this group in no way affects the findings.

⁶ Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*

skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers, respectively.⁷

The individual occupations in the Russian census were analyzed in the following manner: (1) a careful translation of the nomenclature of the occupations was first undertaken; (2) the titles were coded according to the handbook of the United States Bureau of the Census; and (3) the level of skill accorded to the individual title in the Russian census was then entered.⁸

RESULTS

LEVEL OF SKILL AND MECHANIZATION AMONG MANUAL WORKERS

In general, as we move from skilled to semiskilled and unskilled occupations, variation in the classification of the same occupational titles decreases. The greatest amount of variation was observed in the classification of skilled workers; among semiskilled and unskilled workers there was much more agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R. censuses as to level of skill.

Of the eighty-two occupations classified as skilled by the U.S.S.R., only thirty-six fell in the corresponding United States grouping (craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers). Thirty-nine additional occupations classified as skilled by the U.S.S.R. were classified as operatives and kindred workers by the United States census; and seven more were classified otherwise (Table 1).

Greater agreement was found in the case of semiskilled workers. Of the twenty-eight types of workers classified as semiskilled by the U.S.S.R., twenty-three were classified in the corresponding American category of operatives. One occupation classified as

semiskilled by the Russians was classified as a craftsman by the United States; three semiskilled according to the U.S.S.R. were classified as laborers by the United States, and one as a service worker.

Of the eleven occupational titles classified as laborers by the U.S.S.R., four were similarly classified by the American census, five as operatives, and two as service workers.

Workers engaged in service occupations are also largely manual workers; in this category also there was substantial agreement between the two censuses.

Traditional skilled occupations.—The thirty-six occupations classified as skilled by the U.S.S.R. and as craftsmen by the United States census were for the most part traditional crafts such as glaziers, blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, painters, printers, and the like. Altogether such crafts accounted for twenty-one of the entries. Three more referred to foremen, and the remaining twelve described modern industrial occupations, as riveters and boilermakers, railroad mechanics, machinists, etc.

Occupations associated with mechanized industry.—Of the thirty-nine occupations classified as skilled by the U.S.S.R. and as operatives by the United States, about half dealt with modern machines: tractor drivers, chauffeurs, milling-machine operators, lathe operators, fullers (in metalworking or textiles), and casters (metalworking) were all considered skilled in the U.S.S.R. Clearly, the Soviets placed a higher premium on familiarity with modern machines than did the United States.

The remaining categories referred to crafts which were almost nonexistent in the United States in 1950 but may have been quite important in the U.S.S.R. Included here are such occupations as mat-weavers, knife-sharpeners, and basket-weavers. Many, if not most, of these occupations undoubtedly were carried on without the aid of modern machines.

SERVICE WORKERS

These occupations, by and large, involve little contact with machines. Accordingly,

⁷ Alba M. Edwards, *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, 1930* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1938).

⁸ Great care was taken to render the exact translation of a Russian occupation in English. In case of doubt a number of dictionaries were consulted. After the occupational titles were translated, they were assigned a level of skill according to the American code, after which the Russian rating of skill was assigned.

most are classified similarly by both countries. Included in this category are the domestics in private households; protective service workers such as guards, watchmen, and firemen (for fire protection); and persons working in hotels and restaurants, such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, charwomen, and janitors. Much of the work performed by these people involves few, if any,

WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS

Professional workers.—All occupational titles classified as professional by the U.S.S.R. were similarly classified by the United States. Technicians and radiotelegraphers were classified as professional by the United States and as skilled by the U.S.S.R. census. Perhaps these two occupations may involve somewhat more manual work than

TABLE 1
MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
IN 1950 AND THE U.S.S.R. IN 1926

UNITED STATES	U.S.S.R.										GRAND TOTAL
	Nonagricultural Occupations									Farmers and Farm Managers	
	White Collar				Manual						
	Profes- sional	Mana- gerial	Cleri- cal	Total	Crafts- men	Opera- tives	Labor- ers	Serv- ice	Total		
Nonagricultural occu- pations:											
White collar:											
Professional	33		2	35	2				2		37
Managerial		14		14	4				4		18
Clerical			20	20							20
Manual occupations:											
Craftsmen					36	1			37		37
Operatives					39	23	5		67		67
Laborers					1	3	4		8		8
Service						1	2	17	20		20
Farmers and farm managers										8	8
Total	33	14	22	69	82	28	11	17	138	8	215

tools or other equipment and seems to involve very little special knowledge or manual dexterity. It is true that some jobs are of a type for which long training could be required; but it is also true that many are closely related to the kind of work commonly carried on about a private home and as such presumably involve knowledge or dexterity which, being part of the common culture, is more or less universal. In particular, none is associated with manufacturing, especially modern factories.

do other occupations, and, accordingly, the Russians may regard them as having not enough social status to be professional. The two other occupations which were differently classified were statisticians and draftsmen; perhaps these also involve enough manual work to be deemed of lower status and accordingly were classified as clerical occupations in the U.S.S.R.

Managerial occupations.—Fourteen titles were similarly classified in both countries. The four additional types of worker classi-

fied as managerial by the United States and as skilled by the U.S.S.R. were masters of ships, pilots, stationmasters, and railroad conductors. Again, the Russians tend to ascribe lower status to persons involved in some form of manual endeavor.

Clerical and kindred workers.—There was complete agreement between the two censuses in the classification of the total of twenty occupations.

FARMERS AND FARM MANAGERS

There was complete agreement on the eight titles in this group.

SUMMARY

1. Of all titles classified as skilled by the Russians, only 43 per cent were classified as craftsmen and kindred workers in the United States.

2. A number of occupations classified as skilled by the Soviets were classified only as operatives in the United States; this was largely the case for occupations associated with modern machines.

3. In both countries traditional craft occupations for which a long apprenticeship is customary were considered as skilled.

4. Other manual workers tended to be more nearly classified similarly by the two censuses; altogether they agreed in 79 per cent of the other manual occupation titles.

5. There was substantial agreement on the classification of white-collar workers; altogether 89 per cent of these titles were similarly classified.

6. Almost the only disagreement in the classification of white-collar occupations occurred whenever a professional or managerial function, according to the U.S. concept of the terms, may have been associated with manual effort. In these cases the Russians tended to classify these occupations merely as skilled.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNTRIES UNDERGOING TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The most important generalization from this study for applying to the analysis of other underindustrialized countries, or for

further developments within the Soviet Union, is that an acute shortage of personnel acquainted with the techniques of machine production results in the assigning of higher levels of skill to workers in mechanized industry than is commonly granted in highly industrialized countries.

Countries embarking on large-scale programs of industrialization and technological modernization face critical shortages of manpower skilled in the newly introduced techniques. The pool of skilled workers which the country already possesses then must be retrained to suit the new demands. We have shown that many of the occupations considered skilled in an underindustrialized country have a lower skill rating in the more developed country. Furthermore, even in those occupations which are considered skilled in both countries, the local organization of industry may stand in the way of reconversion. What, then, is the significance for economic development of a large body of workers called "skilled"?

MANPOWER RECONVERSION PROBLEM IN THE U.S.S.R. IN 1926

An attempt was made to evaluate the conversion potential of the artisans and craftsmen (excluding those employed in factory type of industry) in the U.S.S.R. as of 1926. The total number of such workers at that time was about one and a half millions. Of these, it was possible to analyze the level of skill, as defined in the United States, of about one million. It then appeared that in the U.S.S.R. there were about 435,000 skilled and 523,000 semiskilled workers (see Table 2). It would appear that a sizable relatively skilled labor force was available for conversion to the demands of the new factories and workshops. On closer examination, however, it is apparent that nearly half (193,000) of the skilled workers were tailors, engaged in the handicraft clothing industry. Obviously these workers can hardly be considered for the heavy metal industries. Of the remaining skilled workers, some 119,000 were engaged in working with metals. This group would appear convertible, since

metalworkers are the core of any mechanized industry.

Actually this is not so. A more detailed examination reveals that only half of these workers—about 60,000—resided in towns; the rest were mostly tinsmiths, ironsmiths, and blacksmiths scattered through the villages and hamlets. Such persons are of doubtful usefulness in an industrial milieu. The movement from village to factory is extremely complicated. Indeed, the old skills not only may be of no value but may turn out to be a handicap in a modern factory,

drawn into the newly emerging industry would have to be almost completely trained anew.

To summarize, the skills required by modern technology are so utterly different from those required under handicraft systems of production that very little carry-over from one method of production to the other seems to be possible. The traditional artisan is considered skilled because of considerable manual dexterity and his mastery of a number of relatively simple processes. These attributes serve little useful purpose

TABLE 2*
LEVEL OF SKILL OF CRAFTSMEN AND ARTISANS NOT EMPLOYED
IN FACTORY INDUSTRY, U.S.S.R., 1926—(In Thousands)

LEVEL OF SKILL	TOTAL			URBAN			RURAL		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total so classified by the U.S.S.R. census	1,542	1,190	352	855	673	182	687	517	170
Total to whom U.S. level of skill could be assigned	958	734	224	557	426	131	401	308	93
Classification according to United States census:									
Total skilled	435	334	101	255	195	60	180	139	40
Clothing workers	193	101	92	119	63	56	74	38	36
Metalworkers	119	118	†	60	60	†	59	59	†
All other workers	123	115	9	76	72	4	47	42	4
Total semiskilled	523	400	123	301	230	71	222	169	53
Clothing workers	56	17	39	42	14	28	14	3	11
Metalworkers	20	20	†	16	16	†	4	4	†
All other workers	447	363	84	243	200	43	204	162	42

* Source: Tsentralnoe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie SSSR, Otdel Peripisi, *Vsesoiuznaya Perepis' Nasselena 1926 goda*, Vol. XXXIV.

† Fewer than 500.

since the village handicrafts lack the work discipline of a modern factory.

Of the remaining 123,000 skilled workers, only 76,000 lived in urban areas. Some would be useful in modern industry, although many were handicraft workers in wood, in the construction industry, etc.—workers who, by and large, have little skill directly usable in a modern factory with complicated machinery.

Thus, out of an initial one million workers, perhaps as few as 10 per cent may have had the skills and other attributes of most direct value to a modern industrialization program. Practically all other workers

in modern industry, where the technician requires knowledge of a single complicated process rather than a series of simple ones. The division of labor in modern industry changes the nature of the skills involved in producing commodities. Nevertheless, certain artisan skills can be transplanted to modern industry with greater ease than others. The isolation of the crucial factors which make this transition possible are a function of both the production process and the specific nature of the skill involved.

GENERALIZATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES¹

ARNOLD M. ROSE

ABSTRACT

There is a tendency to overgeneralize in sociology and social psychology, and the logical conditions for extension of conclusions outside the data are not fulfilled. As a result, replications often do not verify the original studies. Some suggestions for improving research design to achieve consistent replications are discussed: the use of theory; statement of categories or variables in generalizable terms; selection of cases throughout the range of the distribution; the use of "realistic" definitions, assumptions, and variables.

Some social scientists confuse the conditions necessary for generalization, which might be called "generalizability," with the generalization itself. For example, they may believe that, by dealing with the "forms" or "processes" of human behavior rather than with the "content," one achieves generalizations regardless of the representativeness of the data used; or that by "abstracting to a higher conceptual level" one achieves generalizations regardless of the representativeness of the data.

When social scientists seek generalizations about all human beings, rather than, say, about members of a specific culture or a specific organization, their sample is invariably nonrepresentative. No one has yet studied a representative sample of persons or behavior from all cultures at all periods. The nearest approximations are those of anthropologists who make cross-cultural surveys,² but even they neglect historical

and subcultural variations. Most other social scientists, while they specify the limited universe which their sample represents, imply that their findings apply beyond that universe without indicating why this should be true.³ Consequently, there is a growing science by analogy. The conclusion of many an excellent study based on a limited sample is couched in the form of a universal generalization, and there are otherwise well-conceived studies of "industrial productivity" or "psychological warfare" conducted on volunteer student subjects in a classroom. While it is desirable to eliminate "extraneous" variables in laboratory experiments, it is questionable whether it is legitimate to generalize about industrial productivity where there is no motive to produce, or to generalize about psychological warfare when there is no war. The trouble is not that the laboratory experiment is a method not applicable to the study of human behavior but that a conclusion about the relation between an independent and a dependent variable under one set of circumstances cannot be applied, as it stands, to the relation between the same two variables under other circumstances.⁴ It is still an

¹ This paper was prepared as a report to the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations, at the University of Minnesota, which is supported jointly by the university and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. None of the other members of the Laboratory should be held responsible for these views.

² For example, G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949). Most of the findings in cross-cultural surveys are correlations considerably below unity. The universals claimed by Murdock are not in the form of associations among cultural variables but in the form of institutions alleged to be discovered in all cultures without exception. The work of the cross-cultural anthropologists is challenging and promising, but it is doubtful if they have achieved more than superficial and tentative generalizations.

³ Except those who seek generalizations only about particular nations, subgroups, or institutions. The public opinion pollers, for example, almost invariably specify the limited universe which their sample is intended to represent and are not concerned with anything outside it.

⁴ An illustration of the dangers of engaging in science by analogy is provided in the engaging study by Muzafer Sherif (reported in a preliminary way in Rohrer and Sherif [eds.], *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1951], pp.

unverified assumption that "cohesiveness" (to take one concept frequently generalized) in one situation, or induced by one means, is the same as cohesiveness in another situation, induced by another means—as some of the followers of Moreno seem to imply. This procedure reifies the concept.

What rationale can be used to justify the procedure of generalizing beyond the universe of which the cases studied are deemed a representative sample?

One rationale can be built around homogeneity. If there is no variation in the persons or behavior to be studied, then any sample—no matter how drawn—is representative. Most natural scientists operate on this basis, and they almost never disturb themselves about selecting a random or stratified sample before describing its characteristics or experimenting with it. A gram of pure magnesium is representative of all magnesium, and a healthy liver is representative of all healthy livers. The chemist has a concept of purity in a substance, and the biologist has a concept of a healthy and properly functioning organ or organism. While purity and homogeneity are certainly not identical concepts, they may be said to have the same methodological function in regard to the matter considered here. When observations or experiments are essayed, the scientist makes a considerable effort to secure pure or healthy specimens, but beyond that he has no need to select a random or a stratified sample. The social scientist is in the same position when he is dealing with behavior that is unmodifiable, or practically unmodifiable, among men—so that one in-

dividual is, for the purpose at hand, like any other. We do not yet know all the categories of unmodifiable behavior, but research will add to the list. In general, we can probably say that behavior which is determined almost completely by heredity and behavior which is determined by universal experiences are practically unmodifiable. These may include the reflexes, the learning process, the psychiatric mechanisms, perhaps many of the processes of socialization and of crowd behavior. Much further research—including that of anthropologists and historians—is needed to determine what behavior is unmodifiable. Once found, it can then be studied almost regardless of how the sample is chosen, making sure only that one has not included in the sample a defective or pathological specimen. If the bias in sampling is not related to the variables studied, then a lack of representativeness in the sample has no limiting influence on the generalizability of the conclusion. The difficulty is that we do not know the specific biases in a nonrepresentative sample much less their relationship to the variables under study.

Many social scientists—particularly political scientists, institutional economists, and certain categories of sociologists—deliberately limit their studies to our own culture. Their findings are in the nature of cultural or institutional generalizations. Most historians and many anthropologists do purely descriptive studies in which the issue of generalization is not raised. It is largely the social psychologists, sociologists, and social anthropologists dealing with variable human behavior who have to seek a rationale for generalizing from nonrepresentative samples. The problem of variation confronts them not only in the sense that they do not know whether their findings would hold under different cultural conditions but also in that not *all* their own cases conform to the generalization true for *most* of their cases. Their generalizations usually take the following form: "When condition *A* was established, and *C, D, E, . . . , N* eliminated, *B* followed in 80 per cent of the cases;

388-424). Sherif experimentally creates hostility between two artificially separated groups of boys and shows how the hostility was induced by separation and rivalry in sports and other camp activities. While the experiment is ingenious and fascinating, one questions whether the conclusion about separation and rivalry has any relevance—as Sherif seems to believe—for the study of relations between Negroes and whites in the United States. For one thing, an essential factor in Negro-white relations is a syndrome of culturally determined attitudes known as "racism," which is not present in the relations between two groups of white Protestant boys at camp.

or, in a group in which A was induced, as compared to a group in which A' was induced and extraneous variables randomized, a greater degree of B was manifested." Such conclusions are never completely satisfactory, as there is variation in the dependent variable not explained by the variation in the independent variable, even though extraneous variables have been held constant or randomized. Such a variation may represent differences in subcultures or in individual experience, although it may also be due simply to errors of measurement.⁵ The physical and biological sciences find some variations in their conclusions, but these are tiny in comparison to those found in social science, and repeated replications show they

are distributed normally. The variations in the conclusions of natural science may therefore be attributed to errors of measurement. These are the so-called "chance errors." The large size and often irregular character of variations in social science conclusions suggest, on the other hand, failure to control important variables.

Since American culture contains numerous subcultures, we would expect not only heterogeneity in the reactions in any one sample but also different results from different studies of the same variables. Unfortunately, there have not been replicative studies in most areas of the social sciences.⁶ The term "replication" has been used with at least two meanings. In one use it is a repetition of a study of a given problem with research procedures and measuring devices as similar to the original as possible but with a different sample. In another sense, replication means any effort to test the conclusion of a previous study, using any scientifically proper research procedure and measuring devices with the new cases. In this paper, concerned as it is with the stability of the conclusion (or generalization) rather than with the re-use of procedures and techniques, the term "replication" is used in the latter sense. Thus we are interested in all studies that state the observed relationship between what are purported to be the same set of variables, regardless of methods or measures used. On a few subjects there have been not only replicative studies but also systematic summaries of them. The bibliography at the end of this article lists all the replicative studies in sociology and social psychology which the author could find in the published literature.

The annotated list reveals that there is little consistency in the conclusions of the studies reported. The differences might be due to one or more of several circumstances:

⁵ At least two quite diverse metaphysical positions are held by contemporary social scientists regarding the nature of social laws. One is that all human behavior is determined by a finite number of causes, which—if known in their entirety, as universal laws—would allow for the prediction of every person's behavior under all circumstances. The other position is that human behavior is determined by the laws of probability, so that at best we can make actuarial predictions that will ultimately have high, although not perfect, accuracy when applied to specified categories of people but that will always be lacking a good deal when applied to any single individual. The differences between the two positions can be best illustrated by examining the forms which they hold generalizations should take:

- I. Holding constant C, D, E, \dots, N , when situation A develops, then B will follow.
- II. Holding constant C, D, E, \dots, N , when situation A develops, then B will follow 80 per cent of the time (80 is, of course, an arbitrary figure).

I hold to the former position, which I believe to be the metaphysical position taken by natural scientists from Galileo through Einstein, with the discoveries of Bohr and Heisenberg representing no intrinsic exceptions but rather a technical inability to achieve as much knowledge about the movement of individual particles as is desired. I emphasize adherence to the first position because the statements in the text may *appear* to be predicated on the second position. An illustration of the second position is offered in the following quotation: "Social science . . . must be subject to the same criteria as any other branch of science. Its end product is predictions which can be expressed in the general form, given a, b, c , etc., the odds are p to 1 that t will occur" (Elbridge Sibley, *The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Social Scientists* ["Social Science Research Council Bulletin," No. 58 (1948)]).

⁶ Donald Young has pointed out the lack of replicative studies. See his "Limiting Factors in the Development of the Social Sciences," in *Research Frontiers in Human Relations, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCII (November 12, 1948), 330.

(1) the cultural variations in the composition of different samples; (2) different indices or measures of the major variables; (3) different personalities or approaches of the experimenters or other data collectors; (4) different social conditions under which the data were collected; (5) different factors measured under the same name. If we are to know which of these is responsible for the variation in findings, it is necessary to control the last four much more carefully. If the variation in the persons studied is important, it is much too complicated to control readily.

With these observations in mind, we can specify at least some of the conditions necessary for securing more consistent replications in the social sciences.

1. While an isolated hypothesis can be scientifically proved or disproved, it would be more efficient if the proposition for which verification is sought were a logical part of a general theory. (However, many of the better-executed studies in sociology have completely ignored any sort of theory.) A theory may be defined as an integrated body of definitions, assumptions, and general propositions covering a given subject matter from which a comprehensive and consistent set of specific and testable hypotheses can be deduced logically. The hypotheses must take the form: "If *A*, then *B*, holding constant *C*, *D*, *E*, . . .," or some equivalent, and thus permit of causal explanation and prediction.

A *good* theory is one with (*a*) definitions, assumptions, and general propositions consistent, in so far as possible, with previous research findings and with careful, although perhaps not systematic, observations; (*b*) a "minimum" number of definitions, assumptions, and general propositions; (*c*) deduced hypotheses in readily testable form; and, (*d*) crucially, verification of its deduced hypotheses by proper scientific methods.

Certain values of theory which have led investigators in the older disciplines to use it extensively should lead social scientists to reach generalizations that are capable of being replicated. In the first place, theory

guides the formation of hypotheses and trains investigators to look for facts which may ordinarily not be readily apparent. In the second place, it allows the conclusions of older studies to gain support from new research and to provide some of the data of new research. Furthermore, it provides a guide for the selection of research problems among the infinitely large number of possible hypotheses. Finally, it permits research to proceed systematically and allows conclusions to be brief and readily communicable.

There are dangers in the use of theory in science. For one thing, it channelizes research along certain lines. If the theory ultimately proves to be wrong, many years of work are wasted and new ideas have not had a fair chance for expression. Then, too, certain assumptions and definitions are inevitable in theory; but they may limit observation. Without a theory we might have alternative definitions and assumptions within the same piece of research. Moreover, the concepts that are necessary in theory tend to be reified. To reify concepts may be a general human characteristic which the use of theoretical definitions seems to stimulate. There is also the danger that before a theory can be completely verified (which is practically never), its specific conclusions may be applied to areas outside their scope. Studies of the maze learning of rats have been used to guide the development of children, and conclusions about neurotic behavior among adults had been suggested as a chief guide for the understanding of politics. There is the danger that rival theories of human behavior, such as are inevitable in a democratic and pluralistic society, encourage distortion of simple facts. Scientists frequently agree on statements of fact but seriously disagree on their significance or explanation on a theoretical level. Sometimes even the immediate causes of the facts are the subject of agreement, but the more basic ones suggested by theory are not.

2. The second proposal for achieving more consistent replications is that propositions be stated in terms capable of being

generalized. If the categories or variables of a proposition are specifically spatial or temporal, obviously the proposition cannot be generalized. Any body of data can be stated in terms of generalized or localized categories. For example, a number of facts about a sample of persons can be classified according to residence, to socio-economic class, to life-satisfaction. If residence is the variable, the data can never be used to verify propositions other than those referring to the specific locations. If socio-economic class is the variable, the data can be used to verify propositions that refer to the culture or subculture in which that class structure exists. But if life-satisfaction is the variable, the data can be used to verify universal propositions, since presumably all men evaluate their lives in terms of satisfaction. However, simply choosing categories that are capable of being generalized does not in itself generalize the proposition when verified. The verified proposition still has no validity beyond the universe from which the sample is drawn: hence the need for replications.

It is obviously impossible to secure a representative sample of all men, from all cultures at all times. Most propositions will never claim validity beyond the given culture, usually our own. Since this is so, propositions stated in terms of categories frankly limited to our culture should be nearly as useful in research as propositions whose variables are universal. They may have as much predictive value. Possibly a happy compromise between a universal generalization, desirable but unattainable, and a frankly culturally limited generalization is a proposition stated in universal terms and then restated with the variables specified for the culture to be studied. The restated proposition, when verified for the culture studied, is highly amenable, of course, to reconversion into its universal form when other studies in other cultures or in different social situations later justify the universal form. In the specific study, the historical premise, "in our culture," serves to hold constant numerous variables that could not otherwise feasibly be held constant in a

strict experimental design.⁷

3. Even within our culture it is so difficult to secure a representative sample for research on most variables that it would be well to have some device that could be employed to obviate the need of it. The purpose in securing representative samples for verifying general propositions is not the same as the purpose in securing representative samples for a survey or a public opinion poll. The latter explores the distribution of certain attributes in the population. The former simply inquires whether the proposition will hold good for data in the entire *range* of the distribution. It is usually easier to estimate roughly where various points on a distribution are than to secure a representative sample of a large, complex, and widely distributed population. Replication should be at various points, especially the extremes, of the distribution of the population. The distribution differs somewhat for each independent variable, since it should cover the range of possible interpretations of, or reactions to, the independent variable.

It is often difficult to replicate a study on divergent populations with the same observer or experimenter, the same index or measure of the independent variable, and the same conditions of observation or experimentation. Making these things as simple as possible will, of course, aid in approximating them over and over again during replications. But a certain amount of variation is almost inevitable, and it will prevent exact replication. The terms of the proposition must be broad enough to cover the variation.

Replications, to be useful in the way that they have proved useful in the natural sciences, must be undertaken systematically. If one replication secures results consistent with the original finding, further replications should vary slightly the conditions of the original study. If one replication fails to secure results consistent with the original finding, further replications should approxi-

⁷ An example of its use in sociology is my paper, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," *Social Forces*, XXX (October, 1951), 69-77.

mate even more closely the conditions of the original study. The scientific function of replications, in addition to verification, is to set the limits under which the generalization is valid.

4. Just as an infinite number of discrete hypotheses can be advanced about social behavior, so can an indefinitely large number of different frameworks of assumptions and definitions. Rather than proceeding at random, it is preferable to develop some criteria for setting up a framework of definitions and assumptions. The criteria should also be used in selecting an isolated hypothesis, since a tremendous amount of time can be wasted in testing, disproving, and discarding hypotheses. Possible guides for setting criteria are given below.

a) Definitions, assumptions, and variables in hypotheses which have proved valuable in previous research should be given special attention before being created *de novo*. The result will then contribute to a cumulative product, and it should have a better chance of verification and successful replication.

b) Definitions, assumptions, and variables should bear some relation to observations by the investigator, or to meanings perceived by the subjects, or at least to what psychiatrists claim are unconscious meanings. Some research has been set up with definitions, assumptions, and variables from the imagination of the investigators which can hardly be expected to be relevant, manipulable, and productive of verifiable hypotheses. We need not, of course, go all the way back to the old-line behaviorists and insist that all variables (stimuli and responses) be materially observable; but some relation to perceived reality, conscious or unconscious, is desirable. A person told to feel cohesive with strangers in a group may manifest more cohesiveness when observed or tested than a person not told to feel cohesive, but it is questionable whether this cohesiveness operates in the same way as cohesiveness developed through years of personal contact. This may meet one of the criticisms and weaknesses of the laboratory experi-

ment in the social sciences—namely, that it is “unrealistic.”⁸ It may not be necessary for the laboratory situation to be realistic, but it probably is necessary for the *variables* to be realistic. Of course, the test of a variable is not its apparent realism but whether or not it has a consistent effect. Of all the myriad of variables which a strong imagination can dream up, only those are likely to have an effect which bear some relation to social or psychological reality, conscious or unconscious. In the future, more powerful tools and better-trained observers may be able to perceive more that is realistic than social scientists can today.

c) One of the best ways of choosing, among a large number of possible hypotheses, the one or few most likely to be verified is to have an initial period of informal and unsystematic, but thoughtful and critical, observation, using whatever relevant descriptive studies and general information may be available. This is especially important in the early stages of any science, before frameworks of assumptions, definitions, and tested propositions are known to be workable and fruitful. Too frequently in research today an arbitrary or fortuitous guess of a social scientist whose experience is necessarily limited is called a hypothesis. This is a wasteful procedure, even if the experimental design for the ensuing study is rigorous.

Finally, perhaps none of our proposals for the improvement of research design will lead to generalizations that will stand up under systematic replication. Our techniques of acquiring data may not be delicate

⁸ G. E. Swanson anticipates many of the usual objections to the use of the laboratory experiment in studying social behavior by showing that the criteria for validity in the latter are the same as the criteria for validity in field studies. But he falls into the error of assuming that generalizability is generalization: for example, in making a suggestion for the study of cultural factors in the laboratory, he says: “Suppose that we move from the particulars to a higher level of generalization.” This may, of course, simply be unfortunate wording. See his “Some Problems of Laboratory Experiments with Small Populations,” *American Sociological Review*, XVI (June, 1951), 349–58, esp. pp. 355–56.

and precise enough to isolate the basic elements of human behavior and social organization. In that case, we must refine techniques before we can achieve any reliable and valid generalizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REPLICATED STUDIES

A. SUMMARIES OF REPLICATIONS

1. KARL F. SCHUESSLER and DONALD R. CRESSEY. "Personality Characteristics of Criminals," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (March, 1950), 476-84. Survey of studies correlating personality traits and criminality. Conclusions not consistent.
2. ARNOLD M. ROSE. *Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice*, chap. i. Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947; 2d ed., 1948. Survey of experimental studies on reducing intergroup prejudice. Conclusions not consistent. *On the same material*: ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. *The Reduction of Intergroup Tension*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. Conclusions not consistent.
3. ROBERT R. SEARS. *Survey of Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts*. ("Social Science Research Council Bulletins," No. 51.) New York, 1943. Conclusions not consistent.
4. DOROTHY S. THOMAS. *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*. ("Social Science Research Council Bulletins," No. 43.) New York, 1943. Survey of studies on selective factors in migration. Conclusions not consistent.
5. RALPH M. STOGDILL. "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership," *Journal of Psychology*, XXV (January, 1948), 35-71. Survey of studies of physical and personality traits of leaders. Conclusions not consistent.
6. RAYMOND B. CATTELL. "The Cultural Functions of Social Stratification. II. Regarding Individual and Group Dynamics," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXI (February, 1945), 25-55. Summary of studies of the effects of social stratification on the acquired characteristics of individuals; includes studies on class mean differences in intelligence and character traits, such as honesty, aggression, and maladjustment. Items pulled out of studies and interpreted to be consistent.
7. ALLEN EDWARDS. "The Retention of Affective Experiences—a Criticism and Restatement of the Problem," *Psychological Review*, XLIX (January, 1942), 43-53. Summary of studies dealing with the Freudian theory that unpleasant experiences and events are repressed. Conclusions not consistent.
8. JEROME D. FRANK. "Recent Studies of the Level of Aspiration," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVIII (April, 1941), 218-26. Summary of studies on level of aspiration. Frank is not concerned with a specific hypothesis but cites several studies on each of several determinants of levels, such as knowledge of group performance or personality traits. Consistent findings on some things but not on others.
9. W. A. KERR. "Correlates of Politico-economic Liberalism-Conservatism," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XX (August, 1944), 61-77. Summary of studies on a series of factors which are supposedly related to liberalism-conservatism, such as parental attitudes, religion, etc. Consistent findings on some things but not on others.
10. MILTON METFESSEL and CONSTANCE LOVELL. "Recent Literature on Individual Correlates of Crime," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXIX (March, 1942), 133-64. Summary of factors associated with criminality in various studies and of factors associated with different types of crime. Conclusions not consistent.
11. ALEXANDER MINTZ. "A Re-examination of Correlations between Lynchings and Economic Indices," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLI (April, 1946), 154-60. Considers studies by Hovland and Sears, Raper, and Thomas which correlate lynching with economic variables, criticizing the statistical method. The three studies had the same general conclusions.
12. LLEWELLYN QUEENER. "The Development of Internationalist Attitudes. III. The Literature and a Point of View," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXX (August, 1949), 105-26. Summary of studies of prestige as a determinant of international attitudes. Also concerned with "negative prestige." Conclusions interpreted into a consistent framework.
13. H. M. RICHARDSON. "Studies of Mental Resemblance between Husbands and Wives and between Friends," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVI (February, 1939), 104-20.

Summary of studies on selective mating where selection is based on physical resemblances and/or similarities in intelligence, attitudes, and personality traits. Some consistency in findings for intelligence, interests, and attitudes but not for personality traits.

14. JULIAN B. ROTTER. "Level of Aspiration as a Method of Studying Personality," *Psychological Review*, XLIX (September, 1942), 463-74. Summary of studies on the effect of success and failure on explicitly set goals. Concerned with the consistency of an individual's response and with whether or not there is a relationship between the responses and personality traits. Conclusions not consistent.
15. ANSELM L. STRAUSS. "The Literature on Panic," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIX (July, 1944), 317-28. Summary of descriptive features and causes of panic as cited by various authors. Not complete studies. Some consistency in descriptions, although less agreement on causes.
16. WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG. "Delinquency and Only Children: Study of a Category," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIV (July, 1949), 356-66. Studies of the relationship between delinquency and being an only child: whether, being only children, they become spoiled; or whether, being exempted from the effects of sibling rivalry, they have an advantage over other children. Conclusions not consistent.

B. REPLICATIVE STUDIES IN WHICH COMPARISON
WITH ORIGINAL STUDY IS MADE BY
AUTHOR OF REPLICATION

1. WALTER FIREY. *Land Use in Central Boston*, pp. 76-86. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Replicative of E. W. BURGESS, in R. E. PARK and E. W. BURGESS (eds.), *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), and of MAURICE R. DAVIE, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in *Studies in the Science of Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 142-61. See also LLOYD RODWIN, "The Theory of Residential Growth and Structure," *Appraisal Journal*, XVIII (July, 1950), 295-317. Studies of "typical" patterns of modern city growth. Conclusions not consistent.
2. ELEANOR C. ISBELL. "Internal Migration in Sweden and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, IX (December, 1944), 627-39. Replicative of SAMUEL A. STOUFFER, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, V (December, 1940), 845-67, and of MARGARET L. BRIGHT and DOROTHY S. THOMAS, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *American Sociological Review*, VI (December, 1941), 773-83. Studies of "intervening opportunities" as a determinant of distance in migration. Conclusions consistent.
3. PAUL WALLIN. "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: A Repeat Study," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 288-93. Replicative of MIRRA KOMAROVSKY, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (November, 1946), 184-89. Conclusions consistent.
4. PAUL H. LANDIS. "Personality Differences of Girls from Farm, Town, and City," *Rural Sociology*, XIV (March, 1949), 10-20. Replicative of A. R. MANGUS, "Personality Adjustments of Rural and Urban Children," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (October, 1948), 566-75. Studies of relative "adjustment" among rural and urban children. Conclusions not consistent.
5. G. S. KLEIN, H. J. SCHLESINGER, and D. E. MEISTER. "The Effect of Experimental Values on Perception: An Experimental Critique," *Psychological Review*, LVIII (March, 1951), 96-112. Replicative of J. S. BRUNER and L. POSTMAN, "Symbolic Value as an Organizing Factor in Perception," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVII (May, 1948), 203-8, and of L. F. CARTER and K. SCHOOLER, "Value, Need and Other Factors in Perception," *Psychological Review*, LVI (July, 1949), 200-207. Conclusions not consistent.
6. J. F. ROSENBLITH. "A Replication of 'Some Roots of Prejudice,'" *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIV (October, 1949), 470-89. Replicative of G. W. ALLPORT and B. KRAMER, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, XXII (July, 1946), 9-39. Conclusions consistent except in two minor respects.
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- Introduction of Reward upon the Maze Performances of Rats," *University of California Publications in Psychology*, XXXI (1928), 114-34. Conclusions partially consistent.
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 10. GERHART H. SAENGER. "Social Status and Political Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (September, 1945), 103-13. Replicative of P. F. LAZARSFELD, B. BERELSON, and H. GAUDET, *The People's Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944). Replicates only in parts, but these parts are consistent. Also consistent with one conclusion in the 1944 study is a finding by ALICE S. KITT and DAVID B. GLEICHER, "Determinants of Voting Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (fall, 1950), 393-412.
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 14. S. SCHACHTER, N. ELLERTSON, D. GREGORY, and D. McBRIDE. "An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity," *Human Relations*, LV, No. 3 (1951), 229-38. Replicative of KURT BACK, "The Exertion of Influence through Social Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 9-23. The two articles show that the more cohesive a group the more influence it is able to exert on its individual members. Other laboratory experiments on this hypothesis have been conducted at the universities of Michigan, Texas, and Uppsala but are not yet published. Field studies verifying the same hypothesis are L. FESTINGER, S. SCHACHTER, and K. BACK, *op. cit.*, and A. ROSE, S. SCHACHTER, and H. ZETTERBERG, "Social Responsibility as Affected by Group Standards and Cohesiveness" (unpublished). All four studies support the hypothesis, but there are minor variations in results.

C. REPLICATED STUDIES OF ATTITUDE DIFFERENTIALS

In studying a given attitude in various segments of the population, different investigators report differentials on certain background factors. Attitudes on race have frequently been studied, and the present author has summarized

all empirical studies on this subject up to 1947.⁹ The following is a brief summary, from this source, of the differentials reported in the scientific literature on race attitudes.

1. In seven studies, it is reported that northern white college students are more favorable to Negroes than are southern white college students. In four studies, it is reported that there is no significant difference, in attitudes toward Negroes, between northern and southern and southern students or (in one study) that northern students are more anti-Negro than southern students.

2. In five studies, it is reported that girls or women have more liberal race attitudes than do males. In two studies, it is reported that males are more liberal than females. In two studies, significant sex differences are found, but they vary by type of attitude. In four studies, no significant differences in race attitudes were found between the sexes.

3. In three studies, students with higher I.Q.'s were found to be more favorable toward minority groups than are the less intelligent students. In three other studies, no significant relationship was found between I.Q. and race attitudes.

4. Three studies report that rural or small-town students have more liberal race attitudes

than do urban students. Two studies report that urban students have more liberal race attitudes than do rural students. Two studies report no differences between urban and rural students.

D. REPLICATIVE STUDIES, IN A SINGLE REPORT, BASED ON DIFFERENT SAMPLES OR ON SAME SAMPLE AT DIFFERENT TIMES

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2. CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK and JOHN COTTON. "Physical Attractiveness, Age, and Marital Adjustment," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (February, 1951), 81-86. Conclusions not consistent.
3. LOUIS GUTTMAN. "Mathematical and Tabulation Techniques," in PAUL HORST *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941), pp. 360-62. A prediction of personal adjustment gave a coefficient of multiple correlation of $+.73$. The second one—using the same measures on a different sample—was $+.04$. Author attributes this to sampling error of insufficient cases and too many variables.
4. ARNOLD M. ROSE. "Rumor in the Stock Market," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XV (fall, 1951), 461-86. Conclusions consistent.

⁹ Arnold M. Rose, *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice* (2d ed.; Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1948), chap. iii.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BEALS'S "SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN LATIN AMERICA"

February 12, 1953

To the Editor:

In a recent article on "Social Stratification in Latin America" (*American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LVIII, No. 4) Dr. Ralph L. Beals seems to overrate the obstacles to rising from middle to upper class in Brazil. In his diagram representing the class structure of that country he separates these two classes by a continuous line which means "effective barriers to vertical movement."

It is my contention that these barriers have become highly ineffective, at least in those areas where most of the wealth and political power of the nation is concentrated. It is certainly true that members of the upper landholding class are turning to "industry, banking, commerce"; but their number is small when compared with those descended from immigrant fathers and grandfathers. Big industry and big business in southern Brazil are mostly controlled by men with Italian, German, Syrian, and Jewish names. The president of the Bank of Brazil bears a Lebanese name, and the federal minister of finances comes from a Jewish family. While there is nothing new about the upward mobility and achievement of middle- or upper-class status of people with Italian and German names, Syrians and Jews have reached this stage more recently. When political democracy was re-established in 1945 people suddenly realized that numerous members of the new entrepreneurial elite were well able to compete successfully with the old elite for political jobs. Political victory, of course, means access to correspondingly high positions in the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Dr. Beals mentioned "heads of the

church" among the upper-class groups. Apparently he overlooked the fact that the Roman Catholic church in Brazil has been one of the most effective channels of upward mobility. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of Brazilian bishops and high dignitaries are of lower-middle-class extraction. Some of them even come from the rural middle class, which is mainly composed of descendants of recent European immigrants.

In view of the fact that the highest positions in industry, finance, business, politics, and public administration are open to individuals whose fathers or grandfathers arrived in Brazil as penniless immigrants, I doubt whether there is much point in arguing about "social acceptance" of those *homines novi*. Inter-marriage between members of the new and the old elite is not infrequent, and there is no institution or association in the metropolitan areas of southern Brazil in which membership is monopolized by the "old upper class."

Thus I should rather not indorse Dr. Beals's statement that "in other cases, as in Brazil, the wealthiest men in industry and commerce have achieved enough power to admit them to the upper class but have not been accepted by the elite." The only possible exception seems to be the Syrians and Lebanese, who are still discriminated against.

I presume, of course, that Dr. Beals realizes how deceptive the notion of nationwide social classes is, especially in a huge country like Brazil, where ecological and political conditions have led to the development of regional class structures, the social equivalence of which has yet to be proved. The most static class structures are probably found in the economically and politically least significant portions of the country.

I was also surprised by Dr. Beals's statement that "more recently, with the rise of more Negroes to higher educational and economic status and increasing Negro competition for higher-status jobs, discrimination and antagonism have increased." Although Charles Wagley and his research associates have recently made similar contentions (Charles Wagley, *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* [Paris: UNESCO, 1952]), I should like to see factual evidence corroborating such assumptions. It seems to me that there has always been a certain amount of diffuse prejudice and discrimination, perhaps even more in the past than in the present. But while in the past occasional manifestations of prejudice and discrimination did not arouse much reaction, public opinion has more recently become sensitive with regard to antagonistic race attitudes. Even minor incidents are likely to incense the public, which is consistently opposed to any form of discrimination. This increase of public discussion of race attitude, as expressed, for example, by the enactment of a federal law against race discrimination, easily conveys the impression that racial antagonism is increasing.

Actually, it seems that the masses (including colored Brazilians) are now more adequately educated to grasp the social significance of race issues. And, of course, racism has caused quite a stir in Brazil!

Otherwise I consider Dr. Beals's article a major contribution to the study of social stratification in Latin America.

EMILIO WILLEMS

University of Michigan

COMMENT

March 5, 1953

To the Editor:

My principal objection to Professor Willems' criticism is that it is too brief. My article was necessarily overgeneralized and at many places frankly impressionistic. If it stimulates more thinking and, especially, more research on social stratification, it will have achieved its main objective; and I hope there will be more critical replies. I agree that I may have overestimated the difficulty of movement from middle to upper class in southern Brazil. Nevertheless, I still believe that there is a hard core of the old elite which will not fully accept the new industrial, business, and political leaders socially. Possibly this is now unimportant; this would not have been true in the past, however.

The observation that the Roman Catholic church has afforded a channel of upward mobility is, of course, correct and should be extended to the rest of Latin America. That it should be "one of the most effective channels" nevertheless underscores the general difficulty of vertical mobility.

My remark concerning increasing discrimination and antagonism toward Negroes represents the opinions of all the informed observers I talked to in north-eastern Brazil and in Rio de Janeiro. This is one of the many impressions which needs factual proof or disproof. I may say that I hope my impression is wrong.

RALPH L. BEALS

University of California, Los Angeles

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1952

According to reports received by the *Journal* from seventy-two departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 132 doctoral degrees and 299 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1952.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

- Aly F. Ahmed, B.Sc. Fouad I University (Cairo, Egypt), 1944; M.A. Tennessee, 1950. "A Proposed Experiment in Community Change by the People of a Selected Egyptian Village." *Vanderbilt*.
- Abduljalil Ali Al-Tahir, License Higher Teachers College, 1946; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "The Arab Community in the Chicago Area: A Comparative Study of the Christian-Syrians and the Muslim Palestinians." *Chicago*.
- Eddie Anderson (Mrs.), A.B. Georgia State College for Women, 1934; Columbia, 1950. "Fifteen Hundred Women Look at Life after Forty." *Columbia*.
- Olivia Anthony, B.S. Long Island, 1937; M.A. Columbia, 1940. "The D.A.R. as a Pressure Group in the United States." *Columbia*.
- George Walter Baker, A.B. Delaware, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "A Sociocultural Study of Representational Patterns of Selected Social Groups." *North Carolina*.
- Milton Leonard Barnett, A.B. Cornell, 1947. "A Study of Drinking in a Chinese-American Community." *Cornell*.
- John Bauer, B.S., S.S. City College of New York, 1942; M.S., S.S. Boston, 1947. "Similarities and Differences in the Personality and Manifest Behavior of One Set of Monozygotic Twins." *New York*.
- Wendell Bell, A.B. Fresno State College, 1948; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1951. "A Comparative Study in the Methodology of Urban Analysis." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Purnell Handy Benson, A.B. Princeton, 1935; M.A. Harvard, 1936. "The Interests and Activities of Engaged and Married Couples in Relation to Their Adjustment." *Chicago*.
- Dave Bin-Nun, A.B. Chapman College, 1937; M.A. New York, 1938. "Religious and Other Cultural Factors in Social Control Affecting the Assimilation of Jews in Los Angeles." *Southern California*.
- Don Blackiston, A.B. Illinois College, 1930; A.M. Chicago, 1948. "The Judge, the Defendant, and Criminal Law Administration." *Chicago*.
- Robert O. Blood, Jr., A.B. Dartmouth, 1942; B.D. Yale, 1945; M.A. Minnesota, 1950. "Developmental and Traditional Child-rearing Philosophies and Their Family Situational Consequences." *North Carolina*.
- Walter E. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Evaluation of the Farmers Home Administration Program in the Community of Reading, Michigan." *Michigan State College*.
- Edgar F. Borgatta, A.B., A.M. New York, 1947, 1949. "An Analysis of Three Levels of Response: An Approach to Some Relationships among Dimensions of Personality." *New York*.
- George G. Borness, B.S., M.Ed. St. Lawrence, 1947, 1948. "Housing for Married Students, Shanks Village, New York." *Columbia*.
- Donald Bouma, B.A. Calvin College, 1940; M.A. Michigan, 1943. "An Analysis of the Power Position of the Real Estate Board in Grand Rapids, Michigan." *Michigan State College*.
- James J. Brennan, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1945; A.M. New York, 1947. "The Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency by Police Departments." *New York*.
- Marvin Bressler, B.S.Ed. Temple, 1947; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1948. "Jewish Behavior Patterns as Exemplified in W. I. Thomas' Unfinished Study of the Bintl Brief." *Pennsylvania*.
- Emory J. Brown, B.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1948. "Elements Associated with Activity and Inactivity in Formal Organizations." *Michigan State College*.
- James C. Brown, B.A. Minnesota, 1946. "Co-operative Group Formation: A Problem in Social Engineering." *Minnesota*.
- Robert G. Burnight, A.B. Franklin and Marshall College, 1944; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Inter-subregional Migration in Connecticut, 1935-40." *Pennsylvania*.

- William Bruce Cameron, B.A., M.A. Butler, 1943, 1943. "A Critical Evaluation of the Concept of Emotional Security-Insecurity." *Wisconsin*.
- Bernard Moffett Cannon, A.B. Wofford College, 1941; A.M. Harvard, 1948. "Social Determinants to the Unionization of Southern Cotton Textile Mill Workers." *Harvard*.
- Wen-hui Chung Chen, B.S. Yenching (Peiping, China), 1931; M.A. Southern California, 1940. "Changing Sociocultural Patterns of the Chinese Community in Los Angeles." *Southern California*.
- Jack Cohn, B.S., M.S. City College of New York, 1925, 1932. "Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor toward Public Education in New York State." *Columbia*.
- William J. Cousins, B.A. Yale, 1944. "A Role Analysis of Negro-White Relations." *Yale*.
- Bertram Crocker, B.A. Denison, 1930; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Cultural Integration of a Welsh Community with Its American Environment." *Columbia*.
- Marshon DePoister, A.B., A.M. Phillips, 1932, 1933; D.B. Vanderbilt, 1934; A.M. Chicago, 1936. "Trends in Theological Beliefs within Selected Denominations." *Chicago*.
- Sanford Dornbusch, A.B. Syracuse, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Family in the Labor Force: A Study of Supplementary Workers in the United States 1940." *Chicago*.
- Gilbert F. Edwards, A.B. Fisk, 1936. "Occupational Mobility of a Selected Group of Negro Male Professionals." *Chicago*.
- Thomas C. Esselstyn, A.B. Hobart College, 1934; A.M. New York, 1947. "Crime and Its Control in the Hinterland." *New York*.
- Warren W. Fabyan, B.S., M.S. Massachusetts State College, 1932, 1934. "An Approach to the Study of Rural Society in New England." *Columbia*.
- Paul H. Fischer, A.B. California, 1948; M.A. Southern California, 1950. "A Sociological and Statistical Analysis of Selected Primary Groups." *Southern California*.
- Glen Harry Fisher, A.B. Manchester College (Indiana), 1945; M.A. North Carolina, 1949. "Programs of Directed Culture Change in Latin America: The Application of Modern Theories of Culture Change to an Analysis of the Mexican Pilot Project in Basic Education in Santiago, Nayarit, Mexico." *North Carolina*.
- Sherman K. Fitzgerald, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "Social Participation of Farm Families and Individual Members in Specific Activities Ontario County, New York, 1949." *Cornell*.
- William S. Folkman, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1940; M.S. Utah, 1949. "Membership Relations in Danish Dairy Cooperatives." *Cornell*.
- Manet Helen Fowler, B.S. New York, 1937. "The Case of Chef A: An Inquiry into and Analysis of a Human Relations Situation." *Cornell*.
- Eliot Friedson, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1947, 1950. "An Audience and Its Taste: A Study in Mass Communication." *Chicago*.
- Philip Earl Frolich, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1938, 1939. "Sport and the Community: A Study of Social Change in Athens, Ohio." *Wisconsin*.
- Harold S. Frum, B.S.Ed. Bowling Green State, 1938; A.M. Ohio State, 1939. "Criminal Sequence Patterns." *Indiana*.
- Harold Garfinkel, B.S. Newark, 1939; A.M. North Carolina, 1942. "The Perception of the Other: A Study in Social Order." *Harvard*.
- Rev. Cassimir Gecys, S.T.D. Vilna, 1935; Ph.D. Fordham, 1952. "The Soviet Bill of Rights." *Fordham*.
- Winfred Lamar Godwin, A.B. Birmingham-Southern College, 1948; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "The Sociology of Small Groups with Special Reference to Age Status." *North Carolina*.
- Rose Kohn Goldsen, B.A. New York, 1943; M.A. Yale, 1944. "Puerto Rican Migration to New York City." *Yale*.
- Dorris West Goodrich, A.B. State College of Washington, 1942. "The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Wayne Gordon, B.S.Ed. Kansas State Teachers College, 1942; M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1945. "The Social Organization of a High School: A Study of Status and Role Behavior." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Scott Allen Greer, A.B. Baylor, 1944; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1950. "The Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the Labor Unions of Los Angeles County." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Keith S. Griffiths, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1947, 1949. "The Measurement of Intergroup Tensions in the State of Washington and the City of Seattle: Analysis of Two Surveys Conducted under the Auspices of

- the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory." (*Washington (Seattle)*).
- Charles Meade Grigg, B.S. R.P.I. College of William and Mary, 1948; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "Demographic Change as Measure of Subregional Analysis, 1930-50: A Study in Emerging Urban Dominance in the Southeast." *North Carolina*.
- George Herbert Grosser, Vienna, 1936-37. "Juvenile Delinquency and Contemporary American Sex Roles." *Harvard*.
- Herbert L. Hackett, A.B. Drury College, 1938; M.A. Michigan, 1939. "An Experimental Investigation of the Effects of Introducing Writing Skills Training into the Framework of an Introductory Course in Sociology." *Michigan State College*.
- Stanley A. Hetzler, B.A. Ohio State, 1940. "A Hypothesis for the Study of Social Classes in America." *Ohio State*.
- Adelaide Cromwell Hill, A.B. Smith College, 1940; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1944. "The Boston Negro Upper Class: Its Development and Present Social Structure." *Radcliffe College*.
- Roscoe Conkling Hinkle, B.A. Elizabethtown College, 1943; M.A. Minnesota, 1948. "Theories of Social Stratification in Recent American Sociology." *Wisconsin*.
- Rev. Robert L. Hoggson, S.J., A.B. St. Louis, 1936; M.A. Fordham, 1939. "Alcoholics Anonymous: A Study in Group Solidarity." *Fordham*.
- Edwin Paul Hollander, B.S. Western Reserve, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "The Relationship between Authoritarian Attitudes and Leadership Selection in a Military Setting." *Columbia*.
- Anna Lee Boswell Hopson, A.B. Vassar College, 1945; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1947. "Best Sellers: Media of Mass Expression." *Radcliffe College*.
- John Caldwell Hutchinson, Jr., B.S. Rutgers, 1930; M.A. New York, 1935. "The Vocational Interests and Job Satisfaction of Women Elementary Teachers." *New York*.
- Francis Ianni, A.B., M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1949, 1950. "The Acculturation of the Italo-Americans in Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1900-1950." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Paul J. Jehlik, B.S. Ed. Kansas State Teachers College (Emporia), 1931. "Techniques for Analyzing Farm Family Level of Living and Related Factors in Iowa." *Iowa State College*.
- Walter L. Johnson, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1948, 1949. "The Social Adjustments of Contemporary American Merchant Seamen." *Yale*.
- Lee Roy Just, A.B. Tabor College, 1947; A.M. Kansas, 1948. "An Analysis of the Social Distance Reactions of Students from the Three Major American Mennonite Groups." *Southern California*.
- Joseph Alan Kahl, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1947, 1947. "Adolescent Ambition." *Harvard*.
- John Kantner, A.B. Franklin Marshall College, 1942; A.M. Michigan, 1947. "The Relationship of Social Mobility to Fertility and Fertility Planning." *Michigan*.
- Ben Kaplan, B.A., M.A. Tulane, 1928, 1929. "Selected Jewish Communities in Louisiana: A Historical and Sociological Analysis of Their Origin, Development, and Change." *Louisiana State*.
- E. Kenneth Karcher, Jr., A.B. St. Lawrence, 1941; M.A. North Carolina, 1942. "A 'Perceptual Component' Approach to the Analysis of Leadership and Organizational Positions." *North Carolina*.
- William F. Kenkel, B.A., M.A. Maryland, 1949, 1950. "An Experimental Analysis of Social Stratification in Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State*.
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- Milton Seymour Kessler, B.A., M.A. New York, 1937, 1939. "A Study of Factors Associated with the Job Satisfaction of Veterans Rehabilitated under Public Law 16." *New York*.
- Nathan Keyfitz, B.Sc. McGill, 1934. "Urban Influence on Farm Family Size." *Chicago*.
- Yukiko Kimura, M.A. Oberlin College, 1937; M.A. Hawaii, 1947. "A Comparative Study of Collective Adjustment of the Isei, the First-Generation Japanese, in Hawaii and in the Mainland United States since Pearl Harbor." *Chicago*.
- Leslie Kish, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1939; A.M. Michigan, 1948. "On the Differentiation of Ecological Units." *Michigan*.

- Melvin Lester Kohn, B.A. Cornell, 1948. "Analysis of Situational Patterning in Inter-group Relations." *Cornell*.
- Lewis Paul Kohrs, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1936, 1942. "The Social Theory of Sir Matthew Hale's *The Primitive Origination of Mankind* (1677)." *California (Berkeley)*.
- George W. Korber, A.B. College of the Pacific, 1948; M.A. Stanford, 1949. "Parental Standards of Adolescent Sexual Behavior: A Study of Values in Conflict." *Stanford*.
- Thomas Ely Lasswell, B.A. Arkansas College, 1940; M.S. Southern California, 1947. "Status Stratification in a Selected Community." *Southern California*.
- Everett S. Lee, A.B., A.M. Pennsylvania, 1949, 1950. "Differentials in Internal Mobility." *Pennsylvania*.
- Frank F. Lee, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1943, 1947. "Race Relations in a Small New England Industrial Town: A Cultural Study in Social Control." *Yale*.
- John Thomas Liell, B.A. Hofstra College, 1948; M.A. Yale, 1949. "Levittown: A Study in Community Planning and Development." *Yale*.
- Erwin (Kaplan) Linn, B.A., M.A. Chicago, 1935, 1943. "The Correlation of Death Rates from Selected Causes with the Business Cycle, 1919-47." *Chicago*.
- Marion Theo Loftin, B.A. Louisiana State Normal College, 1935; M.A. Louisiana State, 1941. "The Japanese in Brazil: A Study of Immigration and Acculturation." *Vanderbilt*.
- Jack London, A.B. Central YMCA College, 1939. "A Case Study of a Local Union." *Chicago*.
- Donald Longworth, B.S., M.A. Bowling Green State, 1943, 1947. "Construction of a Scale To Measure the Disposition for Sharing." *Ohio State*.
- William Cushing Loring, Jr., A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1935, 1949. "Physical Elements of Housing in Relation to Social Disorganization." *Harvard*.
- Sr. Miriam Lynch, A.B. Ursuline College (Cleveland), 1937; M.Sc.Soc.Admin. Western Reserve, 1952. "The Organized Social Apostolate of Albert de Mun." *Catholic*.
- Sverre Lysgaard, A.B. Norwegian Institute of Teaching, 1948; M.A. Purdue, 1951. "Social Stratification and the Deferred Gratification Pattern." *Purdue*.
- Lowell Edwin Maechtle, B.A. North Central College, 1936; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "A Sociopsychological Study of the Adjustment Problems of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service Camps during World War II." *Wisconsin*.
- Thomas James Matthews, A.B., M.A. Washington State College, 1950. "The Lawyer as a Community Leader: One Dimension of a Professional Role." *Cornell*.
- Nahum Zeitlin Medalia, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1940, 1949. "The Sociology of Elton Mayo." *Harvard*.
- Max Buchman Meyers, L.L.B. Brooklyn Law School, 1927; B.S.Ed., M.A. New York, 1933, 1936. "The Extent and Nature of Differences between Absentees and Non-absentees in One Junior High School in New York City." *New York*.
- Frank Frodsham Miles, B.A., M.Soc.Work Washington (Seattle), 1935, 1950. "Evaluation of the Social Work Institution." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Mary Kate Miller, B.S., M.A. Peabody College, 1929, 1931. "Recreational Activities in 4-H Clubs." *Columbia*.
- Paul A. Miller, B.S. West Virginia, 1939; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "A Comparative Analysis of the Decision-making Process in Community Organization toward Major Health Goals." *Michigan State College*.
- Theodore Mason Mills, A.B. Guilford College, 1941; A.M. Haverford College, 1942. "A Method of Content Analysis for the Study of Small Groups." *Harvard*.
- Richard Morris, B.A. Ohio State, 1941. "Social Differentiation: A Demonstration in Theory Construction." *Ohio State*.
- Kaspar David Naegle, A.B. McGill, 1945; A.M. Columbia, 1947. "Hostility and Aggression in Middle-Class American Families." *Harvard*.
- Thomas L. Norris, A.B. Mexico City College, 1949; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Decision-making in Relation to Property on a Costa Rican Coffee Estate." *Michigan State College*.
- Walter Murray North, A.B. College of William and Mary, 1947; M.A. North Carolina, 1949. "Patterns of Social Change in the South." *North Carolina*.
- Ivan Nye, B.A. Willamette, 1946; M.A. Washington State, 1947. "Adolescent Adjustment to Parents." *Michigan State College*.

- Roland Joseph Pellegrin, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1947, 1949. "Status Achievement in Youth Groups: The Elements of Youth Adjustment in Relation to Social Mobility." *North Carolina*.
- Emily L. Philpott, B.A. Denver, 1947; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Patterns and Practices of Steady Dating in Coeducational Colleges and Universities." *Columbia*.
- Blaine M. Porter, B.S., M.A. Brigham Young, 1947, 1949. "The Relationship between Marital Adjustment and Parental Acceptance of Children." *Iowa State College*.
- Ira Progoff, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1941. "C. G. Jung's Psychology in Its Significance for the Social Sciences." *New School*.
- Charles Eugene Ramsey, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1950. "Vocational Intentions of Wisconsin Farm Boys." *Wisconsin*.
- Leo Reeder, Certificate Wright Junior College, 1941; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "Industrial Location in the Chicago Metropolitan Area with Special Reference to Population." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Reissman, A.B. Wayne, 1942; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "Levels of Achievement and Aspiration: A Study in Social Class and Status Striving." *Northwestern*.
- Reginald A. H. Robson, B.S. London, 1949; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Different Types of Communication on Morale in Small Groups." *Minnesota*.
- Oscar Rodriguez, A.B. Sioux Falls College, 1933; B.D. Eastern Baptist Seminary, 1936. "Church Program of Education for Family Living in Puerto Rico." *Columbia*.
- Bernard Carl Rosen, A.B. Temple, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "Religion, Reference Group Theory, and Group Identification." *Cornell*.
- Donald Roy, A.B., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1935. "Restriction of Output by Machine Operator in a Piece-Work Machine Shop." *Chicago*.
- William Lyle Shannon, B.A. Cornell College, 1942; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1947. "The Non-self-governing Political Entity." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- J. Whitney Shea, B.A. Houghton College, 1933; M.A. Columbia, 1936. "College and Community." *Columbia*.
- Rev. Casimir P. Sirvaitis, A.B. Vilkevaskis Seminary, 1941; M.A. Catholic, 1944. "Religious Folkways in Lithuania and Their Conservation among the Lithuanian Immigrants in the United States." *Catholic*.
- Elizabeth Reichart Smith, A.B. Radcliffe College, 1943; M.S. in N.Ed. Catholic, 1949. "Patterns of Interpersonal Preferences in a Nursing School Class." *Catholic*.
- David Soloman, B.A., M.A. McGill, 1939, 1942. "Career Contingencies of Chicago Physicians." *Chicago*.
- Willis A. Sutton, Jr., A.B., M.A. North Carolina, 1939, 1943. "The Talmadge Campaigns: A Sociological Analysis of Political Power." *North Carolina*.
- Marianne DeG. Swain, B.S., M.S. Columbia, 1945, 1946. "Fertility Behavior, Ego Interests, and Selected Social Categories." *New York*.
- Charles L. Tartar, A.B. Morgan College, 1934; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "Co-operation among Negro Churches of Paterson, New Jersey." *Columbia*.
- Joseph T. Taylor, A.B., A.M. Illinois, 1936, 1937. "An Analysis of Some Factors Involved in the Changing Functions and Objectives of the Negro College." *Indiana*.
- Coolie Verner, B.A., M.A. College of William and Mary, 1937, 1950. "On Developing a Common Basis of Understanding in Communities." *Columbia*.
- Clark Edward Vincent, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949, 1950. "Sociological Factors in Psychosomatic Illness." *California (Berkeley)*.
- George C. White, A.B. Richmond, 1926; M.A. Temple, 1942. "Immigration and Assimilation: A Survey of Social Thought and Public Opinion, 1882-1914." *Pennsylvania*.
- George L. Wilber, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1943, 1945. "Social Stratification Systems as Value Orientation Systems of Social Action." *Nebraska*.
- Everett K. Wilson, A.B. Antioch College, 1938; M.A. Chicago, 1945. "Differential Conceptions of the Role and Status of the Aged in North Manchester, Indiana, by Selected Factors." *Chicago*.
- Margaret S. Wilson, A.B., M.A. Cornell, 1938, 1942. "Conformity and Nonconformity of College Girls to the Standards of Their Parents." *Pennsylvania*.
- Robert Neal Wilson, A.B. Union College, 1948. "The American Poet: A Role Investigation." *Harvard*.
- John Winget, A.B. Miami, 1934; M.A. Washington, 1937. "Teacher Interschool Mobility

- Aspirations: Elementary Teachers, Chicago Public School System, 1947-48." *Chicago*.
- Gibson Winter, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1938, 1948. "Value Orientations as Factors in the Organization of Small Groups." *Harvard*.
- Raytha L. Yokley, A.B. Kentucky State Industrial College, 1937; A.M. Indiana, 1941. "The Development of Race Concepts in Negro Children." *Indiana*.
- E. Grant Youmans, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1937, 1938. "An Appraisal of the Social Factors in the Work Attitudes and Interests of a Representative Sample of Twelfth-Grade Michigan Boys." *Michigan State College*.
- MASTER'S DEGREES
- Beverly Ann Aarons, B.A. Iowa, 1950. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Robert Ross Alford, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1950. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Myrl Thelma Alspach, B.A. Iowa, 1934. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Andrew Lyndon Anderson, B.A. Dillard, 1950. "The Changing Social Status of the Negro as Reflected in American Drama." *Howard*.
- A. Scott Anderson, A.B. Amherst, 1949. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Maurice J. Anderson, B.A. Louisiana College, 1937. "Social Change and the Transition from Sect to Denomination: A Study of the White Baptist in Lincoln County, Mississippi." *Louisiana State*.
- Roy Alfred Anderson, A.B. Whittier College, 1949. "An Analysis of Social Leadership from Selected Dramas and Essays of George Bernard Shaw." *Southern California*.
- Helen Mae H. Andrus, A.B. Brigham Young, 1945. "A Study of Joseph Smith's Teachings and Practices as They Influence Welfare in the Latter-Day Saints Church." *Brigham Young*.
- Aaron G. Antonovsky, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1945. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Doris C. Appel, B.A. Miami, 1946. "Profile of the Custodial Officer in Adult Penal Institutions in the Southern States." *Maryland*.
- Antonio M. Arce, A.B. Normal School of Costa Rica, 1950. "Socioeconomic Differentials Associated with Leadership in Turrialba, Costa Rica." *Michigan State College*.
- Bertrand J. Armstrong, Ph.B. Xavier, 1948. "Reading Interests of the 1949 Registered Voters in the Eleventh Assembly District of New York City as Related to the *Amsterdam News*." *New York*.
- Marcia S. Aron, B.A. California, 1950. "Some British Attitudes toward the United States as Revealed by a Content Analysis of the *New Statesman and Nation*, July, 1948—July, 1951." *Utah*.
- Robert W. Avery, Oberlin College, 1948. "The Social System of the Legal Profession in an Industrial Town." *Oberlin College*.
- Jeanette Baer, Ph.B. Chicago, 1929. "A Study of the Development of Civic Responsibility at the Junior High School Level." *Chicago*.
- S. R. Baker, B.A. Ohio State, 1950. "The Relationship of Authoritarianism and Status Attitude to an Individual's Leader Ideology." *Ohio State*.
- Warren G. Ballachey, A.B. Michigan State College, 1948. "Some Discriminative Factors in Peer Acceptance among Male Juvenile Delinquents in a Training-School Situation." *Michigan State College*.
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- Richard A. Rosenthal, A.B. Oxford, 1949. "Opinion about Graft in Government: An Exploratory Study." *New York*.
- Henry Rotondil, A.B. LaSalle College (Philadelphia), 1950. "A Negro Boys' Club of the Metropolitan Police in Washington, D.C." *Catholic*.
- Claude J. Roumagnae, Licence en Droit University of Poitiers, 1948; D.E.S. University of Paris, 1949. "A Demographic Analysis of Selected Characteristics of the 'Acadian' Population of Louisiana, 1940." *Louisiana State*.
- Kristoffer Salvesson, Oslo, 1951. "Gambling: An Empirical Study of a South Side Community." *Chicago*.
- Linda Samuels, A.B. Fisk, 1951. "An Evaluative Study of the Field of Action Research in Race Relations." *Cornell*.
- Robert Saylor, A.B. Pennsylvania State College, 1949. "Detection of Boys with a High Delinquency Potential by the Use of a Questionnaire." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Rev. Hubert F. Schiffer, S.J., Studies at St. Paul Kiki College, Japan, 1942-45. "Profit-sharing." *Fordham*.
- Henry Arthur Schooley, A.B. San Diego State College, 1950. "A Case Study of Pittsburgh Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." *Pittsburgh*.
- Delbert Schrag, A.B. Bethel College, 1948. "Identification and Social Participation in Urban Neighborhoods." *Chicago*.
- John Gilbert Scott, B.S. Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1949. "An Inquiry into the Influence of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* upon Basic Sociology Textbooks." *North Carolina*.
- Joseph F. Scott, B.S. St. Peter's College, 1949. "A Study of Delinquent Adjustments Using Sociometrics as an Index to Group Organization." *Fordham*.
- Rev. Edward P. Scully, B.A. Seton Hall College, 1935. "The Law against Discrimination of New York State." *Fordham*.
- Robert Marshall Seeley, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "Racial Prejudices and Conflicts as Found in Selected American Novels Published between 1928 and 1949." *Southern California*.
- William James Sharp, A.B. Southern California, 1950. "A Sociological Interpretation of the Life and Work of Albert Schweitzer." *Southern California*.
- Israel Shenkar, A.B. (Equivalent) Tel Aviv, N.Y.U. New School, 1939-51. "Social Groups and Pressures in Israel." *New School*.
- Justin I. Siegel, B.S. New York, 1938. "Organizations for Negro Equality." *New School*.
- Nathaniel Siegel, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1950. "Hypotheses Regarding the Incidence of Use of Alcohol by American Men and Women." *New York*.
- Richard Lee Simpson, B.A. North Carolina, 1950. "Factors in the Attitudes of Two Minority Groups toward Each Other." *Cornell*.
- Frank Smith, A.B. Lycoming College, 1950. "The Use of the Discriminant Function in Predicting Parole Outcome of Women Released from the Laurelton State Village." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Margaret J. Smith, B.A. DePauw University, 1947. "Analysis of the Maryland Adoption Laws and How They Are Administered in Baltimore City." *Maryland*.

- Kurt Sontheimer, A.B. Freiburg, 1950. "A Study of Conformity of American College Students." *Kansas*.
- Harold Starr, B.S. Purdue, 1951. "A Study of Some Sociological and Psychological Dynamics of Prejudice in a Minority Group." *Purdue*.
- Joseph Stendig, A.B. Boston, 1950. "A Comparison of the Voluntary Association Membership Patterns of Housing Project Residents, before and after Moving into the Project." *Chicago*.
- Gregory Stone, A.B. Hobart College, 1948. "Sociological Aspects of Purchasing in a Metropolitan Area." *Chicago*.
- Waneta Strackbein, B.A. Iowa, 1951. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Lawrence Harold Streicher, B.S. Illinois, 1950. "The Concept of 'Anomy': An Analysis." *Illinois*.
- James Arthur Swaggerty, B.S. Tennessee, 1947. "Unemployment and Job Relocation of Railroad Firemen in Knoxville, Tennessee." *Tennessee*.
- Charles Sykes, Ph.B. Chicago, 1949. "A Social Psychological Study of Emergent Leadership in Disaster Situations." *Chicago*.
- Florence Taylor, M.S. Chicago, 1942. "An Ethnography of the Syrian Christians of Malabar." *Wayne*.
- William Ewart Taylor, A.B. Toronto, 1951. "Contributions to Hopewell Chronology in the Lower Illinois River Valley." *Illinois*.
- Anders Tejler, B.A. Kentucky, 1942. "Background Study of Maryland Federal Probationers." *Maryland*.
- Walter Thabit, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1948. "The Process of Public Housing in Liverpool." *New School*.
- Rosemary Fleming Tharp, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1942. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- James P. Thogmorton, A.B. Central College, 1943. "The Urban League in Denver: A Study in Techniques of Accommodation." *Denver*.
- Donald Glenn Thomas, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949. "Doctrines of Guild Socialism." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Rev. Patrick J. Trainor, B.A. Seton Hall College, 1935. "The Labor Management Relationship of the Typographical Unions and the Newspaper Publishers: A Case Study of the Conflict of Law and Custom." *Fordham*.
- Yankee Pierre Tsang, A.B. Shanghai, China, 1944. "Some Sociological Implications of Mao Tse-tung's 'New Democracy.'" *South-ern California*.
- Frances Susan Turner, B.S. Alabama, 1949. "The Attitudes of Educators toward Lower-Class and 'Holiness' Children Compared with the Actualities as Revealed by Tests and Systematic Observation." *Alabama*.
- Harley J. Unger, B.A. Ohio State, 1950. "A Study of Factors Associated with the Satisfaction of Bomber-Crew Members with Their Crews." *Ohio State*.
- Emil Vajda, B.S. Wisconsin, 1950. "Identification and Social Participation in Urban Neighborhoods." *Chicago*.
- Maurice Donald Van Arsdol, B.A. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "Expenditures of Unmarried Students at the University of Washington for the Winter Quarter, 1951." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- H. Erwin Van Asbeck, Ph.D. Law, Leideran, Netherlands. "A Case Study." *Chicago*.
- Juris Veidemanis, B.A. North Dakota, 1951. "Social Change: Latvian Society at Rome and in Migration." *Wisconsin*.
- Rev. Raphael Vidal, A.B. St. Mary's Seminary, 1944. "A Study of the Family, Cultural, Geographical, and Religious Background of Students in Five Diocesan Seminaries." *Catholic*.
- William Wallace Vosburgh, A.B. Yale, 1950. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Leonard Wesley Wager, B.A. Washington (Seattle), 1949. "Measurement of Job Satisfaction of 217 General Duty Graduate Professional Nurses." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Helmut R. Wagner, A.B. (Equivalent) Technical College, Dresden, 1920-24. "Mannheim's Historicism: A Study in the Sociology of Knowledge." *New School*.
- John Richard Wahl, B.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "A Statistical Analysis of Gubernatorial Election Results for Madison, Wisconsin, 1934-50." *Wisconsin*.
- Carl E. Waisanen, A.B. Northern Michigan College of Education, 1950. "Public Welfare and Indiana Newspaper Editorials: A Study of Communication Content." *Purdue*.
- Frederick Brynolf Waisanen, B.A. Northern Michigan College of Education, 1950. "Television Ownership in an Iowa City: A Study in Some Determinants of Social Innovation." *Iowa*.
- Frits Wanninkhof, Candidate Degree, Amsterdam, 1951. No thesis. *Cornell*.
- Paul B. Watson, B.S. U.S. Naval Academy,

1919. "A Study of the Age Factor in Institutional Adjustment." *Maryland*.
- Byron Lee Wayman, B.A. Greenville College, 1949. No thesis. *Oklahoma A. & M. College*.
- Harry V. Webb, B.A. Greenville College, 1926. "Television-Sociological Aspects." *Maryland*.
- Samuel Weingarten, B.S.S. St. Johns University (Brooklyn), 1934. "The Biography of an American Jewish Community: The Jewish Community of Schenectady, N.Y." *Siena College*.
- Frederick Hayes Werth, A.B. Minnesota, 1940; M.A. Idaho, 1949. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Robert R. Wharton, A.B. Temple, 1951. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Charles D. Whatley, A.B. Texas, 1949. "A Verification of Durkheim's Theory of Social Disorganization: A Study of Mental Disorder." *Texas*.
- Albert Wiedorn, A.B. Hunter College, 1951. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- Clifton McKinley Wignall, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1949. "A Critique of Functionalist Theory of Social Order." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Harold S. Wildstein, A.B. Drake, 1950. "An Analysis of the Work of Norman Thomas in American Socialism." *New York*.
- Ellis Ray Williams, B.S. Bluefield State College, 1947. "The Contacts of Negroes and Whites in Morgantown, West Virginia." *West Virginia*.
- James Raymond Wilson, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1950. "Some Sociological Contributions of Ernest R. Groves on the Family in the Field of Applied Sociology." *Southern California*.
- Oliver Wendell Wilson, A.B. Southern, 1949. "The Social Role of Negro Conservative Leadership in the United States." *Illinois*.
- Maurice Raymond Wolfe, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1948. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Anna Ding-ah Wong, B.A. Minnesota, 1950. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- James Henry Woodall, B.S.Ed. Wayne, 1949. "An Investigation of Juvenile Sexual Delinquency as Predictive of Adult Criminal Sexual Activity." *Wayne*.
- Frank Woodward, A.B. Wayne, 1951. "Mythology, Protestantism, Urban Planning and the East-West Dichotomy: A Case Study in Diffusion." *Wayne*.
- Lewis Yablonsky, B.S. Rutgers, 1948. "An Investigation into the Development of a Method for Small-Group Interaction Analysis." *New York*.
- Norman P. Zaichick, B.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "The Influence of the Museums upon American Anthropology." *Wisconsin*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY, 1952

The following list of doctoral dissertations in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by thirty-five departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 247. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

- Renee Abramson, A.B. Pennsylvania State College, 1944. "Relationship of Value Systems to Stratification in a Small Town." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Lilialyce Akers, B.A. Wheaton, 1942; M.A. Kentucky, 1949. "The Level of Accommodation between Organized Religion and Organized Religion in an Industrial Community." *Kentucky*.
- Gordon James Aldridge, B.A., M.A., M.S.W. Toronto, 1938, 1948, 1949. "A Study of the Social Aspects of Aging in a Community Whose Population Is Disproportionately Aged." *Toronto*.
- Manuel Alers-Montalvo, B.S. City College of New York, 1941; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Social Organization in Latin-American Communities." *Michigan State College*.
- Theodore R. Anderson, B.A. Minnesota, 1948; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "Analysis of Variance in the Analysis of Internal Migration." *Wisconsin*.
- Henry L. Andrews, A.B., M.A. Duke, 1931, 1933. "Processes and Patterns of Population Redistribution in Alabama, 1930-50." *Northwestern*.
- Wade Andrews, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1947, 1948. "A Study of Some Basic Correlates of Rural Leadership and Social Power in Clinton County, Ohio." *Michigan State College*.
- Julian Aronson, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1928; M.A. Cornell, 1929. "Sociological Aspects of Modern Secondary Education in the United States." *New School*.
- Jay William Artis, B.A. Hamline, 1949; M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1950. "Trends in Rural Group Relations." *Wisconsin*.
- Morris Axelrod, A.B. Michigan, 1948. "Group Participation and Social Isolation in an Urban Community." *Michigan*.
- Nicholas Babchuk, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "An Inquiry into Some Aspects of Co-operation and Competition in Department-Store Selling." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- George M. Beal, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1943, 1947. "Personal, Social, and Co-operative Characteristics Related to Participation in Farmer Co-operatives." *Iowa State College*.
- Rev. Theodore Beauchamp, B.Litt., B.Theol. Montreal, 1926, 1932; M.A. Fordham, 1949. "Probation Systems in Canada." *Fordham*.
- Peter L. Berger, B.A. Wagner College, 1949; M.A. New School, 1950. "Sociology of the Bolai-Movement." *New School*.
- Elizabeth Anne Betz, A.B. Wisconsin, 1938; A.M. New York, 1950. "A Comparative Study of Juvenile Delinquency Treatment in Selected Areas of the World." *New York*.
- Goddard Binkley, B.S. Northwestern, 1946. "Conversation and Sociability." *New School*.
- Thomas Blair, B.A. Northwestern, 1950; M.A. Boston, 1951. "Analysis of Attitudes and Values Associated with Position in Social Structure in Rural Brazil." *Michigan State College*.
- Margaret Blough, B.S. Lindenwood College, 1934; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Current Role of Organized Labor as a Pressure Group in the Political System of an Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Blumberg, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "The Social Status and Associational Activities of Community Leaders." *Michigan*.
- Jean Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1947. "Sociological Factors as Related to Nutrition." *Michigan State College*.
- Robert Boguslaw, A.B., A.M. Brooklyn College, 1940, 1947. "Role Tensions and Role Perception: An Approach to the Analysis of Labor-Management Relations." *New York*.
- Joe M. Bohlen, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1947, 1948. "Change in Attitudes toward an

- Understanding of Co-operatives by Rural and Urban Residents in an Iowa Community." *Iowa State College*.
- Ernst Borinski, M.A. Chicago, 1946. "Sociological Impact of Supreme Court Decisions on the Pattern of Segregation and Social Stratification." *Pittsburgh*.
- Leo Borochowicz, Berlin, 1918-22; M.A. New School, 1948. "Problems of Industrial Democracy in Postwar France, Germany, and Great Britain." *New School*.
- Donald Boyer, B.A. Elizabethtown College, 1937; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Factors Influencing Members in Their Attitudes and Behavior toward the Peace Position of the Church of the Brethren." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Breen, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Relationship between Retail Trade and Population Characteristics, Density, and Movement in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area, 1926-48." *Chicago*.
- Max M. Burchard, A.B. San Jose State College, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1951. "A Study of the Maturation of Career Criminals." *Nebraska*.
- Waldo W. Burchard, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949, 1951. "The Role of the Military Chaplain." *California (Berkeley)*.
- S. Francis Camilleri, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1947, 1949. "Typology and the Authoritarian Personality." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Ray R. Canning, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1942; M.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Study of Marriages and Completed Families in the Central Utah Area, with Reference to Religious and Cultural Homogeneity of Spouses." *Utah*.
- Max L. Carruth, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1947, 1948. "Personal and/or Social Adjustment of Couples Who Have Celebrated Their Golden Wedding Anniversaries." *Utah*.
- Robert Carver, A.B. Notre Dame, 1942; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1947. "An Intensive Analysis of a Suburban Community." *Pittsburgh*.
- Sally Cassidy, B.A. Manhattanville College, 1944; M.A. Fordham, 1946. "A Study of Lay Leadership." *Chicago*.
- Burton R. Clark, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1949, 1951. "Higher Education in the Los Angeles School System: A Sociological Study of Leadership." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Courtney B. Cleland, B.A. Carleton College, 1942. "A Critique of the Co-operative Movement in Minnesota from the Standpoint of Sociological Theory." *Minnesota*.
- James Harris Copp, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1949, 1951. "The Influence of Personality Orientations on the Acceptance and Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert Corley, B.S. Illinois Wesleyan, 1942; M.A. Illinois, 1948. "A Sociological Evaluation of Three Urban Planning Programs." *Illinois*.
- Richard J. Coughlin, B.S.Ed. State Teachers College (Buffalo), 1941; M.A. Yale, 1950. "Assimilation in an Oriental Cultural Context with Reference to the Chinese in Thailand." *Yale*.
- James Cowhig, A.B. Miami University, 1950; M.A. Michigan State College, 1951. "The Impact of Technological Innovation upon the Social Structure of an Organization." *Michigan State College*.
- Irving Crespi, Lt. B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1945; M.A. Iowa State College, 1946. "A Functional Analysis of Social Card-playing as a Leisure-Time Activity." *New School*.
- Sydney H. Croog, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1946, 1947. "The Social Background of Emotionally Disturbed Children." *Yale*.
- Gordon J. Cummings, B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1948, 1950. "Farmers and Farm Programs in New York State." *Cornell*.
- Robert T. Custis, A.B. Amherst College, 1926; M.S.Ed. College of the City of New York, 1933. "Education of Negroes for Skilled Work." *New School*.
- Harry K. Dansereau, B.S. Maryland, 1943; M.A.W. Virginia, 1948. "Relationship between the Sentiments of Union Members and the Latent and Manifest Functions of a Union Local." *Michigan State College*.
- Benjamin Darsky, A.B. Youngstown College, 1948; A.M. State College of Washington, 1949. "Some Sociological Correlates of Occupational Adjustment." *Michigan*.
- Moshe Decter, B.A. New School, 1948. "The Vatican, the State, and the Church—France, 1870-92: A Sociological Study of Church-State Relations." *New School*.
- P. Dirks Dempster, A.B. Chapman College, 1936; A.M., Southern California, 1950. "Social and Cultural Characteristics Manifested in La Paz, Lower California." *Southern California*.
- Lewis Diana, A.B. Harvard, 1949; M.A.

- Pittsburgh, 1952. "An Analysis of Juvenile Court." *Pittsburgh*.
- George I. J. Dixon, A.B., M.A. Montana State University, 1947, 1948. "A Theory of Urbanism. A Critical Study." *Nebraska*.
- Francis M. Donahue, D.D. St. Francis Seminary, 1938; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Role of Platonism in Greek Orthodox Slavophilism." *Michigan State College*.
- William Dorfman, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania, 1943, 1947. "Occupational Mobility." *Pennsylvania*.
- Edwin D. Driver, B.A. Temple, 1945; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "The Professions of Medicine and Osteopathy. A Study in Social Control." *Pennsylvania*.
- James R. Dumpson, A.B. New School, 1947. "Sociological Factors in Teen-Age Drug Addiction." *New School*.
- Richard E. Edgar, B.A., M.A. Kansas, 1948, 1950. "The Influence of Urbanization Prior to Migration on White In-Migrant Adjustment." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Rev. Victor Elmer, A.B., M.A. St. Bonaventure College, 1940, 1948. "The Social Thought of American Catholics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Catholic*.
- Dean G. Epley, B.S., M.A. Kent State, 1947, 1950. "Interrelationships between Role-playing and Changes in Attitudes toward Minority Groups." *Michigan State College*.
- Donald Ross Fagg, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1952. "The Bases of Stratification and the Legitimation of Authority Relations in a Javanese Community." *Harvard*.
- George A. Field, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1939; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1948. "An Inductive Empirical Study of the Evolution of Social Structure in Houserville, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania*.
- Edwin G. Flittie, A.B. Colorado, 1946; M.A. Stanford, 1947. "Fertility and Mortality in the Rocky Mountain West: A Study in Demography and Ecology." *Northwestern*.
- George Floro, B.A. Toledo, 1947; M.A. Northwestern, 1948. "The City Manager in the State of Michigan: A Sociological Study of Manager Careers." *Chicago*.
- Clinton L. Folse, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1932, 1935. "Differential Fertility in Illinois, 1940." *Louisiana State*.
- Raymond Forer, B.A. Denver, 1947; M.A. Yale, 1951. "The Influence of a Radio Program on Adolescents: A Study of Social Differentiation." *Yale*.
- Renée Fox, A.B. Smith College, 1949. "Stress' and 'Ways of Coming to Terms' with Stress: Ward F-second and the Research Physician." *Radcliffe College*.
- Martha Foy, B.S.Ed. Greenville College, 1939; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1943. "The Negro in the Courts: A Study in Race Relations." *Pittsburgh*.
- Hyman Frankel, B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1947, 1948. "The Sociology of Florian Znaniecki." *Illinois*.
- George A. Freeman, B.S. South Carolina State College, 1935; M.S. Kansas State College, 1949. "The Isolated Negro Family in the Small Town in Iowa." *Iowa State College*.
- Walter Freeman, B.S. Northern Illinois Teachers College, 1949; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "The Relationship of Sentiments within a Social System: A Study of Social Imagery." *Michigan State College*.
- Robert W. Friedrichs, B.A. Oberlin College, 1946; M.A. Wisconsin, 1952. "Theism and Functional Mental Disease." *Wisconsin*.
- Mary G. Gabig, B.S.Nur.Ed. St. Louis, 1942; M.S. Catholic, 1948. "A Study of the Graduates of Catholic University School of Nursing Education." *Catholic*.
- Gerhard F. Gettel, B.S. Michigan State College, 1942; M.S. Cornell, 1950. "An Empirical Study of Interorganizational and Intra-organizational Power Structures in St. Clair County, Michigan." *Michigan State College*.
- Margaret Giovanelli, A.B. Indiana State Teachers College, 1935; M.A. Illinois, 1937. "Montaigne: Moral Aestheticism." *New School*.
- Oscar Glantz, B.A. Temple, 1948; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1949. "Occupational Status and Political Behavior." *Pennsylvania*.
- Daniel Glaser, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1939, 1941. "A Reconsideration of Factors Used for Parole Prediction at the Pontiac Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary." *Chicago*.
- Erving Goffman, B.A. Toronto, 1945. "Rules Regarding Social Interaction in a Rural Community." *Chicago*.
- Bernard Goldstein, B.A. Sir George Williams College, 1946; M.S. New School, 1948. "The Role of the Local Union in Collective Bargaining: A Study in Institutional Adjustment." *Chicago*.
- Sidney Goldstein, B.A., M.A. Connecticut, 1949, 1951. "The Historical Role of Migra-

- tion in Changing the Sociodemographic Structure of Norristown, 1900-1952." *Pennsylvania*.
- Jerome Green, A.B. Ohio State, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1950. "A Comprehensive Review of the Development and Usages of the Concepts 'Ego' and 'Self' in Sociological and Psychological Theory." *Southern California*.
- John Thomas Greene, Jr., A.B., B.D., M.A. Duke, 1936, 1938, 1940. "The Role of Religiosity in Marital Success." *North Carolina*.
- John Taylor Gullahorn, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1937, 1945. "Social Tensions in Union Relationships." *Harvard*.
- Robert Habenstein, A.B., B.S. Bowling Green, 1941, 1942. "The American Funeral Director: A Study in the Sociology of Work." *Chicago*.
- Sol Haberman, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Minnesota, 1952. "Special Distributions of Kendall's Tau." *Minnesota*.
- William D. Hackett, A.B. Drury College, 1936; A.M. Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1941. "The Social Organization of the Pa-o (Tang thu) Peoples of the Southern Shan States." *Cornell*.
- Robert L. Hall, B.A. Yale, 1947; M.A. Minnesota, 1950. "Social Influence on the Role Behavior of a Designated Leader." *Minnesota*.
- Fathalla S. Halloul, B.S. Farouk, 1946; M.S. Cornell, 1951. "Social Change in the Slaterville-Brooktondale, New York, Area." *Cornell*.
- Paul Hansen, Theologica Diploma, Concordia College, St. Louis, 1937; M.A. Denver, 1948. "The Lutheran Family." *Colorado*.
- Edward Hassinger, B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1951. "Factors Associated with Education in Rural Minnesota: A Comparative Study of Five Rural Communities." *Minnesota*.
- Dorothy D. Hayes, B.A. Oberlin College, 1924; M.A. Minnesota, 1940. "Parent-Child Relationships and the Use of Parental Authority." *Minnesota*.
- Eugene Heide, A.B., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1949, 1950. "Sociological Study of United World Federalists." *Pittsburgh*.
- F. Eugene Heilman, A.B. DePauw, 1929; M.A. (Ed.) Indiana, 1935; M.A. (Soc.) Wisconsin, 1950. "The Theory of Social Disorganization: A Historical and Analytical Study." *Nebraska*.
- Robert Heimann, A.B. Princeton, 1948; A.M. New York, 1949. "The Influence of Selected Variables on Trade Association Membership in the United States, 1920-50." *New York*.
- Sylvia R. Heimbach, A.B. Hunter College, 1932; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1933. "The Sociological Background of American War Songs." *New York*.
- James Frederick Hickling, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1943, 1948. "Sociological Aspects of the Problem of Personnel Relations." *Toronto*.
- Daniel Grafton Hill, A.B. Howard, 1948; M.A. Toronto, 1951. "Integration of the Negro into Community Life in Toronto." *Toronto*.
- George A. Hillery, Jr., B.A., M.A. Louisiana State, 1949, 1951. "The Negro Population of New Orleans." *Louisiana State*.
- Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1946, 1949. "The Russian Doukhobors of British Columbia: A Study of Social Adjustment and Conflict." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Walter Hirsch, A.B. Queens College, 1941. "The Relation of Economic Status and Mobility to Program Planning and Participation in the TVA." *Northwestern*.
- Robert K. Hirzel, B.A., M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1946, 1950. "Rural-Farm Fertility in South Carolina, 1930-50." *Louisiana State*.
- Ralph S. Holloway, B.A. Toledo, 1943. "Sociological Theory and Analysis of the Self: A Study of Self-attitudes as Related to the Selection of Social Roles." *Iowa*.
- Stanley Maxfield Honer, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1941, 1948. "The Values and Biases Inherent in Marriage and Family Life Education." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Leah S. Houser, A.B., A.M. Michigan State College, 1933, 1938. "Sociometric Analysis of Informal Group Relationships among School Children." *Michigan State College*.
- Perry H. Howard, B.A. Harvard, 1950; M.A. Louisiana State, 1951. "Political Ecology of Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Yung-Lian Hwang, A.B. in Philos., Kwang Hua, 1937. "Chinese-American Cultural Pattern." *New York*.
- E. Gartly Jaco, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1949, 1950. "Mental Disorders in a Political Type City." *Northwestern*.
- Bernard J. James, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "Acculturation Problems among the Lac Court Orielles Chippewa." *Wisconsin*.
- Jean Marie Jammes, B.S. Montpelier, 1938;

- St. Rome (Gregoriana), Paris, 1950. "The Priest's Clientele: Expectations, Criticisms, Mistakes." *Chicago*.
- Arthur L. Johnson, B.A. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1941. "A Quantitative Study of Criteria of Marital Success in Selected Population Groups." *Minnesota*.
- Guy Benton Johnson, A.B. North Carolina, 1947. "Relation of Religious Belief to American Value Orientation." *Harvard*.
- Walter A. Juergensen, A.B. Concordia Teachers College, 1942; M.A. Omaha, 1947. "Changes in the Institutions of Marriage and the Family in Germany during the Reformation." *Nebraska*.
- Bernard Karsh, M.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Labor Strike in a Small Community: A Study of Social Conflict." *Chicago*.
- Benjamin Katz, B.Sc., A.M. New York, 1931, 1942. "Argentine Sociology: The Social Ideas of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento." *New York*.
- Benjamin J. Keeley, A.B. Kearney State College, 1947; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Relation between Value Convergence of Husbands and Wives and Marital Adjustment." *Nebraska*.
- Norbert Lawrence Kelly, Jr., A.B. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "Selected Factors Related to Alcoholism and Its Treatment in North Carolina." *North Carolina*.
- James Carlton Kimberly, B.A. Emory, 1950. "Culture Conflict and Personality Disorganization." *Duke*.
- William Klein, B.A. Princeton, 1925; M.A. Columbia, 1933; B.D. Union Theological Seminary (New York), 1933. "Work, School, and Play Aspirations of Young People in a New York Rural Community." *Cornell*.
- Deborah Kligler, B.A. Smith College, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "Effects of the Employment of Married Women on the Roles of Husband and Wife." *Yale*.
- Michael Kolivosky, B.S. Lock Haven Pennsylvania State Teachers College, 1940; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "The Integration of Two Divergent Groups as Measured by Specific Attitudes toward an Actual Participation." *Michigan State College*.
- George W. Korber, A.B. College of the Pacific, 1948; M.A. Stanford, 1949. "Parental Standards of Adolescent Sexual Behavior: A Study of Values in Conflicts." *Stanford*.
- Bernard Cromwell Korb, B.A. Denison, 1929; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "A Parole Prediction Study Using Factor Analysis." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Louis Kriesberg, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "Steel Distributors and the American Government: A Study in National Cohesion." *Chicago*.
- Thomas Ktsanes, A.B. Elmhurst College, 1941; M.A. Northwestern, 1952. "A Test of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection Using Q Technique." *Northwestern*.
- Kurt Lang, B.A. Chicago, 1949. "MacArthur Day: A Study in Political and Observational Perspectives." *Chicago*.
- Herbert R. Larsen, B.A. Brigham Young, 1938. "A Functional Analysis of the Mormon Family with Special Reference to Fertility." *Utah*.
- Jerome Laulicht, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1949. "Role Conflict Resolution and Sociocultural Value Orientations." *Kentucky*.
- Charles Lebeaux, A.B. Dartmouth College 1935; M.S.W. Michigan, 1947. "Differences between Rural and Urban Cultures as They Pertain to Behavior of Persons." *Michigan*.
- Russell D. Lennox, B.A. Wayne, 1942; M.A. Michigan, 1948. "Personality Factors in a Tolerance Quotient." *Wisconsin*.
- Albert Levak, B.S. Pittsburgh, 1947; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1949. "The Social Correlates of Farm Tenure." *Michigan State College*.
- Sol Levine, A.B. Queens, 1942; A.M. New York, 1948. "Study in Occupational Socialization: Relation between Occupational Membership and Personality Traits." *New York*.
- Roger Little, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of Combat-Role Performance and Participation in Informal Social Systems." *Michigan State College*.
- Fu Ju Liu, B.A. National Southwestern Associated, 1939; M.S. Columbia, 1947. "Demographic Comparison of Native-born and Foreign-born Chinese Population in the United States." *Michigan State College*.
- Russell Longworthy, B.A. Alfred, 1949; M.A. Yale, 1950. "Formal-Informal Leadership Relations in a New England High School." *Yale*.
- Albert E. Lovejoy, A.B., M.A. North Carolina, 1947, 1949. "The Structure of American 'Churches': A Study in the Typology of Religious Bodies." *North Carolina*.
- Francis E. Lowe, B.A. Minnesota, 1948; M.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "The Influence of Leader-

- ship on Public Opinion and Voting Behavior." *Wisconsin*.
- Sheldon Lowry, B.A. Brigham Young, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Differentials in Morbidity in Relation to Use and Cost of Health Services in Wake County, North Carolina." *Michigan State College*.
- Elizabeth Lyman, B.A. Wells College, 1937; M.A. Chicago, 1938. "Similarities and Differences in Emphasis Given to Certain Aspects of Work." *Chicago*.
- Lloyd W. McCorkle, A.B. Juniata College, 1940. "The Treatment of the Persistent Offender in Penal Policy in the United States." *New York*.
- Harold McDowell, A.B. Marietta College, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Principal's Role in Metropolitan School System: Its Functions and Variations." *Chicago*.
- Charles Donald McGlamery, B.S., M.S. Oklahoma A. & M., 1942, 1950. "Social Acceptance, Morale, and Communication Efficiency in a Military Work Group." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Charles McKendrick, B.S. Manhattan College, 1934; A.M. Columbia (Teachers College), 1942. "The Treatment of Youthful Offenders in New York State." *New York*.
- Thomas S. McPartland, B.A. Coe College, 1947; M.A. Iowa, 1951. "The Self and Social Structure: An Empirical Approach." *Iowa*.
- Robert F. Maher, B.S., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1950. "Technological Change in the Culture of an African Tribe." *Wisconsin*.
- Floyd Mann, A.B., A.M. Iowa, 1940, 1941. "A Study of Certain Aspects of Job Satisfaction as a Function of Inferred Discrepancy between Aspiration and Achievement." *Michigan*.
- William Edward Mann, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1942, 1943. "Social Conditions Underlying the Growth of Religious Sects in Calgary, Alberta." *Toronto*.
- Rita Mao, B.S. Catholic University (Peiping, China), 1944. "Cyclical Theories of Social Change and Chinese History." *Fordham*.
- Floyd B. Martinson, B.A. Concordia College, 1942; M.A. Minnesota, 1947. "Personal and Social Adjustment of Rural Migrants." *Minnesota*.
- James Joseph Maslowski, A.B., M.A. Washington State College, 1949, 1950. "Population Analysis of North Carolina, 1900-1950." *North Carolina*.
- Ward Sherman Mason, A.B. Duke, 1948; A.M. Harvard, 1950. "A Method of Scaling Cultural Orientations." *Harvard*.
- Nick Massaro, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1949, 1951. "The Theories, Practices, and Objectives in National Social Planning." *Southern California*.
- Albert Maynard, A.B. Emory, 1934; M.S. Georgia Institute of Technology, 1950. "A Study of the Factors of Success and Non-success of the Organizing Activities of Textile Workers Union." *Chicago*.
- Veronica Maz, A.B., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1947, 1949. "Social Aspects of Mass Communication." *Pittsburgh*.
- Herbert J. Miles, A.B. Westminster College, 1932; M.A. Baylor, 1949. "An Occupational Study of Taxi-Cab Drivers." *Missouri*.
- Paul D. Miller, A.B. Goshen College, 1946; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Jansen, Nebraska: A Cultural Case Study of a Small Community." *Nebraska*.
- Raymond H. Miller, B.A. Rollins College, 1934; M.A. Kentucky, 1937. "Migration within Louisiana, 1935-40." *Louisiana State*.
- Joe Dan Mills, B.A. North Carolina, 1947; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "The Sociologist as Critic." *Wisconsin*.
- William Mooney, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1947. "An Investigation of Some Factors Associated with Negro-White Savings Differentials." *Michigan*.
- Grace E. Morgan, B.S., M.A. Alabama, 1948, 1951. "Social Stratification and Economic Power." *Louisiana State*.
- John Joel Moss, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "Newcomer-Family Community Relationships in Two Rapidly Urbanizing Communities: A Study in Family Acceptance-Rejection." *North Carolina*.
- L. W. Moss, B.S., in Ed., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "The Master-Plumber: A Study of Role Adjustment." *Michigan*.
- George Murphy, A.B., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1948, 1949. "The Study of the Religious Beliefs of Prisoners." *Pittsburgh*.
- Katherine Murphy, B.S. New York, 1939; M.A. Fordham, 1943. "The Status of Women in Communist, Fascist, and Liberal Society." *Fordham*.
- Mary John Murray, St.A.B. Incarnate Word College, 1947; M.A. Catholic, 1950. "Social Problems of Mexican Families in a Low-Rent Housing Project in San Antonio, Texas." *Catholic*.
- Antanas Musteikis, Foreign Credentials Heidel-

- berg, 1946-49; A.B. New York, 1951. "Religious Fluctuations in Lithuania during the Period of the Reformation." *New York*.
- Donald J. Newman, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1949, 1952. "A Study of the Criminal Lawyer." *Wisconsin*.
- Rev. James T. Nolan, B.A. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1933; M.A. Fordham, 1942. "The Status of the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland." *Fordham*.
- Lawrence Northwood, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "The Ability of Leaders and Nonleaders To Estimate Community Opinion." *Michigan*.
- Mohamed Abdel Monem Nour, A.B. American University (Cairo), 1946; M.S. Louisville, 1951. "Tbn-Khaldun." *Kentucky*.
- Edna O'Hern, A.B. St. Xavier College, 1941; M.A. Catholic, 1949. "The Status Significance of the Dialect of an Isolated Children's Urban Group." *Catholic*.
- Donald W. Olmstead, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1942, 1949. "Sociogenic versus Psychogenic Factors Related to Deviant Behavior in Groups." *Minnesota*.
- Ann Garver Olmsted, B.A. Iowa Teachers College, 1945. "Intervening Opportunities: A Study Relating Mobility and Distance." *Minnesota*.
- Carl E. Ortmeier, A.B. State University of Iowa, 1939; M.S. Iowa State College, 1948, "Positions of Farm Families in Selected Stratification Patterns in an Iowa County." *Iowa State College*.
- Norman Painter, B.A. Baylor University, 1947; M.A. Tulane, 1949. "Delineation and Demographic Comparison of Locality Grouping in a Latin-American Community." *Michigan State College*.
- Judson Bruce Pearson, B.A., M.A., M.P.S. Colorado, 1946, 1947, 1949. "The Social Characteristics of American Business Leaders." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Sidney M. Peck, B.A. Minnesota, 1949; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "Small Business and Social Strain." *Wisconsin*.
- J. Albert Pennock, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1948, 1949. "Study of the Marital Crises on Divorce and Postdivorce Adjustment." *Utah*.
- William Phillips, A.B., M.A. Fisk, 1948, 1950. "Some Factors in the Changing Position of the Negro in the Labor Force." *Chicago*.
- Louis A. Ploch, B.S., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1950, 1951. "Some Factors Contributing to Social Participation and Nonparticipation of Rural People." *Cornell*.
- Alphonso Powe, B.S., B.D. Johnson C. Smith, 1929, 1932. "The Structures and Functions of the NAACP and Interdenominational Ministerial Associations, as Prominent Special Interest Groups among Negroes in North Carolina." *New York*.
- Lois Pratt, B.S. Connecticut, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Fertility Planning and the Liking for Children." *Michigan*.
- Samuel Pratt, B.S. Connecticut, 1942; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Effects of Metropolitan Expansion on Social Structure of a Village." *Michigan*.
- Jack J. Preiss, B.A. Dartmouth College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Social Correlates of Selected Agricultural Extension Programs." *Michigan State College*.
- Arthur E. Prell, B.A. Redlands, 1948; M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1949. "Factors Influencing Prisoner Adjustment at a Minimum Security Institution as Illustrated by California Institution for Men at Chino, California." *Minnesota*.
- Rev. George N. Putnam, Ph.B. Georgetown, 1932; M.A. St. Louis, 1945. "The Status Significance of the Dialect of an Adult Urban Group." *Catholic*.
- Duane V. Ramsey, A.B. Hamline, 1927; M.A. Chicago, 1929. "Labor Union Informal Organization." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Melvin Jerome Ravitz, A.B. Wayne, 1948; M.A. New School, 1949. "Factors Associated with the Different Occupational Selections of Nursing and Teaching Students." *Michigan*.
- Horace Rawls, B.S., M.S. North Carolina State College, 1943, 1946. "Guidance and Education for the Aged in North Carolina." *Duke*.
- C. Wilson Record, B.A. Central College (Chicago), 1941; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949. "The Role of the Contemporary Negro Intellectual and Racial Social Movements." *California (Berkeley)*.
- William H. Riback, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1932, 1933. "Ethos and Action: A Study of the Relations between an Intellectual Climate, Ideas, and Institutions, as applied to the Development of Social Group Work in England, 1824-84." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Ruth Riemer, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1943, 1946. "Social Mobility and Fertility Planning." *Michigan*.
- Walt Risler, B.A. Upsala College, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Personal Documentation

- and Projective Analysis in Family Research: A Comparative Study of Techniques." *Chicago*.
- Richard Robbins, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Washington State College, 1948. "Immigration Act of 1952: A Case Study in Political Sociology." *Illinois*.
- Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1946, 1948. "The Nature of Large-Scale Farmers' Organizations and Its Relationship to Nonvocational Adult Education Programs." *Michigan State College*.
- Erwin Rubington, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1949. "The Occupational Subculture of Psychiatric Aides." *Yale*.
- Hatim Sahib, B.A. Higher Teachers, 1941; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "A Social-Psychological Analysis of Arab Nationalist Movement in Iraq." *Chicago*.
- Julian Samora, A.B. Adams State College, 1942; M.S. Colorado A. & M. College, 1947. "Leadership among the Spanish-speaking People of Del Norte, Colorado." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Robert J. Schmidt, B.S. Minot State Teachers College, 1946; M.S. Iowa State College, 1949. "Sociological Factors Affecting Church Life in a Metropolitan Area." *Pittsburgh*.
- Leo Schnore, Jr., A.B. Miami (Ohio), 1950; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "An Ecological Analysis of Population Change in Metropolitan Satellites of the United States, 1900-1950." *Michigan*.
- Richard F. Scudder, A.B. Georgetown College, 1934; M.A. Peabody College, 1940. "Social Mobility in a Blue-Grass Community." *Kentucky*.
- Benjamin Shratter, B.S., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1951, 1952. "A Survey of Active Industrial Sociologists in the United States, with an Evaluation of Their Work and Opportunities for Men in the Field in the Greater Pittsburgh Area." *Pittsburgh*.
- Donald D. Sieger, B.A. Minnesota, 1950. "Duluth: A Sociological Study of an American Urban Community." *Louisiana State*.
- James Silverberg, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1947, 1950. "The Functional and Historical Determinants of Koli Status in Rural Gujarat, India." *Wisconsin*.
- Abraham J. Simon, A.B. City College of New York, 1931. "Social Agency Adoption: A Study of the Origin, Development, and Effectiveness of a Social Institution." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Ozzie Norman Simpkins, A.B., M.A. Marshall College, 1947, 1948. "Magic in Modern Society: A Situational Analysis." *North Carolina*.
- James Singleton, B.A. Oberlin College, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "Retirement Expectations and the Meaning of Work among Steel Workers." *Chicago*.
- Kenneth T. Skelton, B.A. Waynesburg College, 1928; M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1930. "Sociological Aspects of Mark Twain." *New School*.
- Joel Smith, A.B. Queens College, 1945; M.A. Columbia, 1950. "Social Organization of Farm Production and Marketing and Use of Mass Communication Media." *Northwestern*.
- Sara Elizabeth Smith, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "Intermetropolitan Migration within Southeastern United States, 1935-40." *North Carolina*.
- Wilford E. Smith, B.A. Utah, 1943. "A Comparative Study of Indulgence of Mormon and Non-Mormon Students in Certain Social Practices Which Are Authoritatively Condemned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Charles R. Snyder, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1944, 1949. "American-Jewish Drinking Customs: A Study in Cultural Persistence." *Yale*.
- Ralph Spielman, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1946, 1947. "A Study of Stratification in the United States." *Michigan*.
- Chalmers K. Steward, B.A., M.A. Akron, 1932, 1933. "A Sociological Analysis of the American War Novel of World War II." *New School*.
- Clarence A. Storla, B.A. Minnesota, 1949; M.A. Louisiana State, 1951. "Social Structure of the Lumber Industry in Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Sheldon Stryker, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "Attitude Ascription in Parent-Adult-Children Relationships." *Minnesota*.
- Leo Suslow, A.B., M.A. Colgate, 1948, 1949. "Social Security in Guatemala: A Case Study of Social Planning in an Underdeveloped Area." *Connecticut*.
- Gresham M. Sykes, A.B. Princeton, 1950. "The Relationship between Participation in Voluntary Associations and Social Mobility." *Northwestern*.
- Rev. Stanislaus Sypek, B.A. St. Mary's College (Michigan), 1938; M.S.W. Boston College, 1947. "Adjustment and Maladjustment of

- Polish Displaced Persons' Families in the Boston Area." *Fordham*.
- Marvin J. Taves, B.A. Hamline (St. Paul), 1945. "Social Factors Associated with Variations in Religious Beliefs, Attitudes, and Practices in a Sample of State College of Washington Employees." *Minnesota*.
- James S. Thomas, A.B. Clafin University, 1939; B.D. Gammon Theological Seminary, 1943; M.A. Drew, 1944. "The Social Role of the Rural Negro Pastor." *Cornell*.
- Alice Thorpe, B.S., M.A. Michigan State College, 1931, 1949. "The Home as the Physical Setting for Family Interaction." *Michigan State College*.
- Rev. Stanislaus Treu, M.A. Fordham, 1940. "Factors in the Selection of Marriage Partners among Three Generations of Women Graduates of Selected Catholic Colleges." *Fordham*.
- Frederick Trost, Ph.B. Wisconsin, 1944; M.A. Northwestern, 1947. "The Use of Theories of Social Change." *Colorado*.
- Robert O. Trout, B.A. Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "A Demographic Analysis of the North Louisiana Hill Parishes." *Louisiana State*.
- John E. Tsouderos, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "The Formalization of Social Structure: Bureaucratization." *Minnesota*.
- Eugene Uyeki, B.A. Oberlin, 1948. "Process and Patterns of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago." *Chicago*.
- Richard Videbeck, A.B. Dana College, 1948; M.A. Nebraska, 1949. "The Theory of Urbanism: A Critical Study." *Nebraska*.
- Rev. Rudolph Villeneuve, M.S.W. Montreal, 1950. "The Social Worker: A Study of the Sociology of Professionalization." *Fordham*.
- Andrew L. Wade, B.A. Linfield College, 1948; M.A. Oregon, 1950. "The Role of Religious Conversion in the Therapy of Alcoholics." *Wisconsin*.
- Marvin B. Wade, B.S. Middle Tennessee State College, 1934; M.A. George Peabody College, 1939. "The Special Problems of Teaching Family-Life Education on the High-School Level." *George Peabody College*.
- Helmut R. Wagner, Technical College, Dresden, Germany, 1920-24. "Ideologies and Intellectuals in Weber's (Historical) Sociology." *New School*.
- Kenneth Cameron Wagner, A.B. Augustana College, 1944; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Some Latent Functions of an Executive Control: A Sociological Analysis of a Social System under Stress." *North Carolina*.
- John R. Wahl, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1948, 1952. "The Prediction of Vote-Nonvote on the Basis of Voting Records." *Wisconsin*.
- George Walter, A.B. Juniata College, 1940; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1946. "A Sociological Analysis of a One Industry Community." *Pittsburgh*.
- Cheng Wang, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1928, 1930. "The Kuomintang: A Study of Demoralization." *Stanford*.
- Chandler Washburne, B.A., M.A. Michigan State College, 1948, 1950. "A Method of Stress Analysis Applied to High-School Teachers." *Michigan State College*.
- Norman F. Washburne, A.B. Missouri, 1947; A.M. New School, 1949. "Urban Attitudes and Responses as Related to Residence in Urban Communities and to Socioeconomic Status." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Lester Weinberger, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1938; B.S. (L.S.) Columbia, 1939; M.A. New School, 1951. "The Teacher's Union: A Study in White-Collar Unionism." *New School*.
- Aubrey Wendling, B.A. San Francisco State College, 1944; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1951. "Suicide in the San Francisco and the East Bay for 1938-42 and 1948-52, Using Factor Analysis." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Benedict Wengler, B.A. St. Francis College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Sociology of the Apprentice." *Fordham*.
- Roy A. West, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1928, 1931. "The Factors That Hold Marriage Together." *Utah*.
- David Wheatley, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1946, 1948. "Metropolitan Expansion in Japan." *Michigan*.
- James Tecumseh Wiley, Jr., B.S. University System Georgia, 1941; M.A. State College of Washington, 1949. "Intrastate Migration in Georgia, 1935-40, with Special Reference to Methodology of Migration Studies." *North Carolina*.
- Charles Emmert Woodhouse, A.B. Colorado, 1947; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1950. "A Study in Professional Ideology: City Managers and Public Housing Officials." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Margot H. Wormser, B.A. Elmira College, 1943. "Community Studies on Anti-Semitism." *New School*.

- Harold C. Yeager, Jr., B.A., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1948. "Organized Religion and Stratification in a New England Community." *Yale*.
- Roger Ikura Yoshino, A.B. Denver, 1944; M.A. Southern California, 1951. "A Study of Social Change: The Extent to Which Democracy as a Way of Life Has Been Assimilated by the Village People of Japan." *Southern California*.
- Hans L. Zetterberg, B.A. Uppsala (Sweden), 1949; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "Determinants of Antidemocratic and Socialist Attitudes." *Minnesota*.
- Jean Zifferblatt, A.B., M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1950, 1952. "A Follow-Up Evaluation of 'The People Act' Radio Program." *Pennsylvania State College*.
- Basil G. Zimmer, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1947, 1949. "The Adjustment of Migrants in an Urban Community." *Michigan*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Brooklyn College.—Recent promotions are Willoughby C. Waterman to full professorship; Samuel Koenig and Rex D. Hopper to associate professorship, and Marion Cuthbert to associate professorship as of January 1, 1954.

Herbert H. Stroup will serve as director for Greece, Congregational Christian Service Committee, during his 1953-54 sabbatical leave. He will be located at Pierce College in Athens. His book, *Community Welfare Organization*, has been published recently.

LeRoy Bowman received his Ph.D. from Columbia in June, 1953.

Dr. Jerome Himelhoch is conducting a survey of racial and ethnic integration in Protestant churches in Brooklyn in co-operation with the Brooklyn division of the Protestant Council and the National Council, Churches of Christ in America. He has been appointed editor of *Social Problems*, official quarterly journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems.

The Eastern Sociological Society has elected Professor Alfred McClung Lee, department chairman, to a three-year term as its representative on the Council of the American Sociological Society. Lee's *How To Understand Propaganda* has recently appeared.

Feliks Gross served as visiting professor at the University of Virginia during the spring, 1953, semester. He is also adjunct professor at New York University. During July, 1953, Professor Gross will lecture one week each at Indiana, Illinois, Wayne, and Michigan universities. His lectures have been arranged by the Mid-European Studies Center, National Committee for Free Europe.

Dr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., will offer two seminars at Hunter College in the 1953 graduate summer school of the four city col-

leges. They will be in "Culture and Personality" and "Minority Groups in the United States."

George Simpson is author of *Science as Morality*, about to be published by the American Humanist Association.

University of California (Berkeley).—Reinhard Bendix will give a paper on "The Legitimation of an Entrepreneurial Class," at the World Congress of Sociology to be held at Liège, Belgium, this August.

Kenneth E. Book has received a faculty fellowship under the Fund for the Advancement of Education and will spend the academic year, 1953-54, observing and studying teaching procedures in small classes and other means of establishing close faculty-student relations in instruction and training situations.

Wolfram Eberhard's book, *Conquerors and Rulers: Social Forces in Medieval China*, was recently published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Charles Woodhouse, acting instructor for the 1952-53 academic year, has accepted an appointment as instructor in sociology on the Riverside campus of the University of California beginning January, 1954. He was instructor in sociology at Idaho State College from 1950 to 1952.

Catholic University of America.—One hundred and sixty half-tuition scholarships for postgraduate studies at the Catholic University of America are available for the next academic year. Open to laymen and laywomen, priests, brothers, and sisters, the grants will be awarded on the basis of scholastic excellence and financial need. Students in economics, politics, and sociology are among those eligible.

Applicants should write to the Registrar,

Department G, Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D.C., for additional details on the program.

City College of New York.—Charles H. Page, visiting chairman and professor of sociology, has been appointed consulting editor to Doubleday & Co., Inc., for the development of their publications in sociology and anthropology. Professor Page will return to Smith College in the fall as professor of sociology. He will serve as chairman of the section on stratification at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society.

Robert Bierstedt, associate professor of sociology of the University of Illinois, has been appointed professor and chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology succeeding Professor Page. He will take up his new duties as of September 1, 1953.

Burt W. Aginsky is engaged in making a study of "Culture in Port Cities" throughout Europe and Africa, in association with Ethel Aginsky, of the department of sociology and anthropology, Hunter College. He will return to City College next September.

Harry M. Schulman was chairman of the Conference on College-Community Relations for Functional Education at Vassar College in April, 1953. The Community Service Division, of which he is director, has produced, in co-operation with the City College Institute of Film Techniques, a teaching film entitled *Step by Step*, describing group work with street clubs and gangs.

Warren Brown has been appointed a member of the Mayor's Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs.

Melvin Herman will direct an experimental camp at Camp Oakhurst, New Jersey, during the summer. The camp is sponsored by the New York Service of Orthopedically Handicapped.

Alfred P. Parsell will direct the summer field seminar in social research. The seminar will be held in the New York metropolitan area and will be associated with the Yorkville Community Study currently being con-

ducted under the direction of the Cornell Medical School. Robert K. Burns, Jr., will serve as assistant director of the seminar.

J. R. Champion has received a grant from the department of anthropology at Columbia University to study the process of culture change among the Tarahumara Indians of the northwest Sierra Madre of Mexico.

Robert K. Burns, Jr., has been awarded a research training fellowship by the Social Science Research Council for a year's field study in France. His research will involve primarily a peasant community study in the Maritime Alps of eastern France close to the Italian border in the region roughly corresponding to the old provinces of Dauphine and Savoie.

Columbia University.—Columbia University announces a program of graduate studies in social psychology leading to the Ph.D. degree. Members of the departments of psychology, sociology, education, and anthropology are co-operating under an administrative committee composed of Professors Otto Klineberg and Goodwin B. Watson, co-chairmen; Conrad M. Arensberg, Hubert Bonner, Kenneth F. Herrold, Herbert H. Hyman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Irving Lorge, and S. Stansfeld Sargent. A limited number of candidates for the degree will be selected on the basis of qualifying entrance examinations to be given late in the summer on dates to be announced. For more complete information write to the Director of Admissions, Columbia University.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion will hold its fall meeting on November 21 at Harvard University. Scholars who wish to present empirical research in the field (12 minutes allowed) should send 300-word abstracts to Professor Prentiss Pemberton, Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton Centre 59, Massachusetts, by October 1.

Department of State, Washington, D.C.—William O. Brown, for the last five years

chief of the African branch of the Division of Research for the Near East, South Asia, and Africa, has left the department to become director of the newly established African Research and Studies Program, Boston University, as of July. In the interim he is making a survey for the Ford Foundation of facilities and needs for African research in Europe and Africa.

W. Wendell Cleland is on leave from the department during the academic year 1953-54 to serve as acting president of the American University at Cairo.

Dudley Kirk of the planning staff in the Office of the Special Assistant for Intelligence, has returned to the department following a three-month detail to the staff of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization.

Christopher Tietze is back at his post in the Office of Intelligence Research following a three-month field survey in Europe, Pakistan, India, and Ceylon.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twenty-third annual meeting was held on March 28 and 29, 1953, at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The presidential address, "The Place of the Individual in a Highly Organized Society," was delivered by President Wilbert E. Moore at the annual dinner. Professor Walter Metzger of the department of history, Columbia University, gave the guest address on "Academic Freedom in Historical Perspective."

Meetings consisted of two sections on current research reports, one on "Research in Mental Health," one on "Community Studies of Some Effects of Rapid Industrialization," one on "Research on Soviet Social Structure," and one on "Studies in Social Organization." Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., served as moderator for a panel discussion of Russell Sage Foundation experience entitled "Bridging the Gap between Social Science and Social Practice." A tour-demonstration of the Laboratory of Social Relations was arranged by Sam Stouffer.

Newly elected officers were Ira De A. Reid, Haverford College, president; Robin

M. Williams, Cornell University, vice-president; Alfred M. Lee, Brooklyn College, representative to the Council of the American Sociological Society; and James Barnett, University of Connecticut, member of the executive committee for a three-year term.

The department of social relations at Harvard was host for the meeting. Joseph Kahl of the department served as chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

Harvard University.—In connection with the four-hundredth anniversary of the National University of Mexico, P. A. Sorokin, director of the Harvard University Research Center in Creative Altruism, was granted *in absentia* the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa by this University.

Dr. Sorokin was invited to be a guest of the government of the Western German Federal Republic. A one-volume condensation of Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, under the title: *History, Civilization and Culture: An Introduction to the Historical and Social Philosophy of P. A. Sorokin*, has been prepared by Dr. F. R. Cowell, Assistant Minister of Public Instruction of Great Britain.

Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism is publishing two new volumes dealing with *Factors and Techniques of Altruistic Formation and Transformation*.

University of Hawaii.—George A. Lundberg, of the University of Washington, will be visiting professor of sociology during the 1953 summer session.

George K. Yamamoto returns as instructor of sociology in September, 1953, following two years of graduate work at the University of Chicago.

Institute of General Semantics.—The tenth summer seminar-workshop in general semantics will be held August 15-30, 1953, with an optional postsession from August 31 to September 3 at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. It will be conducted by Institute staff and associated co-workers

from other institutions: O. R. Bontrager, Harry Holtzman, J. S. A. Bois, Daniel Wheeler, M.D., Robert U. Redpath, M. Kendig, and Charlotte Schuchardt.

Institute for Social Research in Oslo.—In January, 1951, the Institute for Social Research in Oslo offered a prize of N.kr. 10,000 for the best paper on "The Relevance of Research to the Problems of Peace."

Of the twenty-five manuscripts submitted, the jury, composed of Mme Alva Myrdal, director of the social sciences department of UNESCO; Dr. Daniel Katz, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan; and Dr. Arne Naess, professor of philosophy at the University of Oslo, found that the following two papers would jointly provide the best basis for the proposed broader treatment of the problems raised by the Institute: "Men Cry Peace," by William Cottrell, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and "Polybius" by Quincy Wright, University of Chicago.

The jury recommends that these papers be published by the Institute as the first instalment in a series on research for peace and that plans and negotiations be made toward the preparation and publication of further instalments in such a series.

University of Kentucky.—Ward W. Bauder, professor of rural sociology, resigned February 1 to accept a position at the University of Illinois. C. Paul Marsh, now enrolled in graduate work at Cornell University, has been named assistant rural sociologist, effective July 1.

Joseph H. Jones, graduate student and staff member in the Bureau of Community Service, has accepted an appointment as extension rural sociologist in Louisiana.

The annual Rural Leadership Institute for rural pastors, community leaders, and extension personnel was held on the campus April 14-15. Samuel W. Blizzard, of Pennsylvania State College, was a featured speaker.

Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, who has been in Greece for his

sabbatical year, is expected to return to the campus for the fall term.

For the third successive year, a Seminar on Intergroup Relations will be held during the summer session, June 23 through August 1. This seminar is sponsored jointly by the university and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Gordon W. Lovejoy will be director, and Frances Tierman assistant director. The seminar is interracial and carries university credit. Scholarships are available through the state offices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in southern states.

Howard W. Beers, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, was a staff member in the Interdenominational Town and Country Ministers' School, at the Rural Church Center, Green Lake, Wisconsin. He offered a course on "Community Organization."

Several members of the staff contributed to the program of the recent meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Chattanooga, Tennessee, March 26-28. Howard W. Beers and Joseph H. Jones participated in a panel discussion of the department's Bureau of Community Service. Willis A. Sutton, Jr., assistant professor of sociology, presented a paper, "A Conceptual Scheme for the Sociological Analysis of Political Campaigns." Richard Schudder, graduate student at the university and staff member at Georgetown College, read a paper on "The Range of Acquaintance and of Repute as a Factor in Prestige Rating Methods of Studying Social Status."

Ralph J. Ramsey, field agent in rural sociology, was elected vice-chairman of the North Central Rural Sociology Committee at the meeting in Chicago, April 2-4.

University of Mississippi; Mississippi State College.—The division of sociology and rural life at State College and the department of sociology and anthropology at the university have received the official approval of the board of trustees for co-operative programs in research and graduate instruction. One joint research project is under

way, and two are being planned. In 1953-54 experiments will be conducted on methods of making the teaching specialties of both campuses available to all graduate students.

Two distinguished lecturers visited the state under the Liberal Arts Development Program of the university. In March Ralph Linton, Sterling Professor of Anthropology at Yale University, gave two series of lectures at the University on Culture and Personality and on the Growth of Civilization. While here, Professor Linton received the cabled invitation of the Royal Anthropological Institute of London to give the Huxley Lectures and receive the Huxley medal in 1954. He also conducted a seminar for the staff and graduate students of the two departments on "Stratification in Simple and Compound Societies." In April Ernest W. Burgess, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, gave two series of lectures at the university on "Courtship and Marriage Adjustment" and participated in the annual meeting of the Mississippi Council on Family Relations, for which Dr. Paul Carter of State College was the presiding officer. Dr. Burgess conducted a seminar for the staff and graduate students of both departments on "Some Methodological Problems in Sociology." Members of the Social Science Seminar at State College also participated.

The Social Science Research Center at State College has initiated a study of local action in one of three communities selected for intensive study. Alexander Fanelli and William Buchanan are in charge. The Center has recently published Buchanan's study, *The Mississippi Electorate*.

Raymond W. Mack of the university has been awarded a fellowship in business for the summer of 1953 by the Foundation for Economic Education. He will spend six weeks with Stockham Valves and Fittings, Birmingham, Alabama.

Morton King, chairman of the university department, is president-elect of the Southern Sociological Society to serve in 1954-55. He has previously served as secretary-treasurer and first vice-president. Dr. King

will visit Michigan State College during the summer to teach "Minority Groups and Culture and Personality."

Harold Kaufman and Raymond Payne (State College) and Julien Tatum (University) represented the Mississippi program at the sessions of the Southern Regional Committee on Community Study held in Chattanooga March 26-27.

University of Missouri.—The department of sociology and anthropology and the department of rural sociology will be hosts to a state-wide meeting of sociologists in the Memorial Student Union on Saturday, October 17. Sessions will begin at 10:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M., with a luncheon intervening. The informal committee in charge consists of Chester Alexander, Westminster College; David Carpenter, Washington University; E. G. McCurtain, Drury College; and Toimi Kyllonen, University of Missouri.

Irwin Deutscher has received an SSRC predoctoral research-training fellowship. Using Kansas City as his locale, he will make a study of the adjustment of middle-aged married couples whose children have left the home.

William H. Sewell presented "The Outlook for Social Science Research" as the assembly lecture sponsored by the department of sociology and anthropology and the department of rural sociology.

David Riesman was guest speaker at the spring banquet of Alpha Kappa Delta. Dr. Riesman consulted with former students and colleagues of Thorstein Veblen in preparation for his forthcoming book.

Hubert Bonner is visiting professor of social psychology during the summer session.

University of Nevada.—Dr. Milan J. Webster, who has taught at Nevada for twenty-five years and has been chairman of the economics, business, and sociology department for the last eleven years, retires this June.

In his long career as teacher and coun-

selor, Dr. Webster has made an outstanding contribution to the state of Nevada. He has also traveled extensively and participated in lectureships and research projects here and abroad.

New York University.—Dr. Lucy J. Chamberlain has been appointed chairman of the committee on admissions for the new social service training program at New York University's Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service. She will assume her new duties while continuing as professor of sociology and chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at New York University's Washington Square College.

University of North Dakota.—Peter A. Munch, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, is serving as chairman of a newly established Social Science Research Committee consisting of ten members, two from each of the departments of economics, geography, history, political science, and sociology.

The purpose of the committee is to stimulate and sponsor research in the social sciences, particularly pertaining to North Dakota and the Great Plains and to lend moral and institutional support to faculty members engaged in research, either individually or in groups.

Oberlin College.—Sabbatical leave is being taken by George E. Simpson during the first semester of 1953-54 and by Richard R. Myers and J. Milton Yinger during the second semester. Professor Simpson has received a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society for a field study in Jamaica during the period May, 1953—January, 1954.

Maurice R. Stein, now at Dartmouth College, has been appointed instructor in sociology for 1953-54.

Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination, by Professor Simpson and Yinger, has recently been published.

Ohio State University.—Kurt H. Wolff, associate professor of sociology, was a member of an interuniversity seminar on problems of cultural interchange sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and held at Northwestern University in the summer of 1952. He spent the fall quarter as a specialist for the State Department at the Institute for Social Research at Frankfurt University, doing research on German attitudes toward foreign countries. At present Dr. Wolff is engaged in research on German ideologies concerning the Soviet Union. The materials on which these studies are based are transcripts of group discussions sponsored by the Frankfurt Institute in 1950 and 1951.

Princeton University.—Dr. Hadley Cantril, director of the Office of Public Opinion Research and a member of the Princeton faculty since 1936, has been named chairman of Princeton University's department of psychology to succeed Dr. Carroll C. Pratt.

Purdue University.—The Graduate Council has given official approval of a regular Ph.D. program in sociology. This comes after six years of development at the Master's level and the granting of approximately thirty M.S. degrees. Present staff members are Harold T. Christensen, chairman; Elizabeth Wilson; Dwight W. Culver; J. Roy Leevy; J. E. Losey; Louis Schneider; Allan A. Smith; Walter Hirsch; Gerald Leslie; Hanna Meissner; and Rilma Buckman. Applications for graduate assistantships are being received.

Gerald Leslie has been granted a one-year leave of absence to substitute for Reuben Hill in family sociology at the University of North Carolina.

St. Louis University.—Among the special institutes, workshops, and conferences scheduled by the university for the summer are a Workshop in Testing for Guidance Purposes, to be held June 15-23, and a Workshop in Human Relations and Group Guidance, which will meet June 23-August 1

to study methods for reducing interpersonal tensions and for promoting interpersonal harmony. They are under the direction of the Rev. Trafford P. Maher, S.J., and A. G. Confrey of the university's department of education.

Washington State College.—A research laboratory has been established in the department of sociology under the direction of Julius A. Jahn. This laboratory is developing a program of research for the development and application of experimental and statistical principles and methods applied to problems of classification, scaling, enumeration, and prediction in sociology. Research projects are to be planned and carried out with the co-operation of state and local health, welfare, and educational organizations. The sociological research laboratory replaces the Office of the State College Director of the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory.

Wayne University.—Edgar A. Schuler and Maude L. Fiero, of Wayne University, and Duane L. Gibson and Wilbur B. Brookover, of Michigan State College, are co-

authors of the recently published *Outside Readings in Sociology*. Dr. Schuler, with Albert J. Mayer, department of sociology and anthropology, and Robert J. Mowitz, department of public administration, have published *Medical Public Relations* through a grant from the Health Information Foundation.

Norman D. Humphrey is spending the year in Mexico, financed by the Social Science Research Council, studying effects on Mexican scholars of study in the United States.

Edward C. Jandy continues for another year as public relations officer, United States Department of State, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Donald C. Marsh is president of the Michigan Sociological Society for the year 1952-53; he is also a member of the Co-ordinating Committee on Human Relations, Detroit, Michigan.

James B. Christensen, from Northwestern University, has been substituting for Dr. Humphrey in the field of anthropology.

Stephen W. Mamchur has been elected to the board of directors of the National Council on Family Relations.

BOOK REVIEWS

Asia and the West. By MAURICE ZINKIN. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1951. Pp. xii+300. \$3.50.

To this experienced student of the Asian scene, Western democracy's hopes of preventing two-thirds of the population of the earth from slipping into the orbit of communism depend almost wholly upon the speed with which "large doses of Western capital and Western free enterprise [are] given in such a way that Asia will not lose its self respect."

As a member of the Indian civil service and as a representative of a large British commercial house engaged in colonial trade, Zinkin has been an active participant in the process by which Asia was brought within the influence of Western technology, and he is well situated, therefore, to observe the recession of Western political power, especially since 1939, and to appraise some of the social forces now at work in Asia. The author's primary orientation to his problem is economic and political, but he also reveals a fine appreciation of the cultural and spiritual factors involved. This is no apologia for capitalism in Asia; it is rather an attempt to assess realistically the prospects for a free and democratic New Asia and to confront the one strong representative of capitalism with its unfinished business in this part of the world.

The book is literally packed with statistics on population distribution and increase, production and consumption, size of landholdings, etc. There may be some doubts about these, owing to the almost complete lack of documentation and the appearance of an occasional inaccuracy, such as the reference on page 36 to the increase of population in the United States from "5,300,000 in 1880 to 147,000,000 in 1948." One cannot help wondering, for example, where the author derives the information for his assured statement that the masses in Asia "can get per head only 87 per cent as much to eat, only two-thirds as much to wear, as they did before the war."

The major outlines of the picture presented by Zinkin are not reassuring to the Western world. He contends that the net effect of a hun-

dred years of contact between Asia and the West has been to "so upset the delicate [economic] balance that most of the Asian countryside is now bankrupt. With a few notable exceptions in upper Burma, Siam, and Sumatra, the peasantry of Asia have been increasingly burdened with debts, tenancy, and landlessness in a society where status and security depend almost wholly on the possession of land." The shift in leadership within Asia to the stratum of society "whose traditional function has been obedience alone" constitutes another serious threat to the West.

A review of the revolutionary changes now at work in the principal countries of Asia leads the author to conclude that India and China will be the two dominating political structures in the Asia of the future. Zinkin is convinced that a century of British rule, despite its disintegrating effect upon native life and institutions, has left a significant residue of liberal sentiment and ideals upon "the dominant classes in Indian society"; and it is this spirit in India which Zinkin regards as democracy's strongest bulwark in Asia. In order to swing the balance of power from Peiping to Delhi and thus to assure the permanence of "democracy and freedom in half the world," Zinkin concludes that capital investment, especially from the United States, to enable the Indian subcontinent to industrialize is absolutely essential. The author finds it difficult to comprehend why the United States "has left this part of the world to the unaided efforts of impoverished Western Europe" and instead has spent its money "on ex-enemy Japan, rickety Korea, and the disastrous Chiang Kai-shek regime. There has been an economic as well as a political error."

Underestimation of the potential role of Japan in the emerging world constitutes a serious limitation of the book. Although he recognizes that Japan's industry is still Asia's largest, the author is disposed to write off Japan as a relatively inconsequential element in the essential industrialization of the East.

ANDREW W. LIND

University of Hawaii

The Development of the Idea of God in the Catholic Child. By JOHN B. McDOWELL. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1952. Pp. xiv+146. \$1.75.

The purpose of this study, a doctoral thesis, is to describe and analyze the processes involved in the child's learning the idea of God and to isolate those factors which "facilitate" or "interfere" with this learning. The experimental test used consists of three parts. Part I is a "multiple-choice vocabulary test" on twelve divine attributes: "divinity, infinity, eternity, ubiquity, immutability, providence, perfection, creator, spirituality, trinity, omnipotence, and omniscience" (p. 6). Part II contains a number of questions concerning these attributes, and Part III is a series of descriptive terms designed to permit the child to express his idea of God.

Chapter ii presents a statistical analysis of test scores for a total population of 2,263 elementary- and high-school students. Mean scores indicate a steady and significant improvement in performance from the fourth through the ninth grade. Growth as measured by the entire test seems little affected by sex differences (pp. 11-13).

"The first and second sections of the test were designed to investigate the effects of formal religious instruction" (p. 17). Statistical and item analyses of these data appear in chapter iii. Again, the greatest learning of concepts occurs from the fourth to the ninth grade, although no concept shows "a regular pattern of growth from grade to grade" (p. 77). The author believes that the decrease in the rate of growth after the ninth grade is, in part, due to poor teaching of the technical vocabulary; overemphasis upon rote memory; and improper use of anthropomorphisms, examples, and analogies. He suggests that teachers recognize the processual nature of conceptual learning and adjust their methods accordingly.

Chapter iv deals with the children's choices of descriptive terms referring to God, indicating the gradual discarding of concrete terms and anthropomorphisms in favor of more accurate abstract concepts. Growth in understanding as measured by Part III of the test is regular from the fourth through the tenth grade, with girls making significantly higher scores than boys. This leads to chapter v, which gives briefly and concisely the summary, conclusions, and recommendations. This volume would make good sup-

plementary reading for a course in social psychology.

R. L. YOKLEY

Fisk University

Willow Run: A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy. By LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR and JAMES EDSON STERNER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. Pp. xi+406. \$5.00.

This is a study of the consequences of an unusual population influx into Willow Run at the time of the mass production of bombers by Ford from 1941 to 1945. The authors define it as "one case of one kind of social change in a specific locality during a specific period of time under specific cultural conditions of the American Midwest in wartime." They believe this case is typical of war production areas throughout the country.

The authors embrace the "cultural inadequacy theory": that "industrial culture provides no criterion by which either a manufacturer or a government official can determine in advance when a manufacturer should divert his own capital to housing and other community services and when he shall rely on the capital of others for such facilities and services." In essence, cultural inadequacy means the slowness of an industrial culture to comprehend and plan for the common good. Attention is focused, instead, on privilege, political power, and narrow individual interests. The conclusion is: "The social fiasco at Willow Run happened the way it did, then, because Americans haven't yet given thought to making such things happen in any other way; because in a disturbed situation we still prefer to rely on the political power struggle rather than to subordinate our own interests and prejudices to the technological needs of a common objective; and because we have not yet learned how to live with social change."

Despite the formal scientific claims of this book, the journalistic and impressionistic analysis and the slangy and very colloquial style belie the façade. For example: "... it is absolutely necessary, that, as the yokels say, we 'keep our eye on the squirrel'—one squirrel at a time!"

There are graphs, charts, numerous statistical computations and tables, and pictures. However, in the main, while this book does not quite live up to the hope of the authors that it is a contribution to a future science of change

("metakinology"), it does provide some insight into the fate of a community in crisis. It is doubtful, however, whether it contributes to an understanding of social change.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

These Will Go to College: A Study of Future Demand for Admission to College by Secondary School Graduates in the Cleveland-Akron-Lorain Area. By R. CLYDE WHITE. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1952. Pp. xviii+108. \$2.75.

This is the first time a co-operative study of the market for higher learning has been sponsored by a group of schools in a region. The study itself is simple, unpretentious, and concise. The population of eighteen-year-olds in the seven-county area from the present until 1969 is predicted. Using social class, sex, and IQ breakdowns, a further prediction is made as to the percentage of the eighteen-year-old population which will enrol in colleges and universities of the area if facilities are available. White then weighs the ability of the schools of the region to meet this challenge of increased enrolment by comparing the composition of their boards of trustees with those of first-rank schools outside the region.

MURRAY WAX

Chicago Branch
University of Illinois

Human Problems in Technological Change: A Case Book. Edited by EDWARD H. SPICER. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952. Pp. 301. \$4.00.

The purpose of this book is to assist in teaching students how "to introduce new ideas and methods in agriculture, industry, and medicine to areas deficient in these technologies." Fifteen cases of successful and unsuccessful attempts to introduce change are presented, each with statement of (1) problem, (2) course of events, (3) relevant factors, (4) outcome, and (5) analysis. A final chapter discusses "Conceptual Tools for Solving Problems." Six recurrent groups of problems are considered but no integrated conceptual scheme is presented.

Four of the cases deal especially with what is called "problems of cultural linkage." Out-

standing among these is Lauriston Sharp's case, "Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians." The author presents, for the Yir Yoront group of aboriginals, a brilliant analysis of the linkage of the stone ax with the most important activities, which in everyday life and fiesta occasions articulate the role structure, systems of status, ideas, sentiments, norms, and values. The social disorganization and anomie following the introduction of Western traits, including the steel ax which displaced the stone ax but did not take its place in the social and cultural worlds, is described.

Six cases illustrate problems of social structure. Thus E. H. Spicer describes how the Japanese in the Arizona relocation center were no longer "reluctant cotton-pickers" when administrators made the block rather than the whole community the unit of payment and administration for this operation. Five cases illustrate the problems of the role of the innovator. Among these cases, John Useem describes how a back-slapping and successful United States labor relations expert, innocent of the culture and power structure within which he was working in Palau in Micronesia, set in motion forces which resulted in a strike, banishment of an innocent leader, withdrawal of a company commissioned by United States administrators to mine phosphate, and other occurrences.

Five cases are designed to illustrate problems of cultural bias. These include E. H. Spicer's description of the reluctance of Japanese to leave relocation centers at the indicated time. Four cases illustrate problems of participation. Among these, Allan R. Holmberg describes "An Attempt To Establish a Stable Water Supply in Viru Valley, Peru," wherein most of the possible mistakes due to lack of involvement were made. Although a good usable technical performance was made at considerable cost, the facility was not used and other wells were not dug because the right people were not involved.

Two cases illustrate the problems of buffer organization. The most interesting of these is John Useem's discussion of the development of democratic leadership in the Micronesian Islands, where one political organization "faced" the foreigners and another "faced" the natives. Because of the nature of the existing organization, elections required by United States authorities interested in introducing American democracy perpetuated the titled nobility in office and retained the previous power structure intact.

This much-needed book should be very use-

ful to the hundreds of United States technicians being sent out on Point Four and similar programs. This would be particularly true if it were supplemented with readings and instruction which would make these technicians aware of their biases. This reviewer believes the book's effectiveness would have been heightened if more emphasis had been placed on interaction in the cases if this had been described by sociograms or other means effective in communicating the nature of the interaction. Also the analyses of the cases would have been more effective if a more uniform and systematic conceptual scheme had been employed.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Michigan State College

Interpreting the Labor Movement. Edited by GEORGE W. BROOKS, MILTON DERBER, DAVID A. MCCABE, and PHILIP TAFT. (Publication No. 9.) Madison, Wis.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1952. Pp. 207. \$3.00.

American sociologists, having discovered the trade-union only recently, have been lax in becoming acquainted both with the vast body of older literature on unionism and with more recent studies of trade-union policies and collective-bargaining behavior. One result is that their interpretations of the origin and character of American unionism sometimes reveal a lack of historical sense, a superficial view of the realities of modern industrial relations, and a tendency to report old and inappropriate generalizations about labor as new and fitting. A useful antidote to these sociological sins would be a careful reading of this short collection of essays.

Ten academic and nonacademic students of labor (none a sociologist by profession) write on various aspects of unionism. The picture that emerges of diversity in form and function, tactic and technique, is a warning against too hasty a leap to generalization about the American labor movement (see especially the essays by Stephan-sky on structure, McCabe on collective-bargaining units). Several essays—most notably Rees's analysis of union wage policies—show a healthy sensitivity to the complex interplay between technical-economic-legal considerations and political-ideological considerations in trade-union decision-making.

With all this picture of diversity and variation, the general explanation is not ignored.

Philip Taft offers a characteristically careful summary and analysis of the contending theories of the labor movement which to this day underlie intellectual controversies in this field—the ideas of Brentano, the Webbs, Marx and Lenin, Catholic reformers of the last century, and, more recently, Hoxie, Commons, and Perlman. Sociologists will also find some interesting general propositions of narrower scope in Bar-bash's treatment of ethnic factors in the development of the labor movement and Kovner's essay on union democracy. Kovner postulates "a cycle of democratic action and dormancy and regeneration" hinging on the circumstances of the first or second succession to office.

Taft sets a theme which permeates all but two of the essays: collective bargaining was, is, and will probably remain the solid central core of American unionism. There is throughout a sort of Perlmanesque rejoicing in the "pragmatic" character of American labor—its lack of any systematic ideology, its limited objective of wage and job control, its continued focus on carving out and protecting a "job territory."

Three alternative interpretations, however, of the likely course of future development of the labor movement get some attention.

First, Rev. Higgins (almost the lone deviationist from the Commons-Perlman tradition) argues forcefully, if a bit wishfully, that "the philosophy of the Industry Council Plan," inspired by Catholic teaching, is taking firm root; that a "loose system of corporatism" is inevitable; that the scope of collective bargaining is coming to embrace the problems of "industry as a totality." One answer to this is in Tripp's critical examination of the notion, familiar in sociological as well as Catholic doctrine, of the "integration" of the union into the "plant community" via "improved communication."

Second is the point of view of the many writers who see every new pronouncement of a labor leader on a broad issue of public policy as heralding the emergence of a new, more political, unionism going far beyond the bread-and-butter problems of the work place, far beyond "mere pressure-group activity." Max Kampelman, a congressional staff expert on the receiving end of labor's modest lobbying effort, defends this line.

Third is the idea of the union as a professional association. As Taft notes, it was the Webbs who, almost half a century ago, erroneously predicted that the trade-union in a planned economy would lose its straight trade-union functions

and become "more and more concerned with raising the standard of competency in its occupation, improving the professional equipment of its members. . . ." More recently, a few American sociologists, seeking professionalization in every nook and cranny of the occupational world, have pictured unionism as an expression of the "professionalization of labor."

Almost all the essays in this volume suggest that American experience has neither borne out the Webbs's prediction of wage-worker professionalization (whatever its truth for planned economies), nor has it given much encouragement to those who see "business unionism" declining in mid-century America. To be sure, the new unions and the younger leaders are different. This is what we would expect of institutions and men who grew up during the depression-garrison state era. And the range of leadership activity is indeed vast—as the essays by Kampelman and D. C. Williams on labor in national and international politics suggest. Perhaps, however, the modern labor leader reserves the broad view and his interest in the "new society" more for university seminars and after-dinner speeches than for the hard realities of union administration. The question of changes in the ideologies and role orientations of labor leaders and their expression in union action is still worth careful examination. This volume can assist in the enterprise.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Chicago

Medical Public Relations: A Study of the Public Relations Program of the Academy of Medicine of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, 1951. By E. A. SCHULER, R. J. MOWITZ, and A. J. MAYER. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1952. Pp. xiv+228.

In this study, a political scientist and two sociologists have reported on a public relations program undertaken by the Medical Association of Toledo, Ohio. During a twelve-month period the local papers carried a series of twenty-one advertisements. Their purpose was to educate the public on such matters as how to secure medical help in an emergency, the desirability of having a family physician, home-nursing care, securing doctors as public speakers, and machinery for adjusting patients' complaints about doctors. Within two months of the completion of this program the present study was under-

taken. The planning and prosecution of the research, and the drafting of the report, were compressed into a six-month period.

The body of the study is in three sections: fifty local doctors were interviewed to secure their reactions to the program; fifty local leaders were similarly interviewed; and six hundred families were interviewed, using a twelve-page questionnaire to study their knowledge of the program, their health needs, and their reactions to available medical care. The contents of the interviews are summarized, and the results of the questionnaires are embodied in ninety tables.

Although planned as an evaluation of an action program, the results are of interest to the public opinion field. By this measure the citizens of Toledo seem little affected by newspaper material of this sort. Only 8 per cent of the family sample appears to have been unequivocally influenced by the program. Of the sample of doctors and community leaders, approximately one-half could recall having seen the newspaper advertisements.

It would appear that the program to induce families to secure a family doctor was largely superfluous. Over 90 per cent of the families already had one. Moreover, 85 per cent were satisfied with their doctors. On the other hand, 40 per cent of the families were in need of medical care but were not availing themselves of it. The lay leaders of the community considered the medical services to be highly satisfactory in quality. The doctors, however, had substantial reservations on the adequacy of their services. Sixty per cent of the families had no opinion on the question. Moreover, only 15 per cent looked on doctors as potential leaders in initiating improvements.

The analysis of the data yields intriguing results of the above sorts, but no attempt has been made to draw the results together into a framework of orderly theory. Hence they remain to a large degree unrelated and contradictory. Throughout, the authors emphasize the tentative nature of their generalizations. The one conclusion which is presented with conviction, their final one—"it is our conviction that physicians alone, by taking the initiative with constructive programs for such improvements, are in the best position to lead their own communities and the nation in continued progress toward better health and medical services"—does not seem to have been derived from their data.

Health Information Foundation provided the

funds. The work was carried out with great speed and with apparent proficiency. But there is no indication as to how the results could be used by the administrator or by the scholar.

OSWALD HALL

McGill University

The Man on the Assembly Line. By CHARLES R. WALKER and ROBERT H. GUEST. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. 180. \$3.25.

This slim volume describes an interview study conducted in 1949 in an ultramodern automobile assembly plant located in New England. The authors have set themselves the task of exploring "the relation between the work environment . . . and the assembly man's satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the job." Because the plant was new (having been in operation less than two years), it was felt that the interviewees would be able to make objective comparisons between their present mass-production-type jobs and their previous employment which, in most cases, "bore little resemblance to the work of an automobile assembler."

The authors are very meticulous in describing their sample: 180 workers stratified on the basis of job classification; department; age; education; marital, dwelling, and veteran status. This represented approximately 18 per cent of the total of production workers employed in the plant and about 54 per cent were men who had been working for more than six months in 14 major job classifications and who also lived in the same communities with ten or more fellow-employees. Two-thirds of these were under thirty-two years of age.

The questionnaire, administered by M.I.T. graduate students and based in part on a number of early exploratory interviews, consisted of a variety of question types, including multiple choice, yes-no and open-end. It is regrettable that it is not included in the Research Appendix.

Although few will be startled by the results, the industrial sociologist has, nevertheless, been provided with some new evidence of the dissatisfactions stemming from the deskilled operations associated with that highly mechanized technology often considered the epitome of our industrial society: the automobile assembly plant.

The major part of the volume describes the immediate job characteristics associated with mass-production methods and assays worker attitudes toward them. The authors present six basic characteristics: (1) mechanically controlled work pace, (2) repetitiveness, (3) minimum skill, (4) predetermination of tools and techniques, (5) minute subdivision of product, and (6) need for "surface mental attention."

The workers, after describing their jobs and indicating the location of other workers with whom they come into contact, were asked questions about their attitudes toward particular job elements. Considerable attention is devoted to a rating scale by which the respondents indicated those elements which they "liked most," in both their present and previous jobs, and those which they "liked least." Mechanical pacing of the work, repetitiveness, and minimum skill requirements take top honors as the most disliked features of the *present* job; and "pay and security rate far above any single factor" as the most liked features. Additional validity is lent these findings by evidence that those workers having jobs with relatively less of what is defined as extreme "mass-production characteristics" have more favorable attitudes toward their immediate job situation.

On ratings of the *previous* job, findings were reversed; immediate job content was highly approved, but economic rewards were not satisfying. The authors, then, find that workers are "trading" the unpleasantness associated with assembly-line work for very specific economic advantages.

It is perhaps unfortunate that some of the data presented will add new fuel to the persistent but wasteful controversy over the relative importance of economic and noneconomic job factors. The authors themselves are careful to attribute less to the significance of the rank order of "likes" and "dislikes" than unwary readers will be prone to do.

The researchers have in part compensated for their reliance on attitudinal questionnaire responses by the use of semi-objective type questions on interactions which could be cross-checked with other informants and with data from the personnel files. An interesting positive correlation is noted between the intensity of a job's "mass production characteristics" and individual absenteeism and quit rates.

One finding is somewhat hard to explain. More than half of the interviewees reported that their opportunities for promotion were quite

good. Yet within the plant, an unusually high proportion of jobs paid almost identical wages, lines of promotion were relatively nonexistent, and the number of aspired-to jobs (utility man, repairman, maintenance, inspection, and clerical) were exceedingly limited relative to the total number of production workers employed. These data conflict with findings reported by Gouldner in another study of assembly-worker aspirations, but it is perhaps explainable, again in terms of the newness of the situation.

The weakest feature of the study is the analysis of the social system of the assembly plant. The interrelations among workers are assessed in mechanical terms, limited essentially by the author's definition to those people within the immediate work space of the informant with whom he reports verbal interaction. Lacking also is any discussion of subgroup formation, the significance of being a "toe-plate installer" as distinct from a "seat-spring builder," except from the point of view of immediate individual job satisfaction.

The authors, for example, describe three types of assembly-line jobs: (1) where functionally dependent team operations are involved, (2) where a man works completely independently, and (3) where the worker must wait to perform his operation until the man ahead of him "on the line" has finished. With the exception of the effect of these types on "bank building" and overt social interaction, no attention is given to the repercussions of these distinct types of work organization flowing from the technology on work-group structure.

Again, the study states: "The majority of the men . . . do not work in groups which are recognizable as distinct terms. . . . They spoke about being able to talk to others near them but only rarely did they use expressions about 'our team,' 'our own group,' or 'my partners.' There was little of what the social psychologist would call 'in-group awareness.'"

Perhaps this vacuum can be attributed in part to the very limited concept of *group* and the newness of the plant. An interaction count limited to *reported* on-the-job talking is hardly a sufficient index of group formation. Certainly union-oriented behavior in other assembly plants would indicate that individuals identify, and very strongly, with particular segments of the production group, and only by means of such identification is a great deal of observed behavior explainable.

The same shortcomings mar the section on

relations to the union where loyalties are assessed in a quite uncritical manner. Differential patterns of attitude expression or behavior between work groups are not discussed.

Walker and Guest conclude with a number of suggestions for improving assembly operation in terms of its impact on human relations, including group incentives, pace control by the group itself, expanding individual job content, and so forth.

If, as the authors suggest, this is a pilot study out of which they will develop new hypotheses for field testing, the research can be considered fruitful and as an important documentation of worker attitudes toward that type of progressive manufacturing associated with automobile assembly.

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The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement. By LOWRY NELSON. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1952. Pp. xvii+296. \$5.00.

The Mormon village has significance as the institutional pattern which made settlement of the arid mountain West possible to agricultural pioneers and also as the social base of a large portion of the West, which is in fact a Mormon culture area. It remains the important source and seedbed of the peculiar Mormon viewpoint, which attains greater general significance today, with Mormons occupying positions of all ranks in Washington; with the movement of Mormons to eastern cities; and with the movement of industry to the West—all indicating for them a broader role in the national life. Professor Nelson has written definitively on the subject. This work is not a pioneer (for there are other studies by Nelson, Joseph Geddes, and others), but it does summarize and fulfil three decades of research in the area.

The Mormon village is important to the sociologist as an instance in which social patterns did not simply emerge in the course of settlement. It derived its physical form of a compact village-dwelling agricultural settlement from the plan of Joseph Smith, Mormon prophet, drawn up for the city of Zion in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1833. The village as established by the Latter-Day Saints reflects the basic premises and values of the Mormon movement, which absorbed from the nineteenth-century milieu the millennial as-

pirations, the utopian socialism of religious and secular movements, and the preference of the near-frontier for agriculture. The Mormons theologized these notions and attempted to build a city which would embody them in social forms. Driven out by persecution, they went westward and accomplished the fact of settlement where hardy plainsmen had considered this impossible, their secret weapon being the Mormon village.

The ideological source and origin of the village is set forth and documented by Nelson in the second part of this work, which also gives a description of the hierarchically arranged structure of the Latter-Day Saints church, which involves a large portion of Mormon males in church work, thus replacing a professional clergy. Together with its auxiliary organizations which activate women and youth, the church is the core of the Mormon villages. These villages were originally settled by families "called" by the church authorities and constituting little theocracies which embodied on a small scale the elaborate church that became the center of village life before ever a house was constructed.

In Parts III and IV Nelson presents the results of studies made a quarter of a century ago in three Utah villages, and resurveyed in 1950, and studies made in Mormon villages in Canada at about the same time. In this period significant changes took place, which, while they are not surprising in the larger context of rural America, indicate a rapid process of secularization of what were once and still to a great extent are peculiarly Mormon villages. In a final chapter to Part IV, Nelson shows the importance of religion as a "stabilizing force on the frontier." The difficulties of settlement were met because of the importance of the religious motivation and the solidarity and personal security which the highly organized church provided. A looser group with less conviction would certainly have failed in many areas where the Mormons succeeded.

The changes found by Nelson in his survey of Escalante, Ephraim, and American Fork, Utah, are chiefly these:

A. *Persistence of the village pattern.*—Little change was found in the first two villages in the Mormon pattern of village dwelling as against the isolated farmstead, but in American Fork "residence on farms as well as in town has been a practice for a number of years" (p. 276). There is little reason to doubt, he feels, "that dispersion on farms will continue in the valleys along the front of the Wasatch Range from Utah

County on the south to Cache County on the north" (p. 276). He supports this trend not only by his own studies but also by data from a Bureau of Reclamation study in the same area. If followed through, it will mean an eventual dispersion of the Mormon village and a major change in the social basis of the Mormon West. Moreover, the general trend is for population to remain steady or to decline. Migration of youth has long been a problem in rural Utah and raises questions of possible apostasy.

B. *Secularization of life.*—The resurvey of Mormon villages shows an increase in urban and secular patterns, indicating a continuation of the process of the assimilation of Mormons into the general American culture out of which they consciously differentiated themselves in the second third of the nineteenth century. This process has been marked since the abandonment of polygamy in 1890, the accommodationist policy of the church leadership since that time, and the admission of Utah as a state in 1896. Seven important trends are indicated (pp. 276 ff. and all of Parts III and IV):

1. Communication and transportation devices . . . place the remotest corners in instantaneous contact with the world.
2. Farming is becoming more and more mechanized. . . .
3. Farmers are declining in numbers and farms are increasing in size.
4. Life becomes more impersonal, mutual aid declines, and contractual forms of association increase.
5. Formal organizations multiply as new interests arise—economic, social, recreational, educational.
6. New occupations come into being as specialization and division of labor grow more elaborate.
7. Homogeneity of the population gives way to increasing heterogeneity. Attitudes change. The sense of *community* suffers as cleavages develop around special interests.

Nelson also calls attention to the importance of *agrarianism* in the Mormon outlook, developing out of the preference for agriculture on religious grounds and reinforced by a century of rural life. This causes new departures in social life to be seen in terms of deviance from older agrarian norms. Nelson's criticism of this aspect of Mormonism is telling and to the point. That may also be said for his criticism of the Church Welfare Plan, a huge semisocialistic co-operative venture inaugurated by the church in 1936 to meet the problem of the depression. Yet the church plan received a tremendous response in Utah, and, despite its anachronisms, it is a

vital expression of Mormon co-operation in our day. Nelson's remarks on the importance and implications of both agrarianism and theocracy in the Mormon outlook are well taken, but both deserve careful examination in urban as well as rural Mormon communities.

There is much important detail on the development and structure of the Mormon village in this valuable book that cannot be summarized in a brief review, as well as excellent illustrations, maps, and tables. Nelson and the University of Utah Press have produced a book of interest not only to the rural sociologist and the sociologist interested in religious movements but also to American historians and to the general reading public.

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To Win These Rights. By LUCY RANDOLPH MASON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. Pp. 200. \$3.00.

This small and readable volume presents a storehouse of personal experiences and anecdotes revealing an intimate glimpse of the struggles, tensions, and frequent violence which shadowed the small band of union missionaries who marched through the South in the name of CIO.

The author, a kindly, gray-haired woman who came to the labor movement in her fifties, has rendered an invaluable service to the southern trade-union movement through her years of unceasing effort to bring a greater measure of industrial democracy to America. It is fitting that she should have devoted herself to the cause of civil rights, since it was her great-great-grandfather, George Mason, who wrote the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which became the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. Three of her kinsmen signed the Declaration of Independence; Chief Justice John Marshall was her mother's relative; and General Robert E. Lee was her father's cousin.

The book is primarily her account of the events since 1937, when she was first employed as publicist and roving ambassador for the CIO in the South. Here are stories about the men and women with whom she worked and who played lead roles in the "Southern Drive." She relates numerous instances of gross violations by law-enforcement agencies of federal laws pro-

tecting union organization, speech, and assembly. She tells of many instances where milltown preachers, invoking the authority of the church, collaborated with millowners and local police to deny civil rights to union members and organizers. A measure of her value to the CIO is illustrated by one of her principle techniques. Often when a union organizer was jailed in a small town, Miss Mason would be summoned to his aid. She would first seek out the local judge. More often than not, a portrait of General Lee would be hanging in the judge's office, whereupon she would begin the conversation by admiring the portrait and comparing it with the one which hung in her home. She would then quietly point out that General Lee was her father's cousin. Thus disarmed, the judge tended to be a great deal more conciliatory. Often, a subtle reference to her father, who was a leading southern Episcopalian minister, opened doors which would otherwise have been closed to the CIO. In numerous communities she would discover relatives who were people of influence and whose suspicions of unions she was able to overcome.

She concludes with a belief that "... the CIO unions are doing more to unite the South with the rest of the United States than any other single organization. Regional prejudices have been worn at the edges by the impact of new ideas, new personalities, union papers ... and most of all by belonging to a national ... union. Their union makes members feel a brotherhood with fellow workers in far-flung industrial plants."

This memoir of a Virginia aristocrat involved in the rough-and-tumble of the southern labor movement is not only a unique personal history; it is also a commentary on a phase of social change that is taking place in the South.

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The Dynamics of Morals. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1950. Pp. xxvii+530. 25s.

This book is somehow better than I can make it appear when I approach it analytically. One is used to books on philosophy out of India which sound right but end in making but a minimum of analytic sense. This book, on the contrary, has down precisely all the moral and soci-

ological "patter" to which we in the West are accustomed. Dip into it almost at random: "Modern social psychology dismisses the assumption of man being by nature an intractable ego-centric animal . . . and also the familiar notion, grounded on the former, in respect of the inevitable opposition between egoism and altruism, individual desire and social utility, individualism and collectivism, freedom and authority" (p. 256). Why, that could have come out of the latest pages of John Dewey or out of any of the meager writings of George Herbert Mead!

Indeed, the author quotes John Dewey to the easy effect that "both worlds, individual and social, are hopelessly ambiguous, an ambiguity which will never cease as long as we think in terms of antithesis." As if there were any other way for us to think when we meet, as we do in morality, the antithetical! He quotes Mead, "neither the individual nor the society can be explained in terms of the other, except as the other is explained by it." And where, in fact, do we go from there, if we are tired of circles?

Now what would seem to be required for so marvelous a compendium of East and West as this is would be some way of putting together the actual incompatibilities of life. Conflict may be lethal as well as dynamic. And it is not enough to assume that people are right just in so far as they agree; that they are always wrong when they disagree. The solution of such incompatibilities one would expect to find in the chapter entitled "Bridging Individual and Social Ethics." But this is the chapter I find most unsatisfactory. The author begins, solidly enough, "Ethics refers to both individual and social morality. To man's inner obligation to himself as a moral agent and to his obligations to groups and institutions as a social person" (p. 148). He then proceeds, amiably enough, with the observation that "there is now a yawning gap between formal or individual ethics and 'social' ethics." It is so, at the opening of the chapter, and I risk my word that, despite many

phrases, and fine phrases too, it is so at the end of the chapter; and alas, at the end of the book — yea, alas, alack, at the end of life.

You can solve theoretical problems theoretically, and you can solve practical problems practically; but how really do you solve practical problems theoretically or theoretical problems practically? Plato could not, Kant could not, Bishop Butler could not. Who can? Perhaps Mukerjee's method is as good as any. But its solidity is not greatly enhanced by broadening the concrete perspective to the United Nations (as near the end) especially at a time when India's role in the "Dynamics of Morals," internationally, remains so ambivalent. Short of absolutism, resolution, for all the fine language spilled meantime, may sometimes take the form of dialectical argument, as here; sometimes it must take the form of political compromise (diplomacy), and sometimes there remains only the form of war. The wise moralist will keep prepared for the "dynamics" of such plural alternatives. He will recognize, with the canny, humane Emerson, that "the doctrine of hatred must be preached when that [of love] pules and whines."

If we really require the "dynamics of morals," and demand it upon a large scale, it might be better to admit frankly that we can solve (some of) our problems theoretically without more than barely touching them practically; that we can solve (some of) our problems practically ("live 'em down") without touching them at all theoretically; but that we cannot ordinarily have both of these together. Never the twain do meet. Certainly they hardly meet in this book, save in such a mist of fine-sounding words as reconciles all opposites in a rainbow and yet leaves men at each other's throats over the pot of gold at the rainbow's end.

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EMPIRICAL TRAINING AND SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary sociology wavers between pragmatic and positivistic orientations. Although attention is paid to the relative validity of different approaches to empirical investigation, constant attempts are made to freeze sociological framework into a permanent mold. Terminology is standardized rather than evaluated for its own utility. Different theories compete for all-purpose acceptance. Rationalization for the commitment to fixed theoretical structures may be seen in the increasing bureaucratization of sociological research, which cannot tolerate theoretical uncertainties.

POSITIVISTIC AND PRAGMATIC ORIENTATIONS

Contemporary sociology is beset by a dilemma that has never been stated explicitly. Like all operating sciences, it is faced by problems of method, in both the conducting of empirical research and the statement of theory. Confusion arises through the overlapping of either the *positivistic* or the *pragmatic* orientation. The former embarks upon the discovery of the social world as it really is. The latter is content with the exploration of specific aspects of reality, those aspects which yield to peculiar perceptivities of the theoretical framework applied.¹

Sociology propounds the infinite flexibility of culture. At the same time, it looks for constants in the flow of social change that will submit to generalization. Sociology is

¹ The pragmatic validity of theory in relation to its problem-solving capacity is not emphasized here. We are concerned, primarily, with the relativity of different theoretical approaches to the exploration of the social world. That a demonstrable relationship exists between a theory and the practical actions for which it provides orientation is by no means denied.

keenly aware of the unavoidability of introducing value premises into the argument of the social sciences. At the same time, it has not abandoned its search for objective and final truth. Sociology is committed to measurement as the only means of communicating unambiguously the results of empirical research. At the same time, the objects as well as the scale of measurement remain subject to arbitrary choice, concealed behind the magic of "operational definition." Sociology recognizes the relative validity of social theory but strives for a conceptual framework shared by all, for concepts so clearly and unambiguously defined that they furnish symbolic counterparts to the "real thing" with which we are concerned.

Of the two orientations, the positivistic and the pragmatic, the former is more clearly developed in its theoretical foundations² and more widely implemented in empirical research. Pragmatic orientations are reduced

² See, of course, the classical and guarded statement by George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939).

to a subsidiary position. They serve to check upon misleading positivistic assertions, they help undermine theoretical structures that have outgrown their usefulness, and they pave the way to new relevant concepts, new systematic theories, and new problems in the social field. Pragmatic orientations appear only at critical breaking points in the advance of sociological science.

Like all systematic science, sociology proceeds in skips and jumps from one framework to another.³ To make room for new problem definitions, conceptualization, and research method, sociological tradition is challenged by demonstrations as to what—within a given framework—it *cannot* do. Much contemporary sociological discussion exhausts itself in attempts to devalidate the approach of a competing school of thought. Proof is offered that certain types of analysis cannot be performed successfully by an approach designed for entirely different purposes.⁴

Such sparring for position is not necessarily wasteful. The sophisticated sociologist gains from it an understanding of the relationship between different types of analyses. He learns that different concepts, methods, or approaches may be applied, by and large,

³ "A civilization which cannot burst through its current abstractions is doomed to sterility after a very limited period of progress. . . . Each generation criticises the unconscious assumptions made by its parents. It may assent to them, but it brings them out in the open" (A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* [Pelican Books] [England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1938], pp. 75 and 37).

⁴ See Walter Firey's criticism of economic theory in *Land Use in Central Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), pp. 3-40. Concerned with differences in consumer preferences, he refutes a theoretical structure which takes existing preferences for granted without trying to analyze them.

Ogburn's theory of social change, which focuses upon the influence of new inventions by excluding other factors of change through the assumption of a potential equilibrium, is attacked because of its omissions.

Sutherland's theory of crime causation through differential association, well equipped to deal with professional crime handed on by tradition, is criticized for not being able to cope with nonprofessional criminal activity.

to the same general area of sociological inquiry. In the exploration of human personality the "symbolic interactionists," the psychoanalysts of more or less orthodox inclination, the field theorists, and the Gestalt psychologists stake out their respective claims. In criminology culture conflict, differential association, and psychiatric interpretation pull at opposite ends of the same string. Similarly, cyclical and unilinear, monocausal, and pluralistic approaches vie with one another for supremacy in the discussion of social change. Whatever the field of investigation or the particular approach, the critical argument is too often concerned with some aspect of the problem beyond the range of the competing approach.

This condition is essentially wholesome, since it affords an opportunity for the integration of diverse theory and research. Much energy is wastefully consumed, however, in attempts to establish a single approach as the only fruitful one or the best one and in the condemnation of other approaches for not doing what they had never set out to do.

The products of different sociological inquiry do not mechanically add up to an enlarged body of information. Sociological research proceeds with different problem definitions and conceptualizations. The results of such research are not commensurable. They do not permit addition or even parallel recording. The findings of elementary attitude studies frequently do not add up to a composite result, nor can they be fruitfully compared, since they are based on different sampling techniques and operational definitions. Research conclusions within the same field of observation are often only indirectly commensurable. To place such conclusions in a logical relationship, it is necessary to negotiate integration at a higher level of theoretical abstraction.⁵ If two conclusions

⁵ For Einstein's endeavor to arrive at a unified field theory intended to combine the theory of relativity and the quantum theory, thus far unrelated, based upon the assumptions of either gravitational or electromagnetic forces, see Lincoln Barnett, *The Universe and Dr. Einstein* (rev. ed.; New York:

are derived from different problem definitions and different theoretical conceptualizations, they can supplement each other only within a theoretical system wide enough to encompass both conceptualizations.

BUREAUCRATIZATION

The contemporary struggle for firm positivistic foundations in empirical research must be understood against the social and institutional background within which sociology operates today.⁶ This background is one of increasing bureaucratization in sociological inquiry as well as in teaching and writing.⁷

The usefulness of sociology in the conduct of both public and private affairs is sometimes made the justification of its very existence. It is not this utility, however, that makes the conduct of a science worth while, nor are prediction and control the only objectives of the scholar and the educator. The orientation we gain for life through the understanding of, and knowledge about, men must in itself be considered an important contribution to our culture. Science does not have to affect the material standard of living of the society in which it functions, although it may help in many practical ways. Social science has, indeed, become instrumental in the improvement of government as well as business, and, as a consequence, sociology has almost ceased being an end in itself.

An increasing proportion of our students abandon sociological scholarship with the completion of their final theses. As sociologists, many of them will work for a living

outside the ivory towers of the university, using what they have learned to establish their earning power in the world of government and business, in the associational life of the country, and in the various branches of the communications industry.

The training objective of academic sociology reaches out beyond the perpetuation of sociological scholarship. Sociology is taught as a craft,⁸ and the training of professional experts calls for standardization in the training methods and in the quality of the final product. To fit sociologists into the vast bureaucracies of modern government and business requires that they function as cogs in a machine, that is, as replaceable parts. No longer can a man be hired on the basis of individual excellence, of initiative and ingenuity shown in the field of scholarship and research.⁹ His usefulness cannot be assessed through careful evaluation of the individual, his chances for intellectual growth, and his adaptability to the position for which he is engaged.

Our sociology departments must guarantee a definite type of performance when recommending a candidate for a job, one more or less predictable on the basis of past experiences with similar candidates. Reliability in meeting expectations of performance becomes more important than the turning-out of candidates with initiative and ability to shape the job situation.

Such training objectives cannot remain exposed to the uncertainties of methodological and theoretical strife. When our young sociologists reach the labor market as professionals, many of them will be asked to function not like the natural scientist but rather like the technologist and the engineer and are likely to be at first engaged in positions of relatively low status in the hierarchy of bureaucratic execution.

⁸ See Eldridge Sibley, *The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Social Scientists* (Social Science Research Council Bulletin 58 [New York, 1948]).

⁹ See Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 129 ff.

New American Library, 1950; published as a Mentor Book, 1952), pp. 117 ff.

⁶ Contemporary positivism in sociology, to be sure, is rooted in methodology: "Scientists had better confine themselves to a modest postulate of 'x' which precipitates our responses and the nature of which we tentatively infer from these responses" (George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1939], p. 15).

⁷ In 1950, 25 per cent of the nonstudent members of the American Sociological Society were found in nonacademic occupations (see Wellman J. Warner, "The Roles of the Sociologist," *Bulletin of the American Sociological Society* [September, 1951], p. 4).

Ironically, many young sociologists are well equipped to function in advanced positions that require initiative, leadership, and broad perspectives of insight. Unfortunately, however, the hiring of young men for leadership positions runs counter to the principle of seniority advancement, which holds that blundering and waste may result if a complicated bureaucratic machinery is entrusted to the devices of youngsters not closely familiar with its detailed operations.

Therefore, the young sociologist has often found himself in a hopeless position in attempting to master the groundwork of an organization whose general affairs he might have been fairly well equipped to conduct. He lacks the ability to function efficiently in subordinate roles until time and experience advance him to those positions of responsibility for which he has been best prepared.

Sociological training, at present, is attempting to correct this imbalance. On the academic scene this necessitates an almost revolutionary shift of emphasis. Vagaries of conceptualization are repressed in favor of firm and generally acceptable foundations for sociological reasoning and research operation. Initiative in the search for new sociological problem definitions gives precedence to reliability and accuracy in the execution of standardized tasks of verification as they are likely to arise in routines of administrative employment. The training of a young generation of social scientists is replaced by the training of social engineers, similarly equipped from coast to coast for routinized performance in business and government offices.

This trend is irrevocable and all to the good, as it enlarges the function of sociology and provides livelihood for increasing numbers. Its repercussions upon the growth of sociology as a scientific discipline, however, are not entirely desirable.

Technology and science are, at present, at odds with each other in sociology. The call for reliability of performance tends to obliterate scholarly ambition. The prestige value of material goods is likely to sway even ambitions not concerned primarily with such values, since the social engineer

reduces the status of the scholar not only in the field of economic success but also in that of academic prestige, where he is most vulnerable.

University and college administrations are, necessarily, concerned with enrolments. Mass enrolments are attracted where gainful employment beckons on the completion of academic training. Enrolments are attracted, furthermore, where remunerative training can be provided in the form of research stipends made available to the graduate or even the undergraduate student. To be eligible for sizable research grants, the sociologist operating in the halls of learning must establish his qualifications as a research administrator.

Successful administration of research calls for results. These results are not evaluated in terms of individual scholarship—a thing far too precarious to be assessed by the directors of grant-giving foundations—but rather in terms of reliable performance, of “factual” conclusions and meliorative devices. Such performance matches closely the tasks undertaken by large government and business bureaucracies supported by funds that even the most generous research foundation is not able to provide.

RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION

The moment comes, in the life of every sociologist today, when he must decide whether he wants to develop his science and engage in small-scale experimental research that will assist him in so doing or whether he wants to become a research administrator. As a research administrator he is likely to lose much of his interest in sociology proper. That this should be so is one of the paradoxes of bureaucratic organization. In professional advancement, the bureaucrat finds himself obliged to leave the scene of his competence.¹⁰ Appointed to the board of directors, the former bookkeeper will no longer function as a bookkeeper. The salesman, concerned with the management of sales, ceases to sell. Likewise, the sociologist un-

¹⁰ Describing new patterns of advancement, David Riesman states that “if one is successful in one’s craft, one is forced to leave it” (*The Lonely*

dergoes a transformation when he finds himself placed at the head of a large research project.

This metamorphosis tends to undermine the prestige of sociological scholarship. Ambitions are no longer directed toward contributions to scholarship but rather toward success in research administration.

While in itself this development is neither good nor bad, it does have an adverse effect on the development of sociology as an academic discipline. Sociology becomes the jumping-off place for administrative ambitions, for the promotion and development of research projects, for the enlargement of bureaucratic machines, and for careers in bureaucratic hierarchies leading straight to the top, where concern is with the supervision of administrative routines.

In its pursuit of bureaucratic virtues, sociological thinking has undergone significant changes in recent decades. Administrative skills and reliability of performance tend to supersede initiative and individual ingenuity, resulting ultimately in an ossification of the theoretical frameworks of the past. Strange is the duplicity involved in the training of young men in the works of such pioneers of social thought as Cooley, Ross, and, more recently, W. I. Thomas and Park, every one of whom trampled upon the shibboleths of scientific tradition, while at the same time these young men are discouraged in their own attempts at emancipated and ambitious constructive thinking. For the present generation of trainees the only remaining road to achievement seems to be through accomplishment in routine skills.

The earning power of scholarship makes theoretical sophistication appear as a luxury item in the training program of the average graduate student. Even the most brilliant students—facing reality—aspire to excel-

lence in the performance of routine tasks. Concern with problems of sociological scholarship is devaluated or postponed to more opportune times when experience has been gained in the administration of large-scale co-operative research.

Unfortunately, however, delayed scholarship seldom comes to fruition. By the time the intelligent young sociologist has worked his way up to positions of leadership and responsibility for large-scale research projects, his values have changed so that genuine sociological interests often appear impractical. Attention is devoted rather to promotional activities, to the exploitation of clique structures manifest in the field of research business, and to problems of the recruitment and management of personnel.

THEORETICAL CONCERNS

This leaves at the fringe of sociological research administration the eccentric and the genius, both equally disturbing to the smooth conduct of large-scale research, and equally at odds with that set of values significant in successful research business. Of genius we have seen little in the nooks and crannies of individual sociological scholarship. Talent is drained off in the direction of material rewards. It is left to the eccentric, then, to guard the inheritance of sociology as a science, to develop it by flashes of insight, and to increase the prevailing contempt for the armchair sociologist, who often finds himself in this position not from choice but because of his inability to function as a good research man.

Trends toward the institutional setting of contemporary sociology are unavoidable. Large-scale organization has led to similar developments not only in the realm of other sciences but also in the spheres of arts and music, of crime, and of political and business leadership. Initiative is submerged in specialized bureaucratic performance or allocated to a narrow range of leadership positions, access to which is obtained actually through the renunciation of initiative.

Room for initiative remains in the phrasing of questionnaires and in the analytical

Crowd [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950], p. 133).

About the function of men in advanced position, the same author states more explicitly: "They must combine enough technological knowledge to talk to the technical men, with enough social skills to sense the wants of the variety of publics that may affect or be affected by their decisions" (p. 135).

procedures involved in the evaluation of collected materials. But tasks of this nature are so restricted in scope that concerns with general problems are rarely maintained. Thus, the development of systematic science is left to chance. Discipline unfolds along lines of accidental methodological improvements. Inasmuch as such improvements remain unco-ordinated and unrelated to broad sociological perspectives, sociological theory must make its intermittent appearance and try to explain what is really unexplainable: trends in the growth of a science that does not grow by premeditated plan but by fortuitous circumstance. We learn to rely increasingly upon serendipity for the advancement of our science.¹¹

Every practicing sociologist must make some personal adjustment to existing conditions. For those who are not inclined to pursue the path of organized research there remains only the alternative of redefining their own position within an orderly process of scientific discussion and theoretical growth. This, of course, poses the question that goes begging for an answer in contemporary sociology. If not standardized research based on a limited number of generally accepted premises, what then?

FIRM OR FLEXIBLE FOUNDATIONS?

With this question in mind, we return to the dilemma between positivistic and pragmatic orientations in contemporary sociology. Positivistic orientations, we have seen, serve well any venture in large-scale research administration. How is it possible to organize a large-scale research project involving some continuity without the intellectual security of generally accepted premises, without the semantic safety inherent in a framework of concepts similarly defined, without the efficient standardization of research personnel who can be relied on to turn out a predictable product?

These requirements, on the other hand, thwart the function of sociology as a scientific discipline. While research administration strives for rigid adherence to a conventionalized theoretical scheme, the progress of sociological science demands uncertainty in

theoretical positions still open to doubt and development. Where the research administrator saves trouble by committing himself to a conceptual foundation generally accepted by tradition and convention, the sociologist must try to find an opening for new conceptualizations among the floundering vagaries of tentative approaches that may never materialize. While the research administrator cannot be distracted by problems of sociological science, the academic sociologist finds it his most important task to negotiate between alternatives of conceptualization and problem definition.

The academic sociologist cannot help straining against the threatening ossification of accepted theoretical foundations. He thrives on doubt, while the research administrator thrives on accepted convention. The conflict reaches its climax when the research administrator clamors for more than pragmatic agreement on theory acceptable for specific purposes. He may strive beyond necessary and useful commitments for philosophical sanction, that is, metaphysical anchorage. Such endeavor tends to be clothed in the garments of positivistic faith. Assumptions useful for specific purposes of analysis are changed into assertions of fact, and aspirations are directed toward the discovery of social reality. A search for the correct framework of social theory and problem definitions is pursued. Such theory may well serve to give answers to some questions of sociological relevance but must remain blind in even the perception of others.¹²

Unless we want to freeze our inquiry to the half-truths of yesterday, we must develop sociological thought that lacks firm positivistic foundations. We must acknowledge the pragmatic nature of our problem definitions—and learn to live with this understanding.

¹¹ See Robert K. Merton: "The Bearing of Empirical Research upon the Development of Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1948), 505-15. See particularly the section entitled "The Serendipity Pattern."

¹² "All assertions about the ultimate 'reality,' 'nature,' or 'being' of things or objects are . . . unverifiable hypotheses, and hence outside the sphere of science" (Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

THE UNION ORGANIZER AND HIS TACTICS: A CASE STUDY¹

BERNARD KARSH, JOEL SEIDMAN, AND DAISY M. LILIENTHAL

ABSTRACT

Typically, the professional union organizer probes for dissatisfaction and seeks to transform individual unrest into a collective phenomenon. He has no set of rules by which to operate but must emphasize that aspect of unionism that will be attractive to the workers he is trying to convince. To workers with little or no prior union experience the union is an abstraction, and their judgment may turn on their estimate of the personality of the organizer. The presence of a professional organizer is responsible in many cases for unionization rather than continuation under nonunion conditions.

The formation of a local union that can win collective-bargaining rights and establish itself as a relatively permanent organization in its plant or industry depends upon a combination of circumstances. There must be widespread dissatisfaction among the work group, potential leaders devoted to the idea of unionism, and economic conditions not unfavorable to it. In addition, there must be guidance in the critical early period by an experienced and resourceful union representative who has behind him the prestige and financial resources of a powerful organization. This guidance is typically furnished, under present conditions, by the professional union organizer, whose job it is to seek out promising situations in his industry within his assigned territory, stimulate the organization of unions, and continue to furnish assistance as the local group requires.

The union organizer has no set of rules by which to operate. He must be able to appraise elements of strength and weakness and make quick decisions as to when to organize and when to leave, when to accept a contract settlement and when to urge a strike. He must be a skilful tactician, able to counter the moves of employer, nonunion leader, or rival union head in fluid and rapidly changing situations. He must be alert, flexible, and imaginative, adapting his methods to local peculiarities and improv-

ing new tactics as these are called for. He must be able to match wits as well as organizational strength against the employer, who has, generally, the advantages of greater economic resources, close association with the workers, political influence, and community prestige. The organizer's world is a pragmatic one in which the success of the organizing effort is the standard according to which he is judged.

This paper is a report upon a single organizing effort and the tactics employed by the chief organizer and the member of his staff intimately involved in the effort. While situations vary widely, this one may nevertheless serve to illustrate many of the problems that confront the union organizer and the ways in which he seeks to solve them.

THE MILL, THE COMMUNITY, AND THE WORKERS

The plant, a knitting mill employing 180 workers, is located in a small town in a relatively isolated midwestern area. For more than a generation the town has been dominated by the family that owns the mill, as well as several other business enterprises, and whose influence is also felt in the political, social, and religious life of the community. Not until World War II did unionism extend beyond the skilled trades to embrace several of the factories in this and a neighboring community. The knitting-mill employees, however, lagged beyond this general move toward unionization. Most were women whose husbands or fathers were the primary wage-earners; they tended to be at

¹ This is a partial report of a research project studying the American worker as a union member being carried on at the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago.

a medium to low level of skill in an area in which few alternative means of employment were available; their interest in unionism was limited, since the risks involved and the disparity between their apparent weakness and the strength of the town's leading family appeared too great. Many of them, moreover, had grown up with the member of the family who managed the mill and admired him personally just as they respected the economic power and social prestige that his family represented.

Nevertheless, the women in the knitting mill were not untouched by the spread of unionism during the war years, which swept many of their husbands and fathers into the growing unions, mostly those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The AF of L central labor body was anxious to organize the mill, the largest nonunion enterprise in the town, which they believed was a drag upon wage rates in the community. Learning that some of the knitting-mill employees were interested in organization, the officers of the central labor body informed an officer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the AF of L union most active in the industry.

THE ORGANIZING EFFORT IN 1947

Following this lead, the chief organizer in the area for the ILGWU, Frank ———,² launched an organizing campaign among the employees and assigned a member of his staff to spend her full time on the effort. She found that, while a number of the workers were dissatisfied with wages and working conditions and were interested in forming a union, none wanted her interests to become known, not even to fellow-employees. There was widespread fear that those who took an open part in the campaign would lose their jobs and fail to find satisfactory employment elsewhere in the community. The organizer was careful, therefore, to protect the identity of every union sympathizer. Frank recalled:

² All personal names in this article have been withheld or changed, but no other matter has been altered.

We didn't want to put those people who had signed up in the position where the company would know of them, and we had promised that we wouldn't. So we couldn't use any of the open methods such as handbills or meetings, and it had to be done on the QT.

The organizer contacted prospective members individually, starting with those whose names had been furnished by the officers of the central labor body. These employees in turn told her of others who would probably prove interested. "Don't use my name," she would be told, "but I know that Susie or May or Jane is very much interested. I think that she, too, wants a union." While this was the primary organizing technique used, the organizer also made some contacts by waiting across the street until a worker left the plant, following her, and then stopping her to talk. Occasionally she would board the city bus after it had loaded workers at the plant gate, sit next to one, and talk to her about joining the union.

It was hoped that, if a substantial proportion of the workers joined, the campaign could be brought into the open, but two weeks of effort by the organizer produced only about twenty-five signed cards. The entire burden, moreover, rested on the organizer herself, since no workers were found who were willing to take an active role in the campaign and assume leadership inside the mill. At just this point the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, convincing Frank that the campaign was doomed to failure at that time. Frank said:

When the Taft-Hartley Act was passed and the people saw the companies' blasts in the newspapers, a difficult organizing campaign became almost impossible. . . . The original fear of the employer plus the Taft-Hartley Act made me—and I was the only one who made the decision—made it advisable to pull out before anyone was hurt, before it became public.

1950—THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Three years later a few of the workers in the mill again told officials of the central labor body of their dissatisfaction with conditions in the mill and their desire to unionize,

and again this information was forwarded to the area officials of the ILGWU. Frank assigned another of his staff members, Helen ———, to survey the local situation and report on the prospects of success if the organizing drive were renewed. Helen went to the town to learn something of conditions in the mill and the attitudes of the workers. She was interested in finding out what line of garments was being manufactured, how many workers were employed, what tasks they were performing and at what level of skill, what wages they were receiving, and how they felt toward the company, their fellow-workers, and the union. As Helen put it:

If you send an organizer out and she comes out with the information that the people don't want a union, that their wage scale is good, that their treatment in the shop, their working conditions are good, and that they don't want any part of a union, then the organizer doesn't stay there very long.

Helen contacted an official of the central labor body and through him made arrangements to meet with one of the knitting-mill workers whose husband was also active in the central body. She was seeking not only information about wages and working conditions but also an employee who could take leadership for the union inside the mill. She wanted one who was a natural leader of the work group, who was both courageous and calm, and who was respected by supervisors as well as by her fellow-workers. Helen thought she saw such a person in a knitting-mill employee who dropped in while she was visiting the home of her first contact. Helen reported:

I could tell by the conversation that Dorothy was very respected in the shop by the group; that when things went wrong she was not afraid to express her opinion and that different groups in the shop came to her to tell her their troubles. I could see . . . the management respected her opinion too; when she complained enough, they would do the things she wanted.

The next evening Helen went to see Dorothy, to ask her, in the event an organizing

effort was made, whether she would use her car to show Helen where the workers lived and whether she would find out in a quiet manner what the workers thought of a union. Dorothy had never heard of the ILGWU until this time, however, and wanted time to learn something about it; two weeks later she wrote to Helen to tell her that she would be glad to help if the union tried to organize the mill.

By this time the union officials had become convinced that the plant could be organized. There was dissatisfaction among the employees over the minimum guaranteed wage rates, plus a general belief that piece-work rates in the mill were too low; moreover, many of the workers felt that work was not equitably distributed by the supervisors, and some of the floorladies were believed to be dividing the work so that a few favorites, receiving the materials that were easiest to work on and which paid the highest rates, consistently earned more than fellow-workers at the same level of skill. Most important, from the point of view of the organizer, employees were found who were willing to aid actively in the campaign, an essential factor if success was to be achieved.

1950 ORGANIZING TACTICS

When Helen returned to the town several weeks later to begin work in earnest, she placed the emphasis on secrecy, personal contacts, an organizing approach tailored to the dissatisfactions of the prospective member, and the involvement in the campaign of a number of workers inside the mill. A number of workers, fearful of layoff or other action by the company, were willing to sign union cards only after the organizer had assured them that their names would be kept secret—a pledge that the organizer scrupulously kept. One worker reported:

I found out later [after being visited by the organizer] that many had joined, but you'd never know it. You wouldn't know if your next-door neighbor was in—it was so secret. . . . You'd ask someone if she belonged, and

you'd never get no satisfaction. They were scared of getting laid off.

Most of the early organizing work was concentrated into two long week ends, during which Helen, after being briefed on a worker by Dorothy, contacted her individually. Helen had no set approach. Instead she encouraged her prospects to air their grievances and then emphasized the value of unionism in meeting the specific problem. Helen described her method as follows:

Each one of these members I contacted personally. Dorothy would park her car a block away from the house and wait for me. In advance Dorothy had told me all she knew about this person—what department she worked in, things about her personal life, if she was married and whether or not her husband was a union member and how many children she had, how much money she made and how long she worked in the shop, and, in general, what type of person she was and things like that. Each person had to be talked to differently. I would introduce myself and ask them to let me come in and talk to them for a few minutes about the union. I would encourage them to do the talking, and, through what they told me about themselves and their jobs, I had the answers for them. Having worked in a shop for fifteen years, I knew about what to look for.

These workers who felt some sense of dissatisfaction found Helen a very sympathetic listener. In addition to complaints about the floorladies and the shop manager, which were widespread, a number of other grievances were aired. A worker whose pay had been cut a year earlier was told that that could not have happened if a union had been in existence. A cutter who was earning \$1.00 an hour was told that a good cutter should be earning much more—at least \$1.50–\$1.75 an hour. A worker who had been employed for five years on a part-time basis was told that she had seniority rights and under union conditions would be able to work steadily. Workers were told that piece rates would be raised under union conditions and that working conditions would be improved. One worker related:

They'd explain the difference from other shops. We found out there was a lot of difference

between us and other shops. We were the lowest-paid shop in the country, we were told.

Though no names were mentioned, Helen would tell prospective members that a large number of employees had already signed up, without specifying the number. Or she would say that male knitters, skilled workers who enjoyed a lot of prestige in the plant, had already joined. The knitters were among the first to join the union and had been among the small group which had previously contacted the local central labor body and expressed their desire to be unionized. However, they reacted negatively to Helen, whom they felt to be unfamiliar with their special problems. As one knitter reported: "I wanted to see a man—all she talked about was needle work and didn't have any idea what knitting was. Then Frank came up here, and that was better." The knitters signed up with the union after the chief organizer visited the community. Though the prestige of the knitters lent much to the union's cause and facilitated Helen's work, their physical and social separateness in the mill limited the contribution they made. Nevertheless, they remained a key group and a very important asset to the organizing drive.

Helen's technique, then, was to listen patiently to the complaints of individual workers and seize on the details of their experience in the plant in order to build up their sense of dissatisfaction, emphasizing the justice of their claims. Others in their own work group shared the grievance, she pointed out, whereas in shops organized by the ILGWU workers were spared these unhappy experiences. Thus, by emphasizing wages, seniority, treatment by supervisors, or grievance procedure as seemed best suited to the complaints she heard, she sought ways to transform individual dissatisfaction into a collective condition of unrest and to persuade her listeners that their grievances could not have arisen or would not have been permitted to continue in a unionized shop.

In addition to signing up members herself, Helen formed an "inside" organizing committee.

I got a couple of girls from each department and called them a committee. I tried to make them feel important—tried to make them feel that they were doing very important work and contributing a lot to build the union. They were responsible for getting names and contacting girls in their departments. I would call department meetings, and these girls would try to get everyone from their department interested in coming to meet with me in my hotel room. . . . They would start telling me all of their problems and discussing wages and conditions. I would let them talk, and I would act as if I couldn't believe a company could let conditions like that exist. Most of the time they would be angry to think I couldn't believe them, and they would start explaining more thoroughly and bring their pay envelopes, and that's what I wanted. In most cases before they left most of them would become members. And the next meeting someone else would be curious and come to the meeting or tell the girls who were members that they would like to have me call on her. This worked beautifully—for one group would boast "all but two of my group are members," or "I have the most members in my department."

Helen's tactics and personality impressed many employees and influenced their decision to join the union. A machine operator recalled that "it was her efficiency—she knew what she was talking about, and she got results because she did it the right way." A sorter reported that Helen's personality impressed her: "She was awfully nice—a sociable type of person. You felt free around her because she seemed like she was one of us. . . . She was just so friendly and she fit right in here."

As a result of these tactics—house calls, formation of an inside organizing committee, and meetings of small groups with the organizer in her hotel room—in addition, of course, to the pleasing personality of the organizer herself—news of union activity spread rapidly through the plant, and by the end of the second week of active organizing Helen had obtained signed cards from 72 of the 180 workers in the plant. With 40 per cent of the employees in the union, the organizer decided that the time had come to bring the campaign out into the open. As chief organizer in the area, Frank was responsible for choosing the right moment to

call a general meeting. He described the criteria on which he based the decision:

When we reached the stage where we had enough members, so that they were a large enough group where the company couldn't go ahead and fire one or two and stop it [the organizing drive], and also when they had gained strength and confidence from each other through knowing each other as union members, then we held an open meeting.

Leaflets were distributed at the plant announcing the time and place of the first meeting, and the organizers were overjoyed to find more than a hundred workers, a majority of the employees, in attendance.

THE EMPLOYER'S COUNTEROFFENSIVE

Until the first open meeting was held the employer took little or no notice of the organizing drive. The large turnout for the meeting, however, convinced him that it was necessary to take vigorous steps to counter the drive. His first step was to mail to each employee a letter asserting that wages and conditions at the plant were good, that unionism could bring no benefit, and that the organizers were professional labor promoters interested primarily in their dues. The workers were reminded that they enjoyed the legal right to refuse to join the union, and they were warned that union membership would subject them to the "commands" of union officials, who would force them to engage in "picketing and similar outside union activities." Other letters followed, and the employer began to call meetings inside the mill during working hours at which he gave his presentation of the company's position.

Meanwhile the union asked for recognition by the company on the basis of its membership, and, when this was refused, it filed a petition for an election with the NLRB. The company argued against the holding of an election on the ground that signatures on the cards were not valid. Following hearings, the Board ordered an election, which resulted in a 57 per cent vote for the union. The company contested the election on the ground that "coercive propaganda" was handed out at the polls. After several

months the Board ruled in favor of the union, whereupon the company asked the Board to reconsider; this was refused, and the union was finally certified, almost six months after the election had been held. Contract negotiations then began that were likewise to be dragged out for three months without any substantial progress. In the meantime some of the workers were becoming restless and impatient. The union's chief organizer received several letters from leaders of the local group charging that the union was not being militant enough. One letter declared that the union head was "letting grass grow under your feet . . . the girls at the mill are all disgusted [with the delays in certification], and, if you don't get going, the union will fold like a tent." Frank thus assessed the situation:

On the part of some people there was a feeling of frustration and the desire to start screaming or go on strike to overcome this frustration. . . . They started thinking, "Well, the company was right in the first instance—that John Miller [manager of the mill] and the Miller family was much too big for any union to come in and set themselves up, and that, despite everything Frank had said to us, there will never be a union here."

Frank sought in every way possible to allay these feelings. He assured the local leaders over and over again that the union was doing all in its power to avoid delay and obtain a contract. He pointed out that the union had invested a tremendous amount of time, effort, and money to build the local union and that responsibility for the long delay rested with the company. The simplest course of action would be to call a strike, but it was the union's policy, he stated, to take every possible step before it asked its members to go on strike. Meanwhile it was necessary for the local leaders in the shop to "get all the people to understand the company's delaying tactics and build up sentiment for a strike. If and when that time comes, we want to be sure that we have a large percentage of the people on the picket line and not inside the shop working." If it became necessary to call a strike, Frank told the

local leaders, the way needed to be carefully prepared.

A responsible union does not go into a strike haphazardly any more than a country goes into a war haphazardly. . . . We will choose a time when the company's business is expanding and it will hurt the most. We will also want to be sure that we have a substantial number of people who will go on strike so that we have some reason to expect a quick victory.

THE EMPLOYER AND THE IN-GROUP, OUT-GROUP RELATIONSHIP

The chief factor in Frank's reluctance to call a strike was the strong feeling of identification with their employer that still persisted among the new union members. The fact that some of the most eager local leaders tended to place the blame for the delays upon the union rather than the company was for Frank an indication that the union had not yet won the complete loyalty of even its leading members. Typically, the union organizer places upon the employer the blame for the dissatisfaction experienced by the employees. In this case, however, this was not possible, for John Miller was a symbol of authority and prestige and a member of an influential and highly respected family. Though the organizers realized that, if the union was to be successful, the workers would have to shift to the union their loyalty to and identification with the employer, there was danger of alienating prospective members if John Miller were openly attacked and denounced.

In her home visits early in the organizing campaign, Helen found that much discussion centered on John Miller. When this occurred, Helen would express her belief that Mr. Miller, "being the nice person everybody said he was, we would only be too glad to work with him, for our union is not here to injure the company, because if the company isn't making any money we can't expect to get increased wages for the people." She pointed out ways in which the union could help the employer to have a more efficient plant; "how, with everyone working together, both management and the people

would be far better off. . . . I was convincing them that they were helping the company."

The high regard that the workers had for their employer was shown in interviews later conducted by the authors. Mr. Miller called most of the workers by their given names, and in turn most of them called him "John." Several workers reported that on some problems they were able to come to him directly and obtain satisfaction. Some of them had grown up with him in the same small town, and all found him to be a well-mannered person with a pleasant way of dealing with people.

Because of this general high regard, Frank changed his usual approach to the employer. As Frank put it:

I worked under wraps prior to the strike because I felt, and I think I was right, that a lot of people would resent any direct attack on Miller as a person, and I had to do it in a round-about way to show that, regardless of what kind of individual John Miller is, as an employer he's a ———. But I never dared to express myself very strongly for fear that some people might take his side. . . . In the early stages of the organizing, the people had such liking for him that it had to be the floorlady who was responsible or Uncle Paul who was responsible, but John Miller was a good guy. I had to go along with this. Although I never said he was a good guy, I had to pull my punches.

When the organizer did refer to the employer, in speeches or leaflets, it was always in terms of the abstraction, "the Company," which could be interpreted in various ways by different employees. To some it meant the floorlady; to others, the foreman or the superintendent; and, to still others, it could mean the manager, the stockholders, or the family to which they all belonged.

Frank's task was to break down this identification of the workers with their employer and to foster in its place an in-group, out-group relationship between union members and employer. This developed very slowly, despite all the delays in the certification and negotiations; several members of the local negotiating committee held the company's attorney responsible for the delays, while

others blamed the union for not forcing the issues. Very few workers believed that the employer held the key to the situation. Frank repeatedly pointed out that attorneys act not on their own but under instructions from their client. Frank sought also to convince the workers that John Miller and his family were doing everything possible to keep out the union by "trying to kill us off through his stalling and more stalling." Frank constantly used the argument that the company would rather deal with weak individual workers than with a strong international union. His efforts bore fruit as the workers' identification with the employer slowly diminished, and increased loyalty to the union developed in its place.³

THE UNION CALLS A STRIKE

The union's basic contract demands included recognition, wage increases, a union shop, a seniority system, union participation in the setting of piece rates, improved vacation and holiday benefits, and company-paid health insurance. For three months negotiations dragged on without progress on any but minor issues. A federal conciliator, after attending three meetings, reported that the two sides were so far apart that his office could be of no help. It appeared to the union organizers that the company was stalling while seeking to break up the union through appeals to employees.

A final effort to reach some agreement was made at a two-day bargaining session, at the end of which the parties found themselves almost at the same point at which negotiations had started. The union representatives hoped to avoid a strike, because they did not know how many of the workers would support one, and they were willing to accept any reasonable compromise that would permit the union to live. As Frank put it:

We didn't want to call a strike. . . . We got some minor concessions, but nothing major that would permit the union to remain in existence.

³ The process through which this shift in identification occurred will be discussed in greater detail in a forthcoming article by the authors.

We knew that without any form of union security, without any wage increases, the granting of a couple of paid holidays or some other very minor adjustments would be considered a defeat by the people in the shop for all their time and effort. . . . We knew that there were so many people that were not in the union that before a year was up there would be no vestige of a union left. . . . We had instructions from the International vice-president to accept any sort of reasonable opportunity to last for one year, hoping that within that one year we could consolidate our forces, we could build, and we could prepare for the following year and then improve our contract.

The union leaders felt that to accept the company's terms would mean the end of the union. Nor could they pull out of the situation, since they had too great an investment of time and money and felt that this would be a desertion of the people who had joined. The only recourse was to strike, and they quickly called a meeting at which a strike was unanimously approved. The strike lasted for sixteen weeks before being brought to a successful conclusion for the union. The problems presented by these later events, however, are beyond the scope of this article.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to illustrate the role of the professional organizer in a union organizing campaign. It seems reasonably clear that, had professional organizers not been involved, the plant would not have been organized at that time. Yet the presence of an organizer is only one of the factors required. Professional organizers failed in 1947, and they conducted a preliminary survey before they decided that conditions in 1950 would permit them to succeed. Clearly a condition of unrest, a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction, is essential if workers are to be successful in forming a union. The professional organizer does not create this condition; he probes for it, brings it to the surface, emphasizes it, and seeks to place the responsibility for it with the employer and to convince the worker that his sense of grievance could be removed by

unionization. The organizer, finding general individual unrest, seeks to transform it into a collective condition and to channel it into the direction of group action through the formation of a union. He serves as much more than a catalytic agent, however, for he brings with him his experiences and the economic and political resources of a national organization, and he determines tactics and objectives until the local group has gained enough experience to share in directing its affairs.

The union, to workers in an isolated small town, is an abstraction, of which the organizer is the only tangible embodiment. While the workers are told that the organizer represents a body with perhaps hundreds of thousands of members, they are apt to respond in large measure in the crucial early days according to their estimate of the organizer himself. Therefore his personality becomes important, for he sells himself along with, and perhaps as much as, his union; he must inspire confidence and be the kind of person the workers admire and like to be friendly with. At the same time his task is greatly facilitated if he is enough like the employees in socioeconomic background, national origin, and similar respects to be accepted readily by them as a friend and associate.

In all these respects Helen was admirably suited for work among the employees of this mill. Her home was in a small town in the same general area, and she had worked for fifteen years in a garment plant there, filling a variety of unpaid union offices, before joining the organizing staff. A middle-aged motherly sort of person, she readily inspired confidence among the employees. The union's choice in 1947 had been less fortunate, for a younger woman, raised in a large eastern city and college trained, had then been sent in to organize. This is not to suggest that Helen would have succeeded in 1947 or that the younger organizer would have failed in 1950, for there were obvious differences in the intensity of dissatisfactions and the number of workers affected by it. In addition, the local labor movement

which, for the most part, had been organized during the war period, was a few years older and considerably more experienced by 1950. In the postwar period, and particularly after 1947, knitting-mill workers had seen members of their families and neighbors engage in strikes and not lose their jobs. Thus, by 1950, the fear of the employer's displeasure had decreased, and union officials were no longer convinced, after three years of experience under the Taft-Hartley Act, that organizing drives in this region of the country were doomed to failure.

Whatever his personality, however, the organizer is not likely to succeed unless his tactics are adapted to his organizing situation. He must be able to emphasize that aspect of unionism which will attract the worker he is trying to convince; he must be able to judge when to work in secret and when to come out into the open; he must know when to make concessions and when to urge a strike; he must be able to meet the employer's counteroffensive and devise tactics to offset it. Without imagination and flexibility, he is unlikely to be very successful.

In this particular small-town setting the personal approach through home visits was not only feasible but also of great importance. As a result of the work setup, communication and personal contacts had been at a minimum in the mill. Most workers had only personal versions and explanations of their dissatisfactions, and these were vague and not crystallized into clear-cut and specific complaints. By playing the role of the sympathetic listener, the organizer left it to the worker to define his dissatisfactions for himself. At the same time she strengthened the workers' feelings of security and need for justification by adjusting her approach to the fears, doubts, and experiences of each. Further, this opportunity to talk at length about one's experiences probably contributed to a greater awareness and strengthening of dissatisfactions, since it can be assumed that, after the organizer left, the discussion was carried on with members of the family, many of whom were union members.

The personal approach had the additional advantage of constantly enabling the organizer further to assess the prevailing sentiments, attitudes, and relationships in the mill. The sensitivity of the organizer was correspondingly increased, and interaction with other workers was facilitated. This approach was important, since individuals were more prone to accept guidance from members of their own community than from "outsiders."

In a crisis situation such as this there is no sharp line which can be drawn between workers' loyalty to their employer and to the union. A degree of overlap almost inevitably exists. Accordingly, one of the prime objectives of the organizer was to polarize the loyalty of the workers toward the union. This required the building of an in-group feeling that embraced the union members, both inside the plant and elsewhere, and excluded the employer and his supervisory force. As against this the employer may seek to promote a group solidarity that will include everyone associated with the enterprise, from the owners to the unskilled worker, with all other persons, including the union organizers, considered outsiders. The struggle is carried on within the consciousness of the individual worker as he responds to these conflicting pressures and decides on his own course of action.

To achieve the necessary shift in identification and to lead the worker to lay the blame for the prolonged negotiations squarely upon the employer, the organizer used a number of techniques, among which the building and use of an in-plant leadership was most important. Helen gave the more aggressive personalities in the mill a role as new leaders of the union and overcame their feelings of fear and insecurity by assigning to them positions of status in a powerful organization and by singling them out for special meetings and close association with the organizers. It was primarily these in-plant leaders rather than the organizers who communicated to the workers the developments during negotiations, since the workers were more likely to have confidence in the judg-

ment of co-workers whom they had known for many years. Under the guidance of the organizers, these in-plant leaders appealed to groups of workers with different interests. On the one hand, the repeated emphasis on the union's patience, good will, and tolerance appealed to those who were still hesitant to turn against the employer; it convinced them that the "union was really trying its best" and that a strike might be the only alternative. On the other hand, the hesitancy to call a strike increased tension and restlessness among those who from the very beginning of organization had shown greater willingness to fight for their demands. The union became a central issue in the conversation in the mill, and the tension and restlessness of those who were urging a strike were communicated to others.

From the very first, the organizers sought to lay a sound basis for group action. Only after there was sufficient evidence that group cohesiveness had developed could the campaign be carried out into the open. While the emphasis on "secrecy" gave the individual a sense of security, the organizers also knew that the news of union activity would spread rapidly through the shop. Increasing communication between the workers thus not only contributed to a merging of individual dissatisfactions but also tended to give the individual a sense of collective support which in turn encouraged more workers to join the union and increased the willingness of the union members to persist in their demands.

The organizers recognized that many of the workers faced a conflict between their desire to improve shop conditions and their feelings of loyalty and attachment to the employer. An effort was made to increase their dissatisfactions by contrasting their conditions with those prevailing in the unionized sectors of the industry. By divorcing the employer's role as manager of the mill from his other roles in the community, the organizer sought to criticize Miller's behavior without challenging his integrity as a person. By laying the blame primarily on other supervisors or by talking vaguely about an abstraction, "the Company," the organizers attempted to avoid direct criticism of the employer, thereby diminishing the possibility of antagonizing individual workers. As Frank pointed out, his tactic was to "let the situation speak for itself."

There are times, needless to say, when even the most resourceful organizer will not succeed. If there is no serious dissatisfaction among the workers or if they too greatly fear the consequences of the employer's displeasure, his efforts may be doomed to failure. In other cases no professional organizer is even needed, for anyone might be successful. Despite the different economic and social conditions that prevail in various parts of this country, however, there are countless situations where the personality and resourcefulness of the professional labor organizer make the difference between unionization and continuation under nonunion conditions.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CULTURAL STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES: PUERTO RICO¹

ROBERT A. MANNERS AND JULIAN H. STEWARD

ABSTRACT

Four rural communities in Puerto Rico, each with a different crop emphasis, were examined. In addition to the traditional methods of investigation employed by anthropologists, this group studied the available documents, statistics, and historical materials bearing on the communities, on the island, and on the island's relations with other countries and areas. The purpose of the investigation was to analyze and to explain the nature and origins of the insular subcultures. Striking differences among these were revealed by the research, and these appear, at least in part, to be related to the nature of the crops grown.

This paper outlines a few of the methodological considerations and discusses some of the findings of a recent study of Puerto Rico made by a group of cultural anthropologists.² We shall describe some of the subcultural differences which were encountered in the course of the field work and detail the ways in which these differences appear to be related to specific crop emphases.

The traditional holistic or cultural approach employed by anthropologists in their studies of relatively undifferentiated primitive societies seemed, to the investigators involved in this study, to be entirely inadequate to the examination of a heterogeneous society like that of Puerto Rico, with its population of well over 2,000,000 people. And although several anthropologists have, with little or no modification, attempted to transfer methods suitable for analysis at one sociocultural level of complexity to analysis at a much higher level of complexity, their conclusions have been called in question by many social scientists.³ For the most part, the mechanical transfer of method leads these investigators to construct an image of

cultural homogeneity that is false for these complex contemporary societies, or to conclusions about "national character" and nationally shared traits which are, to say the least, of doubtful heuristic value. Bearing these considerations in mind, our first need in the Puerto Rican study was to define and delimit the scope of inquiry so that the traditional methods of anthropology could be utilized most effectively. Second, we had to be certain that this very definition and delimitation would not be so narrow as to lead us to overlook or obscure the sociocultural distinctions which we believed existed on the island. And, third, we concluded that we needed as much documentary, historical, and institutional study at the insular and supra-insular level as was practicable and necessary to illuminate and to frame the findings of the community research.

As our primary objects of investigation, we selected certain subcultures which we believed, on the basis of a preliminary survey, to be of major practical importance either because of the sheer numbers of individuals represented or because of significant trends of social and cultural change.

For the greater part of the four and a half centuries since its discovery, Puerto Rico has been predominantly a country of small subsistence farmers. Since 1815, however,

¹ An expanded version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September 4, 1952.

² The participants were Drs. Sidney Mintz, Elena Padilla, Raymond Scheele, Eric Wolf, and Robert Manners. The study, which was conducted at the invitation of the Puerto Rican government and with the co-operation of Puerto Rican social scientists, was under the direction of Dr. Julian Steward.

³ Cf. J. H. Steward, "Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VII, No. 4 (1951), 374-90, for a detailed discussion of the problems of cultural research at various levels of integration.

and more especially since United States sovereignty was established in 1898, the island has become increasingly a part of the larger world of commerce and has devoted more and more of its tillable area to the production of cash commodities. Its regions have come to rely upon the income from cash crops, of which sugar, coffee, and tobacco are most important. Differences between farm owners, landless laborers, and small farmers have become sharpened. Towns have grown, and their residents have become specialized as merchants, professionals, servicing personnel, laborers, and government functionaries.

Since more than 40 per cent of the working population of the island is regularly engaged in agriculture and since more than 80 per cent of Puerto Rico's total wealth is derived from agriculture, we selected as our principal object of study the subcultures of the farmers—especially the landless agricultural laborers—engaged in the production of sugar, tobacco, and coffee, the island's three major cash crops. These occupational and regional subsocieties had to be analyzed in the context of the local municipalities, since they provide the framework within which the subcultural groups or classes interact with one another and where, through the marketing of cash crops, the purchase of commodities, and the utilization of government services, they are related to the larger insular and extra-insular forces and institutions. But of the four municipalities or *municipios* (there are 77 *municipios* in Puerto Rico) selected for study, the smallest had a population in excess of 13,000, while the largest included more than 21,000 individuals. Thus the sheer size of each *municipio*, added to the complexity of its social structuring, made it impossible for us to conduct "community studies" in the same sense and following the same methods as those employed in ethnological studies of folk societies.

Although the first order of business was the analysis of the selected subcultures, we assumed that these and the communities of

which they were integral parts could not be understood unless the island as a whole and the sovereign powers—first Spain and then the United States—were taken into account. This led us into lines of investigation which, though perhaps ambitious and not ordinarily followed in a cultural approach, were deemed essential to an adequate functional, cultural-historical study of the special subcultural groups.

The subcultures themselves were studied by the usual methods of the ethnologist. Although the community inquiries led into analyses of all socioeconomic segments in their interrelatedness, we devoted our major efforts to half a dozen of these groupings: landless workers on a corporate, American-owned sugar plantation on the south coast; landless and near-landless workers on a Land Authority (project of the insular government), proportional-profit sugar plantation on the north coast; hacienda owners and laborers engaged in coffee production in a west-central highlands community; and the small farmers and landless workers of a tobacco and minor cash-crop adaptation in the eastern highlands. In each community there were perhaps 200–300 representatives of the subcultural types, with whose way of life each major field worker and his assistant became comparatively well acquainted in the course of a year and a half. The larger insular and extra-insular institutional framework within which these subcultures emerged and are today functioning demanded additional methods of analysis. It required that the staff spend considerable time studying published documents and consulting with island authorities in order to understand the basic trends in local land use, internal specialization and trade, overseas commerce, the manipulation of credit, political patterns, religious institutions, and other factors which have originated outside, yet strongly affected, the way of life within each community and which have helped to create the sociocultural differences found within and among the communities. That is, the analyses of the contemporary subcul-

tural groups were made against a background of general change on the island.

In the following account we deal only with those subcultural distinctions which clearly appear to be related to the differing crop emphases developed within the confines of this small island. Lengthy descriptions and detailed ethnographic accounts of each of the four communities studied are, of course, precluded by the required brevity of this report.⁴

THE SUGAR COMMUNITIES

Under present conditions of the world market, sugar cane is believed to be the crop that can be cultivated most profitably on the land of certain areas. Since the cane is harvested from about February to June, the rest of the year is a time of serious underemployment; hence is locally designated the *tiempo muerto* or "dead period."⁵ Among the more important consequences of this seasonality is the elaboration of subsidiary economic activities to insure survival during the six to seven months of scarcity. Another effect of considerable cultural significance is that the wage labor of women and children has become a vital factor in family survival and has given to the former a relatively high status and a position of some authority in the family which is not encountered in either of the mountain communities.

The concentration of land in large, stable holdings—which is required for the most economical use of the expensive and essential processing equipment—discourages ideas and chances of upward economic mobility

⁴ The full report of the Puerto Rico study is now in press.

⁵ Although cane could presumably be planted to ripen throughout the year—especially in the irrigated areas—the sugar content would be adversely affected. But an even more important consideration dictating the present pattern of production is that it is most economical to keep the existing processing equipment operating continuously during the harvest. Consequently, there is currently a trend—especially on the south coast—toward *lengthening* the dead season and shortening the total harvest time, in order to reduce even further the overhead costs of processing.

and promotes cynical attitudes toward the ultimate value of savings, while substituting a hope for advancement through sudden accessions of money, such as gambling.

There is a number of ways in which the sugar workers try to meet the problem of getting enough to eat during the dead season. Those in the Land Authority community who live on small plots donated by the government sometimes cultivate subsistence crops to see them through the dead time. But the generally low fertility of their land—as well as several other factors which we do not have the space to discuss—tends to discourage careful or adequate use of these plots by most of the *parceleros*. Some workers from these communities commute daily during the dead season to one of the large cities in search of work, for example on the docks. Others fish or hunt crabs. Still others carry sand for a local contractor. The making or sale of illegal rum for a commission; acting as agent for the illegal lottery; washing clothes and doing home needlework; part-time artisanry and so on are some of the other devices for surviving the dead period. Thus, the so-called "subsidiary" activities in these communities are numerous and diversified and have developed, under these conditions of monocrop, seasonal agriculture, an importance frequently equal to that of the prime source of income.

Strong kin, ritual kin, neighbor, and class ties arise or persist in the needs and exchanges of the dead season; while there has been a concomitant decline in face-to-face relationships between owner and worker, accompanied by a breakdown of the older patterns of respect and other traditional paternalistic ways. Collective activity through labor unions and political organizations has replaced personal appeals to the landowner as a device to gain economic and political objectives. Among the landless proletariat in the south-coast sugar community the family is bilateral and nuclear rather than extended, and the wife tends to be the stable member. Common-law marriage is just as prevalent among this group as it has always

been. There are no new considerations of property, status, or religious orthodoxy to induce civil or religious marriage. Religion is individualized, the state church being weak. Various denominations, especially the evangelical sects, which afford common emotional outlets, are increasingly popular and important. Good roads and generally flat country reduce isolation, make electricity and radios available, and raise the general level of sophistication of the rural working class.

The opportunities for upward movement in the socioeconomic scale are so limited that many of the devices which in other localities may be looked upon as offering a way up are generally not so envisaged by the landless of these communities. This is particularly striking in the attitude toward education. There is little interest in education per se, less in the hope that it is the device which will lift an individual or his children out of a depressed position. Besides, to keep a pair of employable hands in school in the hope of creating a better provider later on is too great a sacrifice, too problematic, and too remote.

Despite some distinctive features, the culture of the laboring class on the profit-sharing plantations of the government community is strikingly similar to that of the equivalent group on the south coast. Although conditions and tenure of work are secured by the government and although many of the workers receive subsistence plots donated by the government, the incentives which are implied in these arrangements are, as we have suggested, more apparent than real at present. New attitudes and patterns of behavior appropriate to having a stake in management and being owners as well as employees seem not yet to have developed to any marked degree, according to the findings of the field workers.

The similarities between these two communities are more striking than the differences, despite the contrasting type of ownership. Thus it seems that the nature of the crop and the techniques required for its optimum exploitation under existing economic

arrangements have a more profound effect on the way of life of the vast majority of the workers engaged in its production than does the nominal ownership situation. In both kinds of ownership, efficient production demands land concentration and seasonality, encourages the owning of the processing mill by the grower, and requires a large and settled labor supply for at least six months of the year.

In both cases, a group of landless or near-landless wage workers is to be found who have no hope or expectation of moving upward in the community—who see opportunities, if they see them at all, in sudden accessions of wealth or in escape to another part of the island or the world.

Both sugar communities have functioning unions of sugar workers. The presence of unions, in turn, seems to stimulate group consciousness and the power of the working groups. Thus the representative to the Insular House of Representatives of one community and the mayor of the other were, during the period of our study, leaders of their respective locals. This is in contrast with the complete absence of unions, agricultural or other, in the mountain communities, where proletarianization of the workers has not proceeded so far, where the nature of the crops and the methods used in their cultivation in the natural environment permit a lower degree of land concentration, dispersed settlement, subsistence crop cultivation, retention of some of the older paternalistic arrangements, and, particularly in the tobacco-minor crops community, the prospect of upward mobility.

THE COFFEE COMMUNITY

The coffee community shows a much larger spread of landownership than either of the sugar communities. There are more than 1,300 farms in the municipality. Of these, about 90 are larger than 100 acres. The general tendency within recent times has been for the larger farms to grow larger, the smaller to grow smaller. Because coffee production is most economical in large units,

where processing operations may be conducted by the producer, the smaller units are at a competitive disadvantage. They compensate for this in part by the high proportion of family to hired labor, the smallest farmers using family labor exclusively.

Because coffee is a perennial, land devoted to it cannot be used for the cultivation of subsistence crops as in the case of tobacco. Therefore, the land devoted to coffee must be extensive enough to provide cash income for all needs, or the farm itself must be large enough to permit a combination of coffee and subsistence crops, which insures subsistence plus the income to purchase supplementary food and other commodities. Owing to this nature of the crop and the average market price of coffee, the amount of land required per family is greater in the coffee region than in the region of tobacco-minor crops. For example, the gross return on an average acre of coffee would be about \$25 at the highest market price per pound during the ten years from 1937 to 1946. The gross return on an average acre of tobacco at the highest market price during this same period would be about \$342. And, while labor and fertilizer costs in tobacco would account for a little more than half the gross, the net return per acre of tobacco is likely to be many times higher than in coffee. Add to this the fact that corn generally follows the tobacco and that beans may follow the corn before it is time for the next tobacco planting, and the much higher value of an acre of land devoted to tobacco becomes even more apparent.

Because coffee is a perennial, it is never worked by share-croppers, always by day-work or piecework. Thus, unlike the tobacco sharecropper, who participates in any profit made from the sale of the crop, the landless coffee worker depends upon his wages, much as does the worker in the cane fields. Like the latter, the day worker of the coffee community has little hope of accumulating any excess—especially since his weekly wage when he does work is considerably less than that of the cane-field worker.

Often the landless worker is permitted the use of one or two acres of generally inferior land for the cultivation of subsistence crops for his own use. This insures the landlord a dependable labor supply and provides the worker with part of his annual subsistence needs. The effort devoted to the care of these plots here contrasts sharply with the careless handling of their plots found among the *parceleros* of the Land Authority community. This difference is related at least in part to the wages paid in the two regions. The sugar worker earns from two and a half to three and a half times the daily wage of the coffee worker. Even a solid week's work in coffee may provide little more than the family requirement for food alone. Thus the scrounging which becomes so acute during the dead period in cane is an almost permanent condition of the landless agriculturist in the coffee region. And a plot of one's own is likely to seem more precious to the coffee worker than to the cane worker, who contrasts the meager returns from the work on his own plot with the much greater return from work for wages.

Off-season subsidiary activities of the coffee worker are generally agricultural. He may migrate to the cane fields to compete with the coastal cane cutters, or he may find some work in the preparation of the tobacco seed beds on farms in the highlands. Non-agricultural activities are more restricted here than on the coast, some of the more important being the making and peddling of illegal rum and the selling of illegal lottery tickets. But the main difference in dead-season patterns between this and the coastal areas is the presence in the coffee community of some subsistence crops, either on the field loaned by the landlord or on the field of a friend, neighbor, or ritual kinsman. Often, therefore, there is a way to stretch small favors or obligations into enough vegetables to keep one's family going until the next season.

Because accumulation is difficult, land prices relatively high, and credit hard to come by, saving is not here looked upon as a

"way out." Here, too, the illegal lottery is popular. As in the coastal communities, the illusion of upward mobility is not very strong, and education is not looked upon as a way of climbing from landlessness to landownership.

Differences in the size and nature of the operations here promote stronger face-to-face relationships between producer-owner and worker than can be found in the coastal communities. The owner or his surrogate knows all tenants by name. And although the paternalistic patterns which flourished under these productive arrangements are reportedly much weaker than in former times, the landlord may still count on the support of the tenant in such matters as, for example, political allegiance. These strong face-to-face relationships and their concomitant paternalism seem further to have preserved social class distinctions and attitudes of respect more rigidly than in the cane regions, where the higher degree of proletarianization and the disappearance of the old face-to-face arrangements have been accompanied by a decline in the respect forms and an increase in the formal assumptions of equality or democracy.

Catholicism in the isolated rural areas of this region is strong, in contrast with the growing importance of the evangelical sects on the coast, and tends to emphasize the cult of the saints. These are manipulated for practical purposes. Among the landless and the submarginal landowners, the family pattern is strongly patrilineal, with the father controlling the family labor, either on or off the farm. He determines inheritance and disposal of any land, and he dictates the social relationships of his wife and children. Marriage in this community is usually ritual, even among the landless, and may thus reflect the importance of property as well as of the traditional religion.

The rugged terrain of this area, as contrasted with the coastal plains of sugar production, has prevented the development of good roads. And the crop itself has not demanded good roads, as does the cultivation of sugar. Transportation of sugar cane is too

costly when performed by mule or human carrier. This is not the case with coffee. Proof of this relationship between good means of communication and the crop may be seen in the island-wide tendency for new roads to follow the spread of sugar cultivation into the more hilly regions.

Thus the isolation fostered by the nature of the landscape is heightened, in contrast to the coast, by the lack of good communication. The implications of this contrast in terms of mobility, conservatism, general slowness of change, and so on, are profound.

THE TOBACCO-MINOR CROPS COMMUNITY

In contrast with the coffee community, where over 90 of about 1,300 farms consist of more than 100 acres, in the tobacco-minor crop municipality, only 21 of almost 1,100 farms are larger than 100 acres. On the other hand, the number of farms here with less than 15 acres numbers 875, and no single farm is as large as 500 acres. There is a rapid turnover in landownership from generation to generation, the dominant pattern being one of inheritance fragmentation, with holdings re-formed under different families. The *sucesión* or other managerial types of inheritance are much less common here than in the coffee region, where heavy investment in processing machinery on the large farms acts as a deterrent to fragmentation.

Tobacco is the principal cash crop in this community, with minor crops a strong contributor to cash income. The combination of a cash crop requiring little acreage and a subsistence-plus-cash crop makes survival on small holdings more feasible here than in any of the other communities. Nobody in this community devotes himself exclusively to the cultivation of the major cash crop, as in sugar-cane or, to a lesser extent, in the coffee community.

Because tobacco may be cultivated profitably on small plots, requires no machinery, and calls for no long wait to realize a return on investment; because production credit is readily available and family labor may supply all the labor for an average-sized plot; because tobacco occupies the land for only

four months of the year and important food crops may be sequentially intercropped; because a natural catastrophe, which may wipe out the cash crop, does not necessarily condemn the grower to total loss of annual income—for all these reasons, tobacco has been called the “poor man’s cash crop.”

In this community the sharecropper segment of the landless workers hopes for betterment in a way not found among the landless of other areas. The sharecropper may accumulate enough money in a single year of good crops and prices to buy a small piece of land. This is the ideal, the dream. And to the extent that low-priced, small parcels of land are often available through the usual breakup of farms upon the death of the owner, the dream is often realizable. Each year of good tobacco prices has witnessed at least a few such conversions of the dream into reality.

As a matter of fact, the largest proportion of the big landowners of this municipality were found to have reached their present status from poverty or nonownership. The example of their success makes the goal real to today’s landless workers. Thus, economizing and saving through thrift are found more commonly here than among the landless of the other communities. And gambling, instead of appearing to them as the most likely road to betterment, looks more like a means of losing one’s way on the road. That is not to say that there is no gambling in the municipality. There is, but there is significantly less of it; and the illegal lottery, which flourishes in other areas, has virtually disappeared here.

Subsidiary economic activities are strongest among the landless of the one barrio which is almost completely devoted to the production of tobacco. But landlord credit to sharecroppers during the dead season reduces the burden of that period for them. In the other barrios minor crops are produced throughout the year and provide a steady, if small, subsistence and salary for most of the landless. Some of the landless workers who are not sharecroppers migrate to the coastal towns for part of the sugar harvest,

but most remain within the municipality, working at odd jobs, borrowing, or exploiting kin and neighbor relationships. Peddling or making illegal rum is of no importance in the tobacco barrio; there is only one still in operation, and that is run by an independent large landholder who takes care of most of his own marketing of the product as well.

Despite the dependency relationships of many of the landless, who have neither tobacco, fields for subsistence, nor easy access to food crops, ritual kin relationships are here treated more lightly than in any of the other communities studied. It may be that the lesser severity of the dead season weakens these relationships which were reportedly stronger at one time. Also, the greater fluidity and the possibilities and the facts of upward mobility tend to minimize the importance of the *compadre* ties.

While demands for their labor may often interfere with education of the children, the general tendency is to view education as a device for upward mobility. Parents will frequently educate their children at some sacrifice. And the town supports two private high schools, a Catholic and a Baptist academy, in contrast to the other communities, where no private high schools are found.

Face-to-face relationships are perhaps stronger here than in any of the other communities. Upward mobility and the almost universal direct supervision of farming activities by the owner insure them. And while it is well known that many of the wealthy farmers were once poor men, that does not lead to an informal backslapping relationship; but it does promote an easier accord that is rare in the near-caste rigidity of areas where land, wealth, and power have come down for a number of generations.

The importance of minor crops and the greater bulk of these have stimulated the building of roads. Transportation of tobacco, like that of coffee, may be accomplished by mule or by human carrier, but this is not ordinarily the case with bananas, plaintains, yams, tanners, and the like. Thus in those areas where minor crops have become important, new roads have been built, despite

the unevenness of the terrain. There has been an attendant decrease in isolation, until now there is no place in the entire municipality that is more than forty minutes' walk from a hard-surface road.

Among the landless and the small farmers of this region the family is bilateral, emphasizing descent on the side where most property lies. Authority for social relations in the family lies generally—but not always and not so strongly as in the coffee region—with the father. Marriage is consensual only where property is not now or is not likely ever to be a consideration, otherwise it is most often civil or religious. The traditional religion appears weaker here than in the coffee region, with no saint cults and with a minor penetration of evangelicism into the nominally universal Catholicism of the rural areas.

Some of these data will strike students of other world areas as familiar. The homogeneity of agrarian ways of life, which is often assumed to exist in countries as small as Puerto Rico, may, upon examination, turn out to be a fiction. The modes of life may instead be discovered to be heterogeneous, not only in horizontal or class terms but in terms of regional and crop adaptation as well. These data suggest that under a system

of production for profit and in the multiple context of a dependent, class-structured society, which participates in the world market, certain cultural forms and productive arrangements tend to be associated in special ways with the crops cultivated. Thus the nature of the crop—under the above conditions—may favor the predominance of holdings within a certain range in size; may dictate the general patterns of inheritance and the rate of turnover in landholdings; fix the seasonality of employment; determine the proportion of land which will be devoted to the production of subsistence crops; and affect the nature of the family, the local class structure, and the religious and political attitudes of the people.

The cultural-historical and adaptive processes involved in the emergence of these sub-cultural and regional variations may perhaps be largely duplicated in cultures of other traditions where the development of cash crops, trade, and so on involve the emergence and growth of similar productive arrangements, credit, and marketing facilities. It remains for other investigators to test in other cultures these hypotheses which have come out of the Puerto Rican investigation.

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RATS AND MEN

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ABSTRACT

Contrary to the opinions of certain sociologists, the issue of the extent to which the concepts of learning theory will be useful to social psychologists will be settled on the basis of empirical data and not on the basis of questionable philosophical commitments. Learning theory has already been shown to have some applicability to human data, but there is a great need for further experimentation. Learning theory does not violate Morgan's canon, as has been charged, nor is there any mischievous distortion of data as the result of emphasis on the experimental method.

I

In a recent article in this *Journal* Lindesmith and Strauss repeat some rather antiquated arguments concerning the relation between comparative and social psychology.¹ The import of these arguments appears to be twofold: (1) rats are not men and (2) certain laws of behavior that hold for rats will not hold for humans. Let us at the outset grant the tautological part of this argument. "Rat," as usually defined, does not denote the same object or class of objects as "man." A final decision on the second part of the argument will have to wait until more evidence is in, although there seems to be sufficient evidence available at present to support the belief that this latter position can be shown to be untenable.

Before discussing some of this evidence, it will be necessary to distinguish between the fields of comparative psychology and learning theory. This is a distinction that Lindesmith and Strauss at times gloss over. Stone states: "Comparative psychology, as a term, is applied to the study of behavior of diverse animals—chiefly studies that are intended to bring out differences and similarities."² Learning theory, as the name implies, is a theory about learning and behavior,³ the empirical data for which comes from experi-

ments upon many different types of animals including rats and *men*. This distinction is implied in Lindesmith and Strauss's question, "Is comparative psychology comparative?" In answering this question, they bemoan the fact that learning theorists are not strictly comparative psychologists. The present writer has no objection to many of the criticisms that they make of comparative psychologists. Beach has pointed out that the number of publications concerning comparative psychological subject matter has markedly decreased in the past years.⁴ Studies that are intended to bring out differences and similarities between diverse animals have lost their appeal to many psychologists who use lower animals as subjects. The interests of a large number of these experimental psychologists have apparently shifted to the attempt to establish a general theory of learning and behavior. It should be clearly noted that pointing out certain limitations in comparative psychology in no way shows the same inadequacies to exist in learning theory, even though the two subjects are mentioned in the same paragraph.

Lindesmith and Strauss begin their paper by observing that, since most social scientists are to a very large extent concerned with learned behavior, it is not surprising that they should want to determine to what extent they can borrow from learning theory. The attempt to borrow from learning theory, they go on to say, is based on the assumption that the "laws" of learning are

¹ A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, "Comparative Psychology and Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1952), 272-79.

² C. P. Stone, *Comparative Psychology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 1.

³ "Learning theory" and "behavior theory" are used synonymously in this paper.

⁴ F. A. Beach, "The Snark Was a Boojum," *American Psychologist*, V (1950), 115-24.

general and that these laws will apply to human beings as well as to rats. The authors state that the intellectual justification for this assumption is based on several philosophical commitments which they propose to examine.

It is true that many learning theorists feel that their concepts will apply, at least to some extent, to both lower animals and to man. One reason, and it seems to be an excellent one, for this faith is that many learning-theory concepts have been developed with *both* the lower animals and man serving as experimental subjects. The number of experiments performed from a learning-theory framework with man as an experimental subject runs into the hundreds. It is therefore entirely inaccurate to maintain that learning theory applies only to rats and the lower animals and that for "philosophical" reasons it cannot apply to the human being.

A more cogent criticism of learning theory can, perhaps, be made on the grounds (and has often been made, particularly against Hullian learning theory) that the laws that have been formulated are derived from the "simple" learning situations usually called classical and instrumental conditioning. There is some justification for such remarks in that it was Hull's stated intention to begin at this level in developing constructs and laws, but it was his hope eventually to apply these laws and concepts to complicated, "molar," social behavior. Even at present many of the constructs, laws, and principles seem to hold for some of these complex situations. A partial list of concepts that have been found helpful in analyzing complicated behaviors would include "drive," "stimulus," "response," "generalization," "goal gradient," "secondary reinforcement," "hierarchy of response," "pure stimulus act," "extinction," "spontaneous recovery," "partial reinforcement," and "anticipatory response." Fortunately there is some empirical evidence, however limited, available which indicates the usefulness of these concepts in relatively complex experimental situations with human beings as subjects.

Gibson⁵ and Underwood,⁶ for example, find the concept of "generalization" to have considerable explanatory power for the data they have collected in their studies of human language behavior. Miller and Dollard⁷ report a number of experiments on humans, the results of which can in no way be said to be contradictory to learning theory. Lewis⁸ and Siegel and Foshee⁹ have found learning theory principles to apply to children. Grosslight and Child¹⁰ and Murphy¹¹ have found the same, in part, with adults.

The actual number of experiments of this variety is few, and the need for more is great. But it is important to remember that determining the extent to which learning theory will apply to complicated human learning situations is an empirical problem, one which can be settled only after much experimentation, and certainly not one to be prejudged on the basis of a few questionable "philosophical commitments." The difficulties in performing reasonably rigorous experiments with human subjects, as sociologists know full well, are immense. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that sociologists will perform such experiments and that some will even "try out" learning-theory concepts. Only in this way can questions about the

⁵ E. J. Gibson, "A Systematic Application of the Concepts of Generalization and Differentiation to Verbal Learning," *Psychological Review*, XLVII (1940), 196-229.

⁶ B. J. Underwood, *Experimental Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949).

⁷ N. E. Miller and J. Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

⁸ D. J. Lewis, "Partial Reinforcement in a Gambling Situation," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XLIII (1952), 447-50.

⁹ P. S. Siegel and J. G. Foshee, "The Law of Primary Reinforcement in Children," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XLV (1953), 12-15.

¹⁰ J. H. Grosslight and I. Child, "Persistence as a Function of Previous Experience of Failure Followed by Success," *American Journal of Psychology*, LX (1947), 378-87.

¹¹ M. J. Murphy, "The Differentiation of a Response: An Exploratory Study with Human Subjects" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1943).

generality of the laws of learning be answered.

Several attempts have been made to explain already collected data and observations about humans in learning theory terms. Notable among these attempts is that of Miller and Dollard,¹² whose analysis of social learning and imitation has greater precision than any other such analysis and certainly as much face-validity, although the amount of experimental work in these areas is, admittedly, very limited. Again, the analysis by Dollard and Miller¹³ of the learning of neurosis and the learning that takes place in the therapeutic situation is as acute as any. At present there is insufficient experimental evidence to show to what extent this analysis really fits the data, just as there is insufficient evidence to confirm or disconfirm most of the Freudian propositions. What is apparent is that many of the Freudian statements can be restated in learning-theory terms, and, because of the experimental rigor with which the learning theory terms were developed, considerable precision is added to the Freudian analysis. Other analyses of complex human phenomena have been made from a learning-theory point of view. The interested reader might refer to Moore and Lewis,¹⁴ Mowrer,¹⁵ and Shoben.¹⁶

II

Another charge that Lindesmith and Strauss make is that learning theorists are violating Lloyd Morgan's canon. The evidence which they offer in support of this charge is reports of experiments, using the white rat as subject, and containing as concepts such terms as "hypotheses," "expect-

ancies," "ideas," etc. It is true that some learning theorists do use such concepts in their theorizing, but it is desirable to distinguish between two general theoretical orientations to which learning theorists adhere. One is the stimulus-response orientation and the other is the cognitive orientation. As one would guess from the names, it is the latter group of theorists who have introduced the cognitive concepts to which the authors refer. The S-R theorists, in general, take Morgan's canon more seriously and examine very carefully the credentials of all the concepts which they introduce into their theories.

In spite of the preference which different theorists have for different types of concepts, the spelling of the word which stands for a property or a relation is not a matter of crucial importance in a theory. It should not make much difference whether the concept word be spelled *hypothesis*, *habit strength*, or *X*. What is important is the operational and linguistic operations by which the term is introduced into the theory. In learning theory at its present stage of development, it is generally the manipulation of specified independent variables and the observation of specified dependent variables that serve to give meaning to a concept. If these operations and the resulting relationships are the same, or similar, it should be of little importance if the term used to name an operation, or class of operations, be "X" or "Y." In a recent article Kendler points out that the use of different terms for the same operations may, and frequently does, result in arguments and experiments about problems for which no empirical answer can be found.¹⁷ These disputes arise from the failure to distinguish clearly between the logical status of a concept and its psychological status. Because certain types of concept names lead more readily to anthropomorphizing and other looseness in thinking, concept names of the "mentalist" type are dangerous. But, even so, if a term such as "hy-

¹² *Op. cit.*

¹³ J. Dollard and N. E. Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950).

¹⁴ O. K. Moore and D. J. Lewis, "Learning Theory and Culture," *Psychological Review*, LIX (1952), 380-88.

¹⁵ O. H. Mowrer, *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950).

¹⁶ E. J. Shoben, Jr., "Psychotherapy as a Problem in Learning Theory," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLVI (1949), 366-92.

¹⁷ H. H. Kendler, "What Is Learned?"—a Theoretical Blind Alley," *Psychological Review*, LIX (1952), 269-77.

pothesis" is properly introduced into a theory, and then restricted in meaning solely to the operations by which it was introduced, it should by no means be considered as attributing to lower animals complex processes "distinctive" only to humans. Also, if a term such as "habit strength" is applied to human beings, this should not be considered as attributing to humans the "simple" processes of lower animals.

The purpose of a theory, it is generally conceded, is to explain and predict. If a theory can do this for behavior, it matters little how the names of the concepts of this theory are spelled. The difficulties which Lindesmith and Strauss seem to have with the possible distinction between "reason" and "intelligence" seem to fade away in the light of modern logical analysis. In any case, it cannot be accurately said that "the current view [of learning theorists] is practically identical with that which Morgan so effectively criticized more than a half-century ago."¹⁸

III

In another section of their article Lindesmith and Strauss present what appears to be very much like an attack on the experimental method. Certainly it is not necessary at this period in the advancement of the social sciences to defend the experimental method. The reason Lindesmith and Strauss give for disliking the experimental method is that it "loads the dice" in favor of finding similarities between rats and man. Situations are selected by the experimenters, they say, which restrict the possible behaviors of the animal under consideration to a very few and necessitate that these behaviors be performed in only one way. Under these conditions, they add, it is not surprising that similarities between species are emphasized and differences ignored. Involved in this reasoning, apparently, is a misunderstanding of what it is that scientists are trying to do. (The fact that Lindesmith and Strauss are able to cite others who have the same opinion does not make it any less of a misunder-

standing.) One of the first tasks of any science is to develop regularities (laws) between at least two events. For psychologists these events are usually stimulus and response events. It is with the aid of laws that the goal of social science, the understanding, predicting, and controlling of behavior, may be achieved.

It has, however, proved to be an extremely difficult task in the behavioral sciences to isolate significant stimulus and response events which will yield regular data. It is in the attempt to obtain such data that experimental psychologists have gone into the laboratory, even as scientists in other disciplines have done for their subject matters, and restricted the stimulus and response conditions. Granted that laboratory conditions are "artificial" and "unnatural" (but not mischievously so), if by such means laws can be established which can be combined with other laws and a theory developed which can then be interpreted for molar human behavior, the "artificiality" of the laboratory is of little moment. Most experimentalists believe, in fact, that the necessary behavioral laws can be established only in the laboratory due to the bewildering complexity—bewildering to experimentalists and nonexperimentalists alike—of most "natural" situations.

Learning theorists, then, are trying to build a theory which will be adequate for an important part of mammalian behavior. There is at present no reason, either empirical or philosophically committal, to believe that the fundamental learning processes are different in man than they are in the white rat. If, after much more evidence accumulates, this should prove not to be the case, then, perhaps, a "rat learning theory" will not be useful for humans. The evidence, however, which is at present available, some of which was alluded to earlier, suggests just the opposite; that rats and humans do learn by basically the same processes. This is not to make the naïve assumption that a present learning theory will be adequate *in toto* to complex human behavior. Many changes

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

and additions will certainly be necessary as more evidence comes in. Very possibly present theories will scarcely be recognizable in the behavior theory of the future. But there is sufficient evidence at present to indicate that the interpretation and expansion of present learning theories is an extremely fruitful approach to the behavior theory of the future. There is, then, every reason to continue learning experiments on rats. And there is also adequate justification for sociologists and social psychologists to try out this system of concepts to determine wherein they are adequate and wherein they are not.

It may, in addition, be noted that there is no necessity for a theory of human behavior to contain terms that smack of peculiarly human characteristics. It is not even a scientific sin if the theory in question seems to violate common sense. Scientific theories are

evaluated by their usefulness, not by the way their principal concepts are spelled. A theory can be considered, in one sense, a model of what it interprets. In their theorizing, physicists are not afraid to try out the most "bizarre" models. If the models can be interpreted for the data under consideration, and if they have explanatory and predictive power, that is ordinarily considered sufficient, whatever the philosophical commitments these models may involve. There is at present a very crude model—crude in comparison to the models of physical science—available in learning theory which may be of use in social psychology. Social psychologists and sociologists would be unwise to turn it down without at least a tryout, particularly since it seems to have some promise.

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THE FOLK-URBAN CONTINUUM AND THE RURAL PROLETARIAN COMMUNITY¹

SIDNEY W. MINTZ

ABSTRACT

The folk-urban construct may not suffice to deal with certain community types, such as that associated with the modern plantation. Redfield's studies in Yucatan ignored the plantation communities, although henequen plantations are fundamental to Yucatan's place in the world economy. Studies of Puerto Rican sugar-cane production suggest that communities of this kind are neither "folk" nor "urban" but rather distinctive forms of sociocultural reorganization. The formulation of a "plantation type" would make possible predictions about the sociocultural effects of a particular kind of agricultural organization. The type could be constructed inductively and tested in field situations. Typologies ought not be discarded but should be based on empirical observation and refined as necessary.

It is twenty-two years since the publication of Robert Redfield's first work dealing with the "folk society."² Since that time Redfield has elaborated the concept considerably,³ his students have used it as a theoretical jumping-off place in their research,⁴ and a body of articles and studies, critical of the concept, has accumulated.⁵

The folk-urban concept is by now so well known that there is little need to review its premises here other than most briefly. Folk society and urban society are conceived of as polarities at opposite ends of a continuum. Were these polarities viewed as sepa-

rated in time, the continuum would represent the course of history. But, since they are ideal types, actual history is not viewed as an essential of the construct.

Redfield states that it was his aim

to seek through this method of comparison of differently affected communities some general knowledge as to the nature of society and of its changes. . . . [The] conclusions are generalizations on many particular facts. The assertions are "on the whole" true. To reach these conclusions it is not necessary to report the history of any one of the communities: they may be compared as if they all existed at the same moment of time.⁶

As Miner and Foster have recently pointed out,⁷ the folk society and the urban society have a very abstract relationship to social reality, since each is a synthetic compound

¹ The writer is indebted to John V. Murra, Julian H. Steward, Elman R. Service, and Eric R. Wolf for much of the thinking and discussion which led to this article. The writer alone is responsible for this particular formulation.

² R. Redfield, *Tepoztlán* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

³ R. Redfield, "The Folk Society and Culture," in *Eleven Twenty-six*, ed. L. Wirth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940); "Culture Changes in Yucatan," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVI, No. 1 (1934), 57-59; *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (January, 1947), 292-308; *A Village That Chose Progress* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

⁴ E. Spicer, *Pascua: A Yaqui Village in Arizona* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940); H. Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); J. de la Fuente, *Yalalag: Una villa Zapoteca Serrana* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Antropología, 1949); etc.

⁵ N. Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (March, 1948), 348-50; M. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 604-7; O. Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 432-40; J. Steward, *Area Research: Concepts and Methods* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), pp. 111 and 113; S. Tax, "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, XLIII, No. 1 (1941), 22-42; H. Miner, "The Folk-Urban Continuum," *American Sociological Review*, XVII, No. 5 (October, 1952), 529-37; G. Foster, "What Is Folk Culture?" *American Anthropologist*, LV, No. 1 (1953), 159-73.

⁶ *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, p. 342.

⁷ "The Folk-Urban Continuum," *op. cit.*, p. 529; "What Is Folk Culture?" *op. cit.*, pp. 160-62.

of characteristics lifted out of real social situations. Redfield does not maintain that either the ideal folk or the ideal urban society can actually be found anywhere in the world. His conception of ideal type is one in which the type is not a reduction of the particular characteristics of many societies to those features which they share in common and which together might make for a necessary and sufficient description of the type wherever it is found; rather, it consists of an enumeration of as many characteristics as can be abstracted from any number of societies, preconceived to be folklike, put together to form the type.

The folk society is marked by isolation; a high degree of genetic and cultural homogeneity; slow culture change; preliteracy; small numbers; minimal division of labor; simple technology (with every individual a primary producer), great functional coherence (so that every act tends to be related to every other, and the culture shows an almost organic quality in the interdependence of its materials and the behavior of those who live by it); social organization based on blood and fictive kinship; behavior which is traditional and uncritical; a tendency to view the inanimate and nonhuman world personally; the viewing of traditional objects and acts as sacred; the pervasive importance of magic and religion and, thus, resulting ritual behavior in all areas of life; and the absence of economic motives which fail to fit in with, and conform to, all other aspects of life.⁸

Miner has pointed out that Redfield defines urban society primarily as the absence or opposite of these characteristics.⁹ Redfield describes three principal processes of change from folk to urban: secularization, individualization, and disorganization. To what degree these processes are interrelated has not been made clear, although Redfield has welcomed the work of those who have sought to show in various cases that change of one kind may take place without change

of another. Tax, for instance, has described a folklike social situation for Guatemala, where individualization and commercialism are well advanced.¹⁰ Spicer has studied what he and Redfield regard as a folklike society existing on the very margins of an urban center, and features of both the folk and urban types are present in curious juxtaposition.¹¹

Criticism of the folk-urban construct has come from many social theorists. Herkovits, in his critical distinction between form and process,¹² attacks Redfield's selection of a series of unit characteristics which may or may not travel together and which fail to fit some specific cultural situations.

The most detailed criticism of the folk-urban construct has come from Lewis, who restudied Tepoztlan some twenty years after Redfield's original work there.¹³ Although Lewis' six points of criticism¹⁴ are clear and useful, his most important critical contribution in the present writer's opinion, comes in his over-all emphasis on the value of careful historical research in the study of culture change. Redfield has never questioned the value of such research but has sought in his analysis to get at the nature of social change without reference to historical particulars.

It is important to note that few of Redfield's critics have been willing to accept his primary emphasis on culture types as an entrée to the study of culture change and to seek to sharpen this methodological tool by a refinement of the typological system itself. Rather, the emphasis seems to have been to discard typological systems in general, along with the particular folk-urban formulation. The purpose of the present article is to suggest that typological characterizations can prove useful in social science theory and methodology, even though the type to be described suggests the limitations of the

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22-42.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 604-7.

¹³ *Op. cit.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 432-40.

⁸ Redfield, "The Folk Society," *op. cit.*, pp. 292-308.

⁹ "The Folk-Urban Continuum," *op. cit.*, pp. 529-37.

folk-urban continuum. The delineation of this type, the modern plantation, may prove of some interest, since the most impressive application of the folk-urban construct, that of the study of four Yucatecan communities,¹⁵ did not include a study of a henequen plantation, even though henequen production is the backbone of the Yucatecan economy, according to Redfield.¹⁶ The only comment regarding the possible choice of one of these plantation communities is made in a footnote to chapter i of *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* where Redfield notes that "the difference between a community of hacienda employees and a community of independent farmers . . . would be of importance in any study planned with immediate reference to the practical social and economic problems of Yucatan."¹⁷

The present writer feels that a study of a community of plantation¹⁸ employees might have had considerable theoretical value, quite apart from practical social and economic problems. This is not merely a question of pick-and-choose in community studies. The plantation represents a special kind of industrial organization. Many of the features of life generally associated with "urban," "Western," or "modern" society, such as a wage-labor pattern, standardized wage rates, and industrialization, are introduced through plantation organization and seem to produce particular sociocultural effects. Yet the people are not affected in terms of an "urban" or "Western" complex but rather in terms of the impact of specific innovations. The plantation system may

thus bring about a very distinctive social and cultural reorganization. The henequen plantation brought something quite new to Yucatan, something which conceivably might not fit at all on the folk-urban continuum. Merida, "the one real city of Yucatan,"¹⁹ may indeed be "dominant . . . in the economic, political, and social life of Yucatan,"²⁰ but "henequen . . . is the money crop of Yucatan; . . . henequen determines the role of Yucatan in the world economy. . . . The important change in the economic life of Yucatan since the Conquest occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, when henequen became a commercially important crop."²¹

For the present argument a study of a henequen plantation might have proved of particular theoretical value, because Yucatecan plantations have always been manned by Yucatecans. If there are distinctive social and cultural features which flow from the reorganization of life which this writer feels the plantation system entails, then the ethnic continuity of the people subject to this change is very important. Frequently, plantation development has brought about the importation of labor with a culture quite distinct from that of the local inhabitants. In such cases the differing character of social life and culture might be explained by reference either to the effects of the system itself or to the antecedent culture of the migrants. In the case of Yucatan, the relatively pure ethnic continuity of the population involved in plantation development minimizes the operation of differing ethnic elements as factors in social and cultural change. The plantation system itself could be analyzed as the source of change, the differences in culture between *milperos* and plantation employees as the results of the imposition of the plantation system. But, unfortunately, no anthropological study of a henequen-producing plantation community can be found in the literature.

There may be some value in discussing

¹⁵ Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*; R. Redfield and A. Villa R., *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1934); A. Villa R., *The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1945).

¹⁶ The writer is indebted to John V. Murra for this singular insight.

¹⁷ *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, p. 370.

¹⁸ I prefer the term "plantation" to "hacienda" in this connection. According to a typological scheme for these various forms of large landholding organizations now being developed, the Yucatecan henequen-growing farm organizations are plantations and not haciendas.

¹⁹ *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, *passim*.

modern plantation life in another area. The plantation is a distinctive form of agricultural organization and may, accordingly, exhibit distinctive social characteristics. Whether or not this turns out to be the case will depend on the rigor with which the variation in plantation types is assessed and the care with which plantations in different geographical areas, having different histories, growing different crops, and manned by different personnel are studied. Material from only a single community is summarized here, and the development of a typological abstraction will consequently be subject to considerable refinement as more comparative work is done.²²

Since the seventeenth century the plantation has been the dominant method of European agricultural development in tropical regions. In the earlier periods there was little mechanical equipment, even less scientific cultivation, and labour represented a capital investment in the form of slaves, while land was usually a free gift. The present situation is exactly the opposite in almost every respect. Land is obtained by rent or purchase—although the price is in some places low—labour is paid money wages, methods of increasing the fertility of the soil have greatly improved, and in every industry capital is extensively employed. The form of cultivation that may legitimately be called plantation production now represents a permanent investment and a long-range interest in a defined area of land.²³

Such a characterization, for Latin America, appears to apply particularly to sugar and banana crops, only to a lesser extent to coffee and henequen. One measure of the

plantation type is the degree to which production is "streamlined." Not only are large holdings a feature, but the control of land, labor, and machinery is centralized, and a production discipline similar to that of a large factory is maintained. Heavy capitalization for fertilizer, pesticide, irrigation, farm machinery, transport, export facilities, and land is customary. A corporation, often foreign, operates the enterprise. Most subsistence activity is supplanted usually by the production of a single cash crop, which is either exported or at least sold commercially throughout the national economy.²⁴ A credit and stores system may be present which provides commodities for the laborers but which also serves to tie them to the enterprise. Production is rationalized in every possible manner. Modern cost-accounting governs operation costs, and the work system is standardized at the most efficient level. Investment is initially heavy, not only because modern agricultural methods and world competition require it, but also because the system is no "landkiller," as the slave plantation was, and looks to permanency as an objective.

The imposition of the sugar plantation system on the south coast of Puerto Rico affected the emergence of large numbers of rural proletarian communities.²⁵ In these communities the vast majority of people is landless, propertyless (in the sense of *productive* property), wage-earning, store-buying (the stores being a chain owned by the corporation, with few competitors), corporately employed, and standing in like relationship to the main source of employment. These rural proletarian communities might also be considered class isolates, in the sense that economic alternatives to wage labor in the sugar-cane industry, other than via migration to the United States main-

²² Ethnographic studies of plantations, in this case producing sugar cane, were carried out in Puerto Rico by the writer and Dr. E. Padilla Seda in 1948-49, under the direction of Julian Steward and John Murra. To the writer's knowledge, these were the first studies of this kind. They will be published in a work under Steward's editorship during 1953. Since their completion, more studies of the same kind have been initiated. Cf. C. Wagley, "A Typology of Latin-America Subcultures: A Research Hypotheses" (manuscript).

²³ I. Greaves, *Modern Production among Backward Peoples* (London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1935), p. 170.

²⁴ International Labour Organisation, Committee on Work on Plantations, *Basic Problems of Plantation Labour* (Geneva: I.L.O., 1950), pp. 5-10.

²⁵ S. Mintz, "Canamelar, the Contemporary Culture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat" (unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

land, are very scarce. The working people not only stand in like relationship to the productive apparatus but are also interacting in reciprocal social relationships with each other and subordinate social relationships to members of higher classes (such as the managers). The rural proletarian community associated with the plantation emerges as isolated in a very different way from that of the folk society. In the later case the isolation is primarily geographic, and the society can be discussed almost completely in terms of itself. In the former case the isolation is socio-economic. The rural proletarians form a part society, and they are members of a class which can be analyzed adequately only with reference to other classes in the total society, while having minimal opportunities to change their class position in the local community.

Unlike the ideal folk society, which is ethnically homogeneous, the rural proletarian community may be ethnically heterogeneous. In Puerto Rican sugar-cane-growing communities of the type described here, the antecedents are Spanish, West African, and Arawak. The material culture of Puerto Rican rural proletarians contains elements of all these ancestral cultures. But the commonality of class identity, stabilized over a fifty-year period, and built upon a history of pre-occupation sugar haciendas in the region, makes for a kind of cultural homogeneity. House types are limited in variety and reveal many common features. Food preferences are clear cut and strikingly uniform. Spanish is spoken, with some Arawak and African terms added; it is a kind of Spanish quite different from that spoken by middle-class merchants or university professors. Similarities in life-ways among these rural working people extend to child-training practices,²⁶ ritual kinship practices (not merely the Catholic system of *compadrazgo* but the particular ways in which this system is employed and standardized),²⁷ political attitudes, attitudes toward the land, atti-

tudes toward the position of women, similarities in dress, and other expressions of taste, religion, and so on.²⁸ Needless to say, these similarities do not hold for every single rural proletarian in a given community, but they are manifestations of unmistakable over-all likenesses. In short, while ethnic homogeneity and geographic isolation are lacking, a very real kind of cultural homogeneity, partly class determined, prevails.

The rural proletarian community is small, and daily life has much of a primary-group character. Admittedly, it is vastly different from that of a migratory hunting band or a community like Tusik in Quintana Roo.²⁹ Geographical mobility, especially migration to mainland United States, militates against the inner coherence of the rural proletarian community. People frequently leave permanently or for long periods. Newcomers enter into the community, usually in search of work. Thus the stability of personnel in such a community is not high, as in a settled small-farm area. At the same time the idea that geographical mobility entirely destroys community coherence may be overemphasized. It would appear that the stability provided by *common knowledge of differing roles* may to some extent take the place of the stability which depends on having exactly the same personnel in the same community for considerable lengths of time. Bonds of kinship and of ritual kinship unite relatively large numbers of members of the same class. Broadly similar features of life underlie the likeness of behavior of class members. Class patterns of learning and behaving may reduce the cultural stresses caused by high geographical mobility. Similar conditions of life which produce similarities of culture over large areas may make possible inter-

²⁷ S. Mintz and E. Wolf, "An Analysis of Ritual Co-parenthood (*Compadrazgo*)," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI, No. 4 (winter, 1950), 341-68.

²⁸ Mintz, "Canamelar, the Contemporary Culture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat," *op. cit.*

²⁹ Cf. A. Villa R., *The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo*. This village was the folk community "type" in the synchronic series of four studies directed by Redfield in Yucatan.

²⁶ K. Wolf, "Growing Up and Its Price in Three Puerto Rican Subcultures," *Psychiatry*, XV, No. 4 (November, 1952), 401-34.

changeability of personnel while maintaining over-all cultural uniformity. Redfield himself has noted that a folklike society may change its personnel with considerable rapidity and yet retain a high measure of consistency. In his introduction to Spicer's study of a landless wage-earning community of Yaqui Indians near Tucson, Arizona, he writes:

One wonders if the interesting . . . system . . . by which relations among members of the society are established and regulated fully developed only after settlement in Arizona. The hypothesis may be entertained that the extension of the sponsor system to include all the community may have been a response to a need for solidarity in a new and alien world. . . . It strikes at least this reader that the present form of social organization is well adapted to the situation in which the Yaqui now find themselves—in that, while security and status are provided for everyone, the kinship relations are, as Dr. Spicer puts it, "generalized," so as to make it possible for individuals to drop out and the composition of groups frequently to change, as must be the case where men leave to work in other fields or on other outside jobs. The looseness of the household groups is another corresponding feature. Pascua social structure preserves the solidarity of the whole society while it is so flexible as to allow for frequent changes in its personnel.³⁰

In essence, what Redfield has noted here is a situation where common knowledge and acceptance of roles seem to have compensated partly for the loss of homogeneity of personnel. The persistence of folklike features in Pascua life is attributed to the folk society background of the people, and their retention of these features is remarked upon by Spicer and Redfield. The homogeneity of these landless, wage-earning Yaqui Indians is attributed to a common cultural heritage. But the people of Pascua have not only an acquired cultural homogeneity but economic homogeneity as well, effected by their common class status. Spicer notes that in Pascua relationships with outsiders are mainly employee-employer, wage-earning ones. Yet the exchange of goods or services for money

among Yaquis is rare, surpluses are small, and there is little or no capital accumulation within the village.³¹

Rural proletarian communities in Puerto Rico exhibit many features similar to those found in Pascua. Money is pervasive, but most relationships between villagers are noncash; credit is common, and interest on money loaned by one rural proletarian to another is unheard of. Blood and ritual kin ties presuppose certain economic obligations, but these are not fixed and do not involve interest, and, if a relationship is abused by taking financial advantage of kinfolk, the customary obligations of the ties may be suspended or discarded. In the case of Puerto Rican rural proletarian communities, these patterns cannot be explained entirely by reference to a common cultural heritage but may be due in part to a common class identity.

In the rural proletarian community (as in Pascua), no man is a primary producer. Every man works for wages and buys necessary commodities at retail stores, supplementing his cash income with certain minor subsidiary economic activities, such as fishing, raising a pig or chickens, selling tickets on the illegal lottery, etc. Yet, while no man is a primary producer, to a surprising extent every man does as every other, every man thinks as every other. Again, the curious similarity of the ideal folk society to the rural proletarian community is only analogous. The first case rests on treating the whole society *in vacuo*; the second has meaning only in so far as the community is seen as a mere reservoir of manpower. The rural proletarian community tends to be a class isolate, its existence predicated on the existence of other classes who own the instruments of production, provide the work opportunities, pay the wages, and sell the commodities to be bought.

The analogy of a rural proletarian community with the ideal folk society might be carried even further. Thus, for instance, some areas of life are handled in traditional,

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. ix.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-39.

spontaneous, and uncritical ways. The system of ritual kinship is a sacred one, used primarily to bind together contemporaries who are of the same socioeconomic group and who live in the same community. This fictive kinship system is employed to reduce economic competition and to strengthen bonds of co-operation and, in fact, appears to reinforce class identity and to hamper both geographic and socioeconomic mobility.³²

There is, however, another side to the picture of the rural proletarian community, evidenced by the ways in which these communities have come to resemble the urban pole of the folk-urban continuum. The same forces which made of its people a class isolate also revamped and reorganized its way of life. The plantation exists to satisfy needs outside the local milieu—the national or international market. In the local setting it requires for its successful operation a large working-class population; a monopoly over the land; a standard medium of exchange (money); standardized rates of pay; a purely impersonal set of relationships between employed managers and employed workers; means of maintaining control and discipline over the labor force (in some cases obtained via the extension of credit to workers for purchases in corporation retail stores); and the efficient regulation of work procedures, usually involving the reduction of tasks to their simplest essentials, any job being easily learned, and any laborer therefore easily replaced. In short, the successful plantation requires all those features of economic operation which have come to be called rationalized, or “high capitalistic,” as Sombart puts it.³³

The same forces which have molded the rural proletarian community into an unexpected analogue with the ideal folk society have also been those which have made it more “urban.” Independent freehold primary production has been replaced uniform-

ly by plantation estates; exchange labor, tenancy, and share-cropping have been replaced by cash labor; cash is used exclusively to buy essential commodities; personal relationships between employer and employed (or between owner and tenant) have been supplanted by purely impersonal relationships, based on the work done, and with a standard payment for that work; home manufacture has practically disappeared; consumption commodities have been standardized; and outside agencies of control and service—medical, political, police, religious, military, and educational—have developed. As a result, the rural proletarian community associated with the modern plantation system exhibits a character which is superficially folklike in some ways and yet might be labeled “urban” in others. But actually such communities are neither folk nor urban, nor are they syntheses of these classifications. They are, rather, radically new reorganizations of culture and society, forming a distinctive type not amenable to the folk-urban construction. It is for these reasons that a study of a henequen plantation in Yucatan might have upset, or at least greatly modified, the sequence from the “folk society” of Tusik to the “metropolis” of Merida and back again. To a large degree, it would seem that Merida’s very existence hinges on the continued success of the henequen plantations. The forces for change seem to originate not in the metropolis but in the world outside, and Merida is important in its intermediary relationships with the key economic area where henequen is produced.

The objective of this article is not to criticize the folk-urban construct *in vacuo* or, with Hershkovits, to conclude that “classification must not be accorded too prominent a place in scientific study.”³⁴ Classification strikes this writer as most necessary in studies of culture change. But the classification ought to be based on empirical research, with the types so abstracted that they may be easily tested, improved, or discarded. It is conceivable that the rural proletarian com-

³² Mintz, “Canamelar,” *op. cit.*

³³ W. Sombart, *A New Social Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), pp. 11 ff.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 607.

munity described in association with the plantation type in the present article may have its counterpart in many other plantation areas. The underlying assumption here is that a particular kind of economic agricultural organization, the plantation, may produce predictable changes in culture and in social organizations. If similar sociocultural features seem to be correlated with plantation organizations in different world areas, it may be possible to posit regular relationships between the plantation "type" and the sociocultural forms which appear to accompany it or to be derived from it. The Puerto Rican community described above has been typologically characterized elsewhere by the writer.³⁵ It will differ somewhat from a type characterization for the henequen plantations of Yucatan, which lack the high capital outlay, magnitude, industrial development, etc., of one of the most advanced sugar-cane production and processing systems in the world. To this degree, the way of life on henequen plantations in Yucatan might not turn out to be so fully at variance with the folk-urban construct as the Puerto Rican analogy would lead us to believe. Yet a large number of comparative studies of plantations, treated with sufficient historical depth, might provide both a fuller type characterization and an opportunity to check aspects of culture change in a number of relatively like cases. What is proposed here is that both form *and* process be studied via typological constructs based on specific field studies, so that like and unlike features may be assessed. The construction of a plantation typology would

hinge on the enumeration of those features of the plantation which are, in each case, essential to the successful operation of the system and on the contemporary culture of the people who must live by the standards which the plantation imposes on local life. Where a feature of operation appears to be essential in one case, and not in another (e.g., standardized wages), a special explanation would be necessary (or perhaps the "essential" feature will turn out, in fact, to be not essential after all). The resulting type formulation would be considered in terms of its sociocultural effects on the local communities, and some cause-and-effect relationships between the type and the local cultures might be posited. The type could then be tested in other areas where the communities were not yet investigated but where the plantation system had all the essential features of the type delineated. Such research would aim at determining whether the posited correlations or causal hypotheses actually stood up; that is, whether the typology really provided any predictive power for the observer.

The present formulation deals with changes of a certain kind, hinging on the imposition of a fairly standardized set of features (such as large-scale production, "assembly-line" industrial organization, wage-earning, standardized norms and rates, etc.) on local cultures, and the results of such an imposition. It ought not to carry the implication that change proceeds fixedly or regularly along a single continuum or that other kinds of change may necessarily be analyzed by its use.

³⁵ Mintz, "Canamelar," *op. cit.*

THE SPATIAL DIFFUSION OF AN AIRBORNE LEAFLET MESSAGE

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ABSTRACT

The spatial diffusion pattern of a leaflet-started message has been explored in four small comparable communities. Two hypotheses have been tested which led to the tentative conclusion that the pattern of diffusion is a simple waning curve, possibly of the harmonic type. Two subtypes were analyzed in two of the four communities: (1) physical, the learning of the message by picking up a leaflet; and (2) social, the learning of the message from a passed-on leaflet or orally from another person. The patterns of diffusion have been studied and hypotheses formulated for their future study.

The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory is conducting a research program designed to test the effective use of airborne leaflets as a means of message diffusion.¹ Leaflets are being used increasingly as a communication medium in psychological warfare. During World War II the Allies dropped an estimated six billion leaflets on Western Europe alone.² In Korea more than a billion leaflets have been dropped by the United Nations' forces in the first two years of war. The leaflet is receiving considerable attention as a means of diffusing propaganda messages to populations where ordinary communication media are not effective.

When leaflets are dropped in a given area, how far will the message carried spread through the community? This paper reports the findings of one investigation designed to explore this question in as realistic a situation as possible under peacetime conditions. Previous exploratory studies led to the formulation of certain general hypotheses concerning the pattern of the spatial diffusion of messages through populations.³ As applied to leaflet messages we can state the following general hypothesis: the proportion of persons who learn the leaflet message will de-

crease with some measurable regularity as distance from the leaflet-drop area increases. That is, some proportion of persons outside the actual drop area would be expected to learn the message through person-to-person diffusion, but this proportion would decrease systematically with increasing distance from the drop area.

To check on this relationship, two specific working hypotheses were formulated:

1. The proportion of knowers of the message will be significantly higher in the drop areas than in the nondrop areas (the area of investigation being limited to the immediate community).
2. If only that part of the community lying outside the drop area proper is considered, there will be a significant decrease in the proportion of knowers with increasing distance from the drop-area boundary (again limiting the area of investigation to the immediate community).

The design of the investigation demanded a message bearing on some socially significant topic of sufficient interest to provide an adequate stimulus for person-to-person message-diffusing behavior. In co-operation with the state civil defense director, a leaflet was worked out which provided such a suitable message:

ONE VISIT from an ENEMY BOMBER could send evacuees pouring into your town.

If such a disaster occurred . . . HOW MANY REFUGEES COULD YOU TAKE INTO YOUR HOME?

A Civil Defense Representative will call to get your answer. *Be sure to talk it over* with your family and friends so everyone in this community will have heard about this.

¹S. C. Dodd, "Testing Message Diffusion from Person to Person," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, summer, 1952, and Otto N. Larsen, "The Measurement of Message Diffusion from Leaflets," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (August, 1952), 471-76.

²Daniel Lerner, *Sykewar* (New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949), p. 239.

³S. C. Dodd, "A Measured Wave of Interracial Tension," *Social Forces*, XXIX (March, 1951), 281-89.

A friendly airplane dropped this leaflet just as it might do in such an emergency when usual means of communication are not available.

This message was printed on both sides of a 5 × 8-inch card or leaflet. Yellow stock and bold black type were used to maximize physical perception factors. The entire study was carried out as a civil defense test of emergency communication.

Measures were taken to minimize the effects of other variables which might influence the response of a community to a leaflet message. That is, four experimental towns (hereafter labeled Towns A, B, C, and D) in southwestern Washington were chosen as possessing highly similar characteristics with regard to size (population approximately 1,000), density, demographic and occupational characteristics, and geographical conditions. None of the communities selected was a satellite of a larger town.

In two of the towns (B and D) all the leaflets were dropped on one day in a single drop, and in the remaining two (A and C) there were three daily, consecutive leaflet drops. Towns B and C received an over-all average of 3.5 leaflets per person, while Towns A and D received an over-all average of 14 leaflets per person. These treatments were assigned in a semifactorial design formulated to test the effects of the stimulus variables of intensity and repetition on the total amount of diffusion that took place.⁴ However, for the purposes of the present study these variations are relatively unimportant, because each community was treated alike with regard to the spatial placing of the leaflet drops; that is, the leaflets were dropped in a swath or band about two blocks wide across the main axis of each of the four communities. To facilitate the spatial diffusion analysis, the leaflet-drop patterns were mapped from the air as accu-

rately as possible by the leaflet-dropping crew.

Five days after the first leaflets were dropped, interviewers polled the four communities simultaneously to measure the extent of message diffusion that had occurred. One interview was made at each household (this being the unit of observation), and an effort was made to interview the head of each family. A total of 1,118 interviews was completed; of these, two-thirds were with housewives. It is obvious that this technique does not provide a strictly representative sample, but it was considered adequate for this particular kind of exploratory investigation.

For the purpose of checking upon the reliability of locating the boundaries of the leaflet-drop patterns, the following item was contained in the questionnaire: "Did any of the leaflets fall around your house, in the yard, or in the street in front of your house?" All "Yes" responses to this query were plotted on previously prepared maps of the communities, and new estimates of the drop patterns were drawn accordingly. There was considerable discrepancy in the results of these two methods of delimiting the areas covered by leaflets. The air-observed drop patterns were consistently narrower than those obtained on the basis of the questionnaire. Making an accurate estimate from the air of these leaflet-drop patterns proved to be a difficult task, but, on the other hand, defining the drop areas on the basis of the questionnaire seemed a less valid procedure, as respondents in many cases reported that they actually did not know whether the leaflets they had seen near their houses had come directly from the plane or if they had been brought there by children. Thus, the estimates of the drop areas as made from the air were chosen as the basis for the analysis.

Zones of equal width (200 feet) were laid out from the drop-area boundaries, and the proportion of respondents within each zone who knew the message were determined on the basis of the following questions:

⁴For an exploration of these variables see Melvin L. De Fleur and Edith Dyer Rainboth, "Testing Message Diffusion in Four Communities; Some Factors in the Use of Airborne Leaflets as a Communication Medium," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (December, 1952), 734-37.

1. Do you know anything about the message on these leaflets? ("Yes" or "No.")
2. What was the message on the leaflets? (Answers recorded verbatim.)

Simple criteria of knowing the message were selected in advance from a pilot study which was conducted in a comparable community for the purpose of testing the leaflet, questionnaire, and research tools. The answers to

diffusion and distance is somewhat irregular. Any smooth curve or a line through such a set of points would yield a poor fit. For example, rigorous mathematical models concerning the waning of diffusion over distance have been formulated by Dodd.⁶ However, the present data are inadequate for testing such models for three reasons: (1) because of the difficulty in reliably locat-

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF KNOWERS AND NONKNOWERS BY 200-FOOT ZONES

ZONE	TOTAL		TOWN A "HIGH" RATIO REPEAT DROP		TOWN B "LOW" RATIO SINGLE DROP		TOWN C "LOW" RATIO REPEAT DROP		TOWN D "HIGH" RATIO SINGLE DROP	
	Know- ers	Non- knowers	Know- ers	Non- knowers	Know- ers	Non- knowers	Know- ers	Non- knowers	Know- ers	Non- knowers
Drop area.....	262	126	155	51	34	39	13	18	60	18
Zone 1.....	52	61	15	5	11	37	19	11	7	8
Zone 2.....	46	55	7	5	10	27	15	11	14	12
Zone 3.....	40	63	5	12	7	26	18	13	10	12
Zone 4.....	35	33	7	7	6	8	10	13	12	5
Zone 5.....	28	34	9	10	3	8	8	9	8	7
Zone 6.....	24	41	8	7	2	16	8	14	6	4
Zone 7.....	17	31	2	7	2	10	3	10	10	4
Zone 8.....	13	15	3	4	2	4	1	3	7	4
Zone 9.....	11	21	4	5	0	5	2	6	5	5
Total.....	528	480	215	113	77	180	97	108	139	79

the second question above were examined by a set of judges, and, if at least one of the criteria appeared in the recorded reply, the respondent was judged as a "knower" of the message. Table 1 shows the number of knowers and nonknowers in each zone.

The most obvious feature of this table is the fact that there are few households in each of these zones. This suggested that other combinations should be tried. However, increasing the size of the zones by doubling them, for example, would have served to reduce the number of observations. By combining the four towns, it was possible to increase the number of households involved in each of the zones, and this had the effect of making the observations for any given distance from the leaflet-drop area more reliable.⁶ Figure 1 represents such a combination, but even here the relationship between

ing the areas of the leaflet drops in the communities involved; (2) because the distances

⁶ It was possible to use only the first nine zones in each town, since the outer zones provided too few cases to suffice as a basis for percentage computations and comparisons.

⁶ One of Dodd's basic models expresses the waning relationship between diffusion and distance in terms of the general equation for the harmonic curve, that is, diffusion (I_{pp}) can be expected to vary with the inverse of the distance (L), raised to some power (L^i). With a constant of proportionality (k) included, this formula is written:

$$I_{pp} = k/L^i$$

under the assumptions of uniform density, communicating with adjacent persons only, constant telling rate, and homogeneous population. Any of these conditions can be relaxed with a consequently more complicated model (see S. C. Dodd, "The Interactance Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, XV [April, 1950], 245-56).

over which the message could possibly spread are very limited in a small community of about 1,000 inhabitants; and (3) as previously mentioned, in order to obtain a sufficient number of points to describe a curve, the zones were reduced in size to the point where they included only a small number of households.

is greater within the drop areas, and the statistical test of the first hypothesis is concerned with the significance of this difference in concentration. In testing this hypothesis, that the proportion of knowers will be significantly greater within the drop areas than outside the drop areas, chi square can be applied to the distribution of knowers and non-

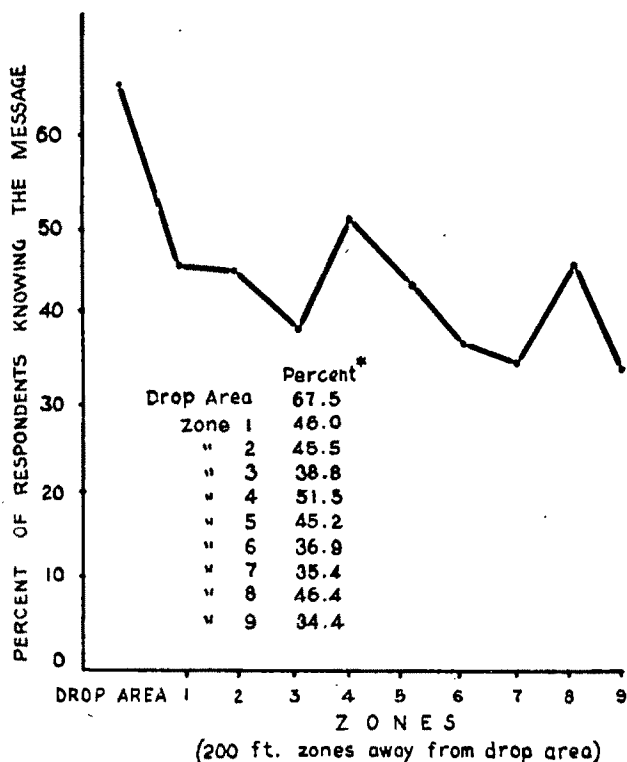


FIG. 1.—Percentage (based upon number of respondents in each zone) of respondents knowing the message in each of nine zones away from the leaflet-drop area (four communities combined).

Despite these difficulties, exploratory information can be obtained from the data. There are irregularities in the relationship shown in Figure 1, but it is apparent that considerable diffusion did take place. That is, out of 1,118 households that were interviewed, the message was known in 51 per cent of the cases. Of the 566 households where the message was known, 46 per cent were located within the drop areas and 54 per cent were outside of the areas. Figure 1 also shows that the *concentration* of knowers

is greater within the drop areas, and the statistical test of the first hypothesis is concerned with the significance of this difference in concentration. In testing this hypothesis, that the proportion of knowers will be significantly greater within the drop areas than outside the drop areas, chi square can be applied to the distribution of knowers and non-

knowers in these two areas.⁷ Since p is less than .001, it can be concluded that the proportion of knowers within the drop areas is significantly greater.

To test the second hypothesis, that there will be a significant decrease in the proportion of knowers with increasing distance from the boundary of the drop areas, a somewhat similar technique was used. Be-

⁷ "Proportion of knowers" always refers to the percentage of respondents living in any given zone or area who have been identified as message knowers.

cause of the irregularity of the relationship shown in Figure 1, the drop area was excluded and the nondrop zones were combined into two larger areas. An area made up of Zones 1, 2, 3, and 4 was compared with an area made up of Zones 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 on the basis of the proportions of knowers within these new areas. There was less diffusion in

was?" The recorded responses to this question was classified into the categories of (1) picked up a leaflet, (2) oral transmission only, and (3) received a passed-on leaflet from another person. "Physical diffusion" then refers to the picking-up of a leaflet from the ground, while "social diffusion" involves the oral transmission of the leaflet message or having the leaflet itself passed on from another person.

This additional exploration was made in the case of the single-drop towns only, as they involve no complicating factors of overlapping daily leaflet drops. By using the previous technique (analysis by 200-foot zones) it was possible to plot the spatial patterns of these two types of diffusion. Table 2 shows the proportion of respondents living in each zone who learned the message by social and physical diffusion.

Considerable irregularity is shown in the percentages of respondents who learned by the two diffusion processes in the single-drop towns. These distributions (Table 2) show (1) an indication of a relative decline of physical diffusion with increasing distance and (2) an increasing proportion learning the message through a process of social diffusion over the distance *which was available*. Certain hypotheses can be formulated for more definitive testing. For example, the first relationship above is to be expected, as there is a limit to the distance over which the leaflets will be scattered about, or carried out of the drop areas and left in places where they can be picked up by nonknowers. Second, beyond this limit, learners of the message will have to be involved in some type of social diffusion; but even here, if sufficient distance were available, a point would probably be reached at which no diffusion would exist. No rigorous interpretation of the present data is feasible because of the relatively small number of cases and the restricted distance.

The major purpose of the report on this study has been to illustrate the unusual methodology which has been employed in the investigation of the psychosociological

TABLE 2
THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH ZONE BY TYPE OF DIFFUSION

ZONE	NUM- BER OF RE- SPOND- ENTS	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS*		
		Knowing Message		Not Knowing Message
		By Phys- ical Dif- fusion	By Social Dif- fusion	
Drop area . . .	151	39.7	22.6	37.7
Zone 1	63	15.9	12.7	71.4
Zone 2	63	25.4	12.7	61.9
Zone 3	55	16.4	14.5	69.1
Zone 4	31	25.8	32.3	41.9
Zone 5	26	11.5	30.8	57.7
Zone 6	28	7.1	21.4	71.5
Zone 7	26	15.4	30.8	53.8
Zone 8	17	5.8	47.1	47.1
Zone 9	15	6.7	26.7	66.6
Total area . .	475	26.2	19.3	54.5

* Percentages are based on the total number of respondents in each zone (see col. 2).

the outermost area (a fact which is consistent with the harmonic hypothesis), but the chi-square probability was approximately .15; thus there is no *statistically reliable* evidence that diffusion decreased with distance. This rather unusual finding is probably due to the limited size of the area (about half a mile) and to the low density of population in the outer zones.

The study also made it possible to identify two separate types of diffusion, since the questionnaire was designed to provide a distinction between what may be termed "social diffusion" and "physical diffusion." To aid in this analysis, the question was asked: "How did you *first* learn what the message

problem of the spatial pattern of the diffusion of a message. While it is realized that the evidence gathered in testing the hypotheses is far from conclusive, there is an indication that messages of this type *will diffuse* to a certain extent over distance away from the area in which they are started. An understanding of the principles of person-to-person message diffusion can be of considerable utility to anyone interested in maximizing the spread of information through a population when a limited number of points of origin are available (i.e., a limited number of radio sets, a limited number of newspapers, leaflets, or other media). Additional testing will have to be carried out with larger communities before any sound generalizations can be formulated. Also, generalizations about messages of this type would not necessarily apply to other kinds of messages. Furthermore, altering the situation into which the leaflets are dropped, such as dropping them on a community in some other culture, might change the picture considerably. Thus, in seeking principles of high generality which govern person-to-person diffusion over distance, it will be neces-

sary to make investigations with various sorts of messages in many situations.

In summary, the pattern of the spatial diffusion of a leaflet-started message in four small communities has been explored. Two simple hypotheses were tested, and there was an indication that this pattern of diffusion might be describable by a waning curve, although the data were not sufficiently reliable for rigorous testing of this relationship. Two "types" of diffusion were analyzed in two of the four communities: (1) physical diffusion (defined as the learning of the message by picking up a leaflet) and (2) social diffusion (defined as the learning of the message from a leaflet passed on by another person or by hearing it from another person). The patterns of spread of these two types of diffusion were explored, and there was an indication of a relative decline of physical diffusion with increasing distance, while the proportion of those learning the message through a process of social diffusion seemed to increase over the available distance. Hypotheses for further testing were suggested by these findings.

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WHO THINKS WHAT ABOUT EDUCATORS?

FREDERIC W. TERRIEN

ABSTRACT

Most studies of the teacher's place in the community have used data from either the teachers themselves or a selected group bearing a special relationship to the teachers. This study reports an attempt to measure public attitudes toward educators by sampling the registered voters of a small community. The questions in the schedule were on a series of items related to status; the replies have been summarized and then analyzed statistically according to sex, age, nativity, parenthood, religion, occupation, education, and income.

Cook, Almack and Greenhoe, Counts, Coutu, Deeg and Paterson, Edmiston and Starr, North and Hatt, Waller¹ and others have done much to establish the place of the teacher and his work in the social and occupational hierarchy. Most of the writings, however, have been based on personal—though often brilliant in insight—observation or on polls of one or another special interest group. Few claim to represent general public opinion. Where opinions on which the status of teachers was determined were those of a national cross-section, as in the case of the North and Hatt study, the statements about educators and education were incidental to the placing of occupations in a hierarchy set up by popular evaluation. A typical study, that of the Metropolitan School Study Council's Educational Dynamics Committee of 1946-47, at Columbia Teachers College, summarized a series of

interviews with high-school students, teachers, and parents in forty-seven communities. While this study concentrated on the status of educators and education, it was based on the opinions of a limited sample of the general public.

The object of this study was to assess the status of educators and of education, largely at the secondary level, from the opinions of a representative sample of the people of a small American community. The data are from a survey of public opinion conducted by the author and a staff of interviewers during the spring and summer of 1948 in New London, Connecticut. The present paper will treat of the status of educators; the findings about education will be analyzed in a subsequent paper.

METHODS

The universe for the survey was the 1947 voters list of New London, comprising 12,770 persons. Of a total population of 30,456 (1940 Census), those twenty-one years old or over numbered 20,668. The sample was a random 5 per cent, 639 persons, who were interviewed in their homes or places of business by means of a lengthy schedule.

The schedule contained a series of key questions relating to the status of educators—for example, the professional level of teachers. The summary statement of replies to each question is broken down and analyzed with reference to sex, age group, nativity, parenthood, religion, occupation, education, and income. By such analysis we discover what opinions on educators are

¹ L. A. Cook, R. B. Almack, and F. Greenhoe, "The Teacher and Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, III (April, 1938), 167-74; George S. Counts, "The Social Status of Occupations: A Problem in Vocational Guidance," *School Review*, XXXIII (January, 1925), 16-27; Walter Coutu, "The Relative Prestige of Twenty Professions as Judged by Three Groups of Professional Students," *Social Forces*, XIV (May, 1936), 522-29; Maethel E. Deeg and Donald G. Paterson, "Changes in Social Status of Occupations," *Occupations*, XXV (January, 1947), 205-8; R. W. Edmiston and C. H. Starr, "Youth's Attitude toward Occupations," *Occupations*, XXVI (January, 1948), 213-20; C. C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949); and Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932).

significantly related to the selected characteristics of New London's voting population.

To secure direct comparisons to be treated by the methods of the chi square and significance of difference, the age groups were reduced to five: 21-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60 plus. Under "Nativity" two groups were set up, native-born and foreign-born. The religious category was split into Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. Six arbitrary divisions were set up under "Occupation": professionals, proprietors, clerical workers, service workers (including protective service), skilled laborers, and laborers. The Federal Security Agency's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was used to classify the occupations of the interviewees. Under "Education" appear grammar school, some high school, high-school graduation, and some college. Finally, under "Income Level," three groups were set aside after scrutiny of the returns: a low group, comprising incomes up to \$2,499 per year; a middle group, ranging between \$2,500 and \$3,499; and a high group, with annual incomes of \$3,500 and over.

The differences or comparisons cited are statistically significant, and in all these instances, unless otherwise noted, *P* is at the 1 per cent level of confidence.²

For convenience, the questions concerning the status of educators are divided into four generalized groups. The first is heterogeneous, pertaining to a variety of attitudes toward teachers. The second group is broadly related to the community activities of teachers; the third treats of their professional status; and the fourth, of their financial condition.

ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS

A. THE FRIENDS OF TEACHERS

The first question in this group was: "Are there any grade or high-school teachers among your particular group of friends?" The percentage distribution of the replies was as follows: Yes, 45.9 per cent; No, 53.5 per cent; No answer, 0.6 per cent.

Females showed a higher affirmative re-

sponse than did males—a result which might have been anticipated, since the great majority of American public school teachers are female. Unlike sex, age was not found to be related to the replies. The third factor, nativity, showed a significant difference in the opinions of persons of native and of foreign birth. Parenthood and religion were not significantly related to friendship with teachers. Occupation, however, was related. Persons in the general category of clerks have friends who are teachers significantly more often than do those in the immediately adjacent occupational categories. A test of the significance of the difference between replies of clerks and those of proprietors and of service workers showed, at the 5 per cent level of confidence, that teachers are more likely to be friends of the clerks. The more advanced the individual's education, the more likely he was to have teachers as friends. No significant relationship was found between income level and friendship with teachers.

The next question was closely related to the first: "If there are no teachers among your friends, would you welcome any as members of your group?" Since this question applied properly only to those who replied negatively to the first, no correlations were run. Less than 1 per cent answered that they would *not* welcome teachers as members of their group. The replies of these few persons generally indicated a lack of common bond with teachers: "No, we have nothing in common"; "No, they are probably not my type."

B. MINORITY GROUP DISCRIMINATIONS

The second subgroup of questions under the general heading "Varied Attitudes" con-

² The author is deeply indebted to Clyde Milton Hill and Maurice Rea Davie, of Yale University, and to Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy and Mason Record, of Connecticut College, for their advice at the field stages of this project. The interview analysis, scoring, transfer to IBM cards, sorting, and calculating was completed by a small staff subsidized by the Stanford Committee on Supplementary Research Grants. The statistical computations were the work of Richard J. Hill, of the University of Washington.

tained three items aimed at discovering the degree to which there was discrimination against teachers from minority groups. The first question read, "Should teachers coming from minority groups be employed (in the schools of New London)?" The replies were: Yes, 85.6 per cent; No, 12.4 per cent; No answer, 2.0 per cent. Males, significantly more than females, answered this question in the affirmative, as did Jews significantly more than Protestants and Catholics combined. A negative response was given significantly more often by the native-born than by the foreign-born ($P = 0.02$).

The next two questions, concerning which minority representatives should *not* be hired and why, yielded no further correlations but served to isolate the direction of prejudice. Of the 12.4 per cent who thought that teachers coming from minority groups should *not* be hired, nearly all specified Negroes. One or two persons in each instance voiced sentiments against Orientals, Italians, Catholics, Jews, and Communists. The objection to minority-group members—aside from the usual stereotyped statements of their "inferiority"—was principally rooted in an unwillingness to have their children taught by Negroes.

C. THE SEX OF TEACHERS

The next subgroup of questions concerned opinions on the sex of teachers. The first of two questions read, "Do you prefer men or women teachers at the high-school level?" The answers were distributed thus: Men teachers, 16.1 per cent; Women teachers, 2.2 per cent; No preference, 77.3 per cent; No answer, 4.4 per cent. Men replied in favor of men significantly more often than did women. The foreign-born were more pro-male than the native-born ($P = 0.03$), the Catholics than the Jews, and skilled laborers more than all other occupational groups.

D. THE CONDUCT EXPECTED OF TEACHERS

Most studies conclude that persons in education feel that the general public expects an especially high standard of conduct

from teachers. A pair of questions in this survey checked on the item. The first question was phrased thus: "Should the standards of conduct for teachers differ from those of other good citizens?" The replies were: Yes, 16.3 per cent; No, 83.3 per cent; No answer, 0.4 per cent. The older the interviewee, the more likely he was to feel that the standard of conduct of teachers should differ from that of other good citizens ($P = 0.001$). Foreign-born respondents held this opinion significantly more than did native-born respondents.

The second question asked of those who thought teachers' standards of conduct should differ, the reasons for their belief. The replies were about evenly split between those who thought that teachers should teach good behavior by example and those who thought that they should be "more moral."

OPINIONS CONCERNING THE COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES OF TEACHERS

The second of the major groups of questions covered three topics; community activities, unionization, and political activities.

A. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

The first question read, "Do the high-school teachers of New London join in the activities of the community, such as the League of Women Voters, Rotary, Kiwanis, church groups, Red Cross, athletic groups, and the like?" The distribution of the answers was: Yes, 61.2 per cent; No, 8.9 per cent; No answer, 29.9 per cent.

The next query read, "In your opinion, *should* teachers join in community activities?" This was answered thus: Yes, 92.0 per cent; No, 2.2 per cent; No answer, 5.8 per cent.

Finally, the respondents were asked, "If you know any teachers personally, what specific organizations are they in?" The fact that several organizations were named in the first question may have had considerable effect; on the other hand, the named activities may have been an accurate reflection

tion of the popular conception of the interests of teachers. Of the total of 639 interviewees, 106, or 16.5 per cent, named some community activities in which they believed the teachers engaged. Those cited four or more times, with the percentages of times cited by the 106 interviewees are given in Table 1. The large "No answer" category on

TABLE 1

	Per Cent
Rotary*	26.4
Red Cross	24.5
Church activities	22.6
League of Women Voters	18.9
Kiwanis*	8.5
"Y" activities	7.5
Elks*	7.5
Masons	6.6
Scouts	5.7
Zanta	5.7
American Association of University Women	3.8
Athletic activities or groups	3.8
Community Chest	3.8
USO	3.8

*The women's auxiliary was included.

the first and second questions probably reflects a fact demonstrated by the first question in the survey itself—namely, that a majority of the interviewees did not have friends who were teachers. Hence, for just over half the respondents replies were based on general observation only. No significant correlations were obtainable for these questions.

B. UNION ACTIVITIES

The matter of the unionization of teachers is one which generated strong popular feelings during the depression of the 1930's and again during the immediate postwar years. It is one, further, on which teachers themselves are sharply divided. Because of its recurrent importance, the item was taken up on this survey. The first of two questions dealing with it was, "Do you think that teachers are justified in unionizing?" Replies were distributed as follows: Yes, 68.9 per cent; No, 26.4 per cent; No answer, 4.7 per cent.

Males replied significantly more often in

the affirmative than did females ($P = 0.05$). Laboring groups, as one would expect, when their combined opinions were contrasted with those of the combined professional and proprietor groups, proved themselves more in support of unionization. The older respondents were less likely than the younger to support teacher unionization, and this "conservative" opinion was shared by childless persons ($P = 0.05$), and by Protestants as opposed to Catholics. The greater the individual's education, the less likely he was to feel that teachers have the right to unionize.

Respondents who commented extensively on the unionization of teachers were chiefly concerned with the possibility that the "right to organize" would mean association with the big labor unions. Apparently a teachers' union for protection and adequate pay found support, but a union as a power-building organization did not. In the ideology of most unions, the strike is the logical ultimate step in the achievement of goals. That this should not apply in the case of teachers' unions, however, seemed to be the opinion of most respondents. To the question "Do you think teachers are justified in striking?" the replies were as follows: Yes, 32.9 per cent; No, 62.4 per cent; No answer, 4.7 per cent. On this second question, males supported their original standing favoring unionization, and again laboring groups, as contrasted to the combined professionals and proprietors, were more convinced of the justice of strikes. Older respondents proved less likely than the younger to feel that the strike, like unionization itself, was justified ($P = 0.001$), and in the same way the upper-income group, as compared with the combined lower-income groups, significantly opposed the use of the strike ($P = 0.05$).

Comments on this aspect of teacher activities were numerous. Many interviewees felt that a strike was unwise and should be resorted to only in extreme cases. Most objectors to striking appeared to regard the strike as, in effect, against the students and, in addition, as actually impossible because of the official nature of the teachers' posi-

tion. Illogically, a number of interviewees protested that teachers should be paid enough so that they would not *have* to strike. The most notable *non sequitur* was that of one respondent who said, "Well, it all depends on what the child has done."

C. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Like union membership, political activity among teachers has engendered warm debate. To the question "May teachers be active politically if they so desire?" replies were: Yes, 80.1 per cent; No, 17.8 per cent; No answer, 2.1 per cent. Females significantly more than males replied in the affirmative, but no other correlation was found between opinions and the various socio-economic conditions. The comments, while numerous, were confined almost entirely to qualifying the majority position with the stricture that the political activities of the teachers should not cut down the time devoted to their work or their objectives.

OPINIONS CONCERNING THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF TEACHERS

The third group of questions undertook to discover in several ways how the people of the community compared teachers with persons in other occupations.

A. PROFESSIONALISM

The first question read, "Do you consider high-school teaching to be one of the professions?" The affirmative replies reached near-unanimity: Yes, 96.7 per cent; No, 2.0 per cent; No answer, 1.3 per cent.

B. JOB COMPARISONS

The next three questions approached the matter of status by means of comparisons. All questions were designed to be shown to, rather than asked of, the interviewee. They were:

Which of these occupations is about on the same social level as high-school teaching?

1. Factory worker 2. Pharmacist 3. Plumber
4. Executive of large business 5. Policeman
6. Waiter 7. Doctor 8. Shoe clerk 9. La-

borer 10. Proprietor of a small business
11. Shop foreman 12. University professor
(number).....

In the processing of the replies, the occupations were grouped in virtually the same general categories as were the occupations of the interviewees themselves, the exception being the lumping of all "labor" occupations under one heading. A great many of the respondents listed more than one job from the choices, but in such cases most of these clustered in one general category or another; the predominating category, therefore, was selected as characterizing the response of the interviewee. So processed, the replies in Table 2 appear in terms of that

TABLE 2

	Per Cent
<i>Choices predominantly in:</i>	
Professional category.....	44.3
Proprietor category.....	21.9
Clerical category.....	0
Service category.....	3.6
Labor category.....	5.0
Disparate choices without pattern..	5.6
Choices predominantly in both professional and proprietor categories	9.9
No answer.....	9.7

percentage of the interviewees who marked one or another general category of occupations as being on the same level as high-school teaching. When the first five items in the table were analyzed, it was found that the older the respondent was, the more likely he was to compare teachers with professionals ($P = 0.05$). Foreign-born persons significantly supported the stand that teachers are "professional" ($P = 0.05$), while native-born interviewees tended to select jobs from the list which were in the proprietor category ($P = 0.02$). More childless persons than those with children made up that small percentage of persons who held that jobs in the labor category were comparable to teaching. Almost all who refused to comment explained that they held that all people and all occupations are on the same social level.

Further enlightenment on the compara-

tive position of teaching was sought by asking the interviewees, "In the matter of *salary*, where do you think the high-school teacher *should* stand on this list (about equal to what number)?" The replies, when processed in the same manner as were those for the preceding question, showed considerable variance therefrom (Table 3). In the surprisingly large percentage of respondents who felt that teachers' salaries should be comparable with those of persons in the labor category, males were significantly better represented than were females ($P = 0.02$). Reflecting their replies on the

TABLE 3

	Per Cent
<i>Choices predominantly in:</i>	
Professional category.....	32.1
Proprietor category.....	21.8
Clerical category.....	0.8
Service category.....	7.5
Labor category.....	11.3
Disparate choices without pattern..	4.7
Choices predominantly in both professional and proprietor categories	3.3
No answer.....	18.5

preceding query, foreign-born persons were more convinced that the salaries of teachers should be comparable with those of persons in the professional category, while native-born interviewees felt that they should be comparable with the proprietor category ($P = 0.05$). When the replies were analyzed according to occupation and education, it was found that the higher the interviewee's occupation fell on the census gradient or the more his years of schooling, the more likely he was to believe that teachers' salaries should approximate those in both the professional and the proprietor categories, as contrasted with those prevailing in other categories (by occupation, $P = 0.01$; by education, $P = 0.05$).

Finally, a clarification of teacher status in terms of other occupations was sought in a question phrased thus: "In the matter of *importance to the community* where do you put high-school teachers on this list (about equal to that of what number)?" Once

again, a marked shift of emphasis may be noted in the replies (Table 4). Females, significantly more than males, believed that teaching was comparable in importance to professional occupations, while in that small percentage of persons who compared the importance of teaching to that of jobs in the labor category, males predominated. Again, the native-born, more than the foreign-born, compared the importance of teaching with that of positions in the proprietor category. In the sizable percentage of interviewees who equated teaching to the service and labor categories, professionals and proprietors were significantly less represented than were persons in the laboring groups ($P = 0.02$). The job most often selected by the latter for comparison was that of "police-

TABLE 4

	Per Cent
<i>Choices predominantly in:</i>	
Professional category.....	51.6
Proprietor category.....	12.8
Clerical category.....	0
Service category.....	11.4
Labor category.....	3.6
Disparate choices without pattern..	5.6
Choices predominantly in both professional and proprietor categories	2.8
No answer.....	12.2

man." Most of the comments attested to a widespread public belief in the importance of teachers—a number placing them above any other occupational group.

THE FINANCIAL STATUS OF TEACHERS

The fourth and last group of questions concerning educators was on their financial status. The questions were divided into two groups: the first was made up of four queries on salaries, and the second was a single question whereon the respondent was asked to comment generally.

A. TEACHERS' SALARIES

It should be remembered that the field work for this report was completed in the early summer of 1948. The first question was, "What is your estimate of the average yearly salary of teachers in the high schools

of New London?" The replies were distributed as in Table 5. The correlations between responses to this question and various socio-economic factors proved particularly interesting. It was discovered, first, that the "higher" the occupational level of the respondent, the higher was his estimate of teachers' salaries ($P = 0.05$). Next, it was found that the greater the individual's edu-

TABLE 5

	Per Cent
\$1,799 and less.....	3.9
1,800-1,999.....	3.0
2,000-2,249.....	12.4
2,250-2,399.....	2.8
2,400.....	4.4
2,401-2,749.....	17.4
2,750-2,999.....	5.9
3,000-3,249.....	14.4
3,250-3,499.....	1.6
3,500 and up.....	5.9
No answer.....	28.3

cation, the higher was his estimate of the teachers' salaries, and, finally, that the higher the respondent's income level, the higher was his estimate of these salaries ($P = 0.001$).

The interviewees were next asked: "Do you feel that the teachers are, in general, underpaid, overpaid, or fairly well paid?" The replies fell as follows: Underpaid, 60.6 per cent; Overpaid, 0.9 per cent; Fairly well paid, 32.4 per cent; No answer, 6.1 per cent. The first correlation which proved significant was that Jews, more than Catholics and Protestants, believed that the teachers were underpaid. Reflecting the results of the previous question, it was found that the greater the respondent's education ($P = 0.05$) and the higher his income ($P = 0.02$), the more likely he was to believe that the teachers were underpaid.

The next question was: "What would you consider a good starting salary for a high-school teacher?" The replies, distributed on the same scale as the previous question, ranged as shown in Table 6. The single significant correlation paralleled one found on the previous questions: the higher the respondent's income, the higher his estimate of the proper starting salary for teachers.

The final question in this group read, "What would you consider a good top salary to be paid, say, after fifteen years' teaching?" The replies for this question quite naturally required a different scaling than did those for the preceding salary items. They were distributed as in Table 7. Once again, occupation, education, and income proved to be significant. The higher the interviewee was placed in the occupa-

TABLE 6

	Per Cent
\$1,799 and less.....	3.8
1,800-1,999.....	4.5
2,000-2,249.....	13.9
2,250-2,399.....	5.0
2,400.....	6.7
2,401-2,749.....	19.6
2,750-2,999.....	3.4
3,000-3,249.....	16.3
3,250-3,499.....	0.6
3,500 and up.....	9.7
No answer.....	16.5

TABLE 7

	Per Cent
\$3,499 and less.....	22.2
3,500-3,999.....	15.0
4,000.....	11.4
4,001-4,499.....	2.5
4,500-4,999.....	8.5
5,000-5,499.....	12.4
5,500 and up.....	6.6
No answer.....	21.4

tional continuum, the greater his education, and the higher his income ($P = 0.05$), the higher was the top salary which he believed suitable for teachers.

B. GENERAL STATEMENTS

In order to elicit the respondents' general opinions concerning teachers and their status, an open question was included: "How do you account for the present difficulties of primary and high-school teachers in the United States?"

The replies were first grouped by the predominant reason (Table 8). Whether or not the interviewees reached in this survey had an accurate appreciation of the historical background of teaching in this country, they evidenced a fair knowledge of prevailing

conditions. The following comments are necessarily selected, and hence unrepresentative from a statistical standpoint; they demonstrate, however, the more perceptive range of opinion tapped by the survey.

"About 350,000 teachers," said one interviewee, "have left the profession since 1941. Financially they are at a low level, and they have low prestige. The competition with other more lucrative positions and those with more prestige pull people away from teaching. There is a poor attitude in the community toward a teacher. Many girls take it up as a stop-gap until they get married." Said another: "The teachers are underpaid; possibly it is because they are not regarded with as much consideration as they should be in the community, whether personally or politically." A third said: "The community looks upon teachers as outsiders and won't give them a chance to become active in the community. It regards them as a class apart." Others stated: "Youngsters have lost respect for their teachers within the last few decades, since much of the discipline has been taken out of the schools and out of the hands of the teachers"; "The world is upside down"; "Heartaches go along with teaching; the teachers can get better jobs." One respondent was particularly explicit: "I attribute their difficulties to three things: first, the unwillingness of the average person to pay for the cost of good education; second, the lack of public recognition of the importance of education; and, third, control of education by political groups." Another remarked: "Teachers are underpaid because they haven't given enough effort to fighting for themselves, for adequate compensation." Others said: "Teachers are afraid to take part in controversies; they are at the mercy of school boards"; "This is a time of lowered morale—a lag between material and spiritual achievements."

SUMMARIES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

It remains to reassemble the material according to the characteristics of the people holding the opinions. This section of the report summarizes opinions of teacher status

in eight categories. Statistically significant correlations were found in all categories.

TABLE 8

	Per Cent
Teachers are underpaid.....	51.2
General economic conditions in the country are accountable.....	5.5
The public is uninterested in education.....	2.5
Teachers lack prestige.....	2.3
Administrative policies in education are faulty.....	1.9
There are too few teachers.....	1.4
No answer.....	35.2

A. SEX

Males interviewed in this study differed from females, in that they were more likely

1. To favor the employment of teachers from minority groups
2. To favor the hiring of men teachers
3. To feel that teachers are justified in unionizing and in striking
4. To be among those who felt that the teachers were comparable to persons in the occupational category of laborer, with reference to the pay they should receive and their importance to the community

The males differed from the females, in that they were less likely

5. To have teachers as friends
6. To feel that teachers should be free to be active politically
7. To compare teachers to professionals as to their importance to the community

B. AGE GROUP

The older the respondents, the more likely they were

1. To feel that the standards of conduct for teachers should differ from those of other good citizens
2. To compare teachers to professionals in social level

and the less likely they were

3. To feel that teachers are justified in unionizing and in striking

C. NATIVITY

The native-born differed from the foreign-born in that they were more likely

1. To have teachers as friends
2. To oppose the hiring of teachers from minority groups
3. To believe that teachers were comparable to proprietors in social level, salary, and importance to the community

The foreign-born were more likely

4. To believe that the standards of conduct for teachers should differ
5. To prefer men to women for teaching positions
6. To feel that teachers were comparable to professionals with reference to social level and salary

D. POSSESSION OF CHILDREN

Childless interviewees differed from those who had children, in that they were more likely

1. To feel that teachers are not justified in unionizing
2. To be among the few who felt that teachers were comparable to laborers in social level

E. RELIGION

Protestant interviewees differed from Catholic interviewees, in that they were more likely

1. To feel that teachers are not justified in unionizing
2. To believe that teachers should be comparable to professionals with reference to salaries

Catholics differed from Jews, in that they were more likely

3. To prefer men as teachers

Jews differed from Protestants, in that they were more likely

4. To believe that teachers should be comparable to proprietors with reference to salaries

Jews differed from Protestants and Catholics, in that they were more likely

5. To believe that teachers from minority groups should be employed
6. To believe that teachers were underpaid

F. OCCUPATION

It was discovered that the higher the

place of the respondent in the occupational hierarchy,

1. The higher was likely to be his estimate of the teachers' current salaries and of suitable top salaries to be paid after fifteen years of experience
2. The more likely he was to believe that teachers' salaries should be comparable to those of both professionals and proprietors

Respondents in the two laboring groups differed from those in the professional and proprietor groups, in that they were more likely

3. To feel that teachers are justified in unionizing and in striking
4. To feel that teachers were comparable to laborers and service workers with reference to their importance to the community

G. EDUCATION

The greater the education of the interviewee, the more likely he was

1. To have friends who were teachers
2. To believe that teachers' salaries should be comparable to those of both professionals and proprietors
3. To believe that the teachers were underpaid

The greater the education of the interviewee,

4. The higher was his estimate of the teachers' current salaries, and also of suitable top salaries

and the less likely he was to

5. Feel that teachers are justified in unionizing

H. INCOME LEVEL

The higher the income level of the interviewee,

1. The higher was likely to be his estimate of the current salaries, of a good starting salary, and also of a suitable top salary for the teachers
2. The more likely he was to feel that the teachers were underpaid

The upper-income group, as contrasted to the two lower-income groups, was

3. More likely to feel that teachers are not justified in striking

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

NEWS AND NOTES

Bates College.—Peter P. Jonitis has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. For the past year he was a postdoctoral guest scholar at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University. As a member of the Project on the Social System of the Soviet Union, his research was concerned with the demographic characteristics and the ideological content of political organizations of recent Soviet *émigrés*. During the summer, Peter and Elizabeth Jonitis will direct the Intern-in-Industry Project in Chicago, which is sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

Brown University.—The department of sociology has inaugurated a doctoral program in the areas of population, ecology, and regional development. Fellowships for doctoral candidates in these areas will be available each year. R. Glenn Kumeakwa, formerly a graduate assistant in the department, has been appointed a university fellow for 1953-54.

Kurt B. Mayer has published *Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island* as the first of a series of studies of urban industrial populations projected by members of the department. The study is No. 28 of the series "Brown University Papers."

Charles M. Grigg, assistant professor, was in charge of the Statistics Laboratory at the University of North Carolina during the summer term.

Vincent H. Whitney has served in recent months as chairman of the Providence Area Price Stabilization Board, as a member of the Governor's Commission To Study the Confidentiality of Public Assistance Rolls, and as a public member of the Rhode Island Minimum Wage Board for the Restaurant and Hotel Restaurant Occupations.

Kurt B. Mayer has been promoted to associate professor, and Vincent H. Whitney to full professor.

University of California at Los Angeles.—Leonard Broom, chairman of the department of anthropology and sociology, attended a Social Science Research Council Interdisciplinary Symposium on Acculturation at Stanford University during July and August. He will be on leave for the academic year, 1953-54, under a faculty fellowship from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education. He will spend the fall semester studying the racial situation in the deep South, and the spring semester in the Hawaiian Islands.

Ralph Beals has been participating in the cross-cultural education project of the Social Science Research Council. Under his direction, Mexican students at U.C.L.A. have been undergoing extensive interviewing concerning their adjustments to American school life.

Svend Riemer has recently completed a manuscript on general sociology. He has been appointed to the advisory council of the Southern California Council on Family Relations and continues his research on the urban environment.

W. S. Robinson returns from sabbatical leave spent in preparation of a treatise on the logic of the social science method. He has been elected vice-president of the southern division of the Pacific Sociological Society for 1953-54.

Walter Goldschmidt is the recipient of a Fulbright Award and will spend 1953-54 in Uganda. He has also received a Social Science Research Council grant-in-aid.

Ralph Turner has received a Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship to run from September, 1953, until September, 1956. The award was granted on the basis of his continuing research on the personal values of upward-mobile individuals.

Donald Cressey, whose monograph, *Other Peoples' Money*, has just appeared, has been engaged in research at the Chino State Pris-

on during 1952-53. He is attempting to develop a formula for the prediction of escapes and is examining the relationship between prisoners' conceptions of crime causation and their participation in the institutional program of the prison.

Ruth Riemer attended the Social Science Research Council seminar in advanced mathematical training during the summer of 1953. She will be on leave during the year 1953-54 for travel and advanced study in Europe.

Two new members have been added to the permanent faculty. Melville Dalton, formerly at Washington University, will be assistant professor of sociology, specializing in industrial relations and sociological theory. He will spend his summers working with the Institute of Industrial Relations at U.C.L.A. Richard Morris, formerly at Northwestern University, will be assistant professor of sociology, specializing in social theory, and will continue the work on stratification begun in collaboration with the late Paul Hatt.

Burton Clark, who received the Ph.D. degree from U.C.L.A. during the summer of 1953 and was formerly a Social Science Research Training Fellow, will be instructor in sociology at Stanford University.

John Itsuro Kitsuse, graduate student, is the recipient of a Haynes Foundation fellowship for the year 1953-54.

The following persons are teaching assistants in sociology for 1953-54: Herbert Aarons, Jr., Helen Beem, Mary Cross, Gloria Fingerhut, Sheldon Messinger, Channing Murray, and Paul Rowan.

University of Chicago.—Everett C. Hughes, chairman of the department, returns with his family in October from the University of Frankfurt, where he has been lecturing during the spring and summer terms. Professor Hughes attended, and contributed a paper to, the World Congress of the International Sociological Association in Liège.

Eugene Litwak, assistant director of the Family Study Center, spent the spring

semester at the Institut für Sozialforschung at the Goethe Universität in Frankfurt, in collaboration with Max Rheinstein, of the law school, preparing for a comparative study of the effects of changes in divorce law upon family stability.

Professor Emeritus Ernest Burgess is collaborating with the Industrial Relations Center in a series of studies on the effects of retirement.

Leo Goodman, assistant professor of sociology, receives permanent tenure as of September. He will spend the coming year in Cambridge, England, having been granted an honorary research and training fellowship by the Social Science Research Council, as well as a Fulbright award.

Peter Blau, formerly of Cornell University, joins the faculty this fall as assistant professor of sociology.

John Strodbeck, of Yale University, joins the faculty of the law school as associate professor of sociology.

The National Opinion Research Center has moved its offices to 5711 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Committee on International Exchange of Persons.—Awards under the Fulbright Act for 1954-55 are offered for university lecturing and advanced research in Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, United Kingdom and Colonial Dependencies. Applications for university lecturing and advanced research must be postmarked no later than October 15, 1953.

Graduate students desiring to enrol for courses abroad or to pursue a directed program of studies at predoctoral level should apply to their local Fulbright adviser, or directly to the Institute of International Education, 1 East Sixty-seventh Street, New York City.

Drew University.—David R. Mace, professor of human relations, has been invited by the director of social affairs of the South African government to visit the Union of South Africa in the spring of 1954. He will

help build up the marriage guidance services throughout the Union and will lecture at the universities of Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Witwatersrand.

Milton Gordon has resigned as assistant professor of sociology and head of undergraduate work in sociology to accept the post of assistant professor of sociology at Haverford College. He is engaged in research in the fields of social stratification and ethnic group relations.

Purnell Benson, formerly instructor in sociology at Temple University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and will be in charge of the undergraduate sociology program. He took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago.

Educational Testing Service.—The Educational Testing Service is offering for 1954-55 its seventh series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men acceptable to the graduate school of the university, the two fellowships carry each a stipend of \$2,500 a year and are normally renewable.

Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the graduate school. Competence in mathematics and psychology is a prerequisite. The closing date for applications is January 15, 1954. Information and application blanks will be available about November 1 and may be obtained from the Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, N.J.

University of Florida.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Lucius Moody Bristol, professor emeritus of sociology, on May 9, at the age of eighty-one.

Professor Bristol was born in Castle Creek, New York. He received a Bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina, and the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology from the School of Theology at

Boston University, after which he was ordained a minister in the Methodist church and served for ten years.

He then attended Harvard University, where he took his Ph.D. in Social Ethics, and subsequently taught at Tufts College, Brown University, and the University of West Virginia. He came, in 1920, to the University of Florida, where he served as head of the department of sociology, until his retirement in 1945.

Professor Bristol was an active participant in the affairs of the Southern Sociological Society. He helped greatly to stimulate public interest in and action for social legislation first in West Virginia and then in Florida, and was known throughout the latter state for his efforts on behalf of many social welfare movements and organizations.

T. Lynn Smith, who has spent several years in Brazil on assignment by the United States Department of State as visiting professor at the University of Brazil and adviser on agrarian reform, received in June from the government of Brazil the Order of the Southern Cross. He is author of *Brazil: People and Institutions* and co-author of *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent*.

Shaw Earl Grigsby, formerly director of the Darmstadt Community Survey, Darmstadt, Germany, 1949-52, was visiting associate professor of sociology for the second semester, 1952-53. The findings of the study have been published in German in ten monographs.

John M. MacLachlan has been on leave for a year, serving as chief of staff of the Medical Center Study of the university. The staff has made several extensive studies, including sociological surveys, in preparation for the establishment of a medical school and health center. These reports will be published in five volumes by the University of Florida Press.

Clyde Vedder coedited with Samuel Koenig, of Brooklyn College, and Robert Clark, of Pennsylvania State College, *Criminology: A Book of Readings*. Vedder has been an active participant in the meetings of the Warden's Association of the United

States and of the Southern States Prison Association.

A marriage and family clinic was established at the university under a co-operative arrangement between the Florida Center of Clinical Services and the department of sociology. Winston Ehrmann, marriage counselor for the university since 1939, heads the clinic, with Bruce Thomason as associate. Ehrmann has been acting head of the department of sociology for the past year. He was elected chairman of the research section of the National Council on Family Relations for 1953.

Howard University.—E. Franklin Frazier, who has served as chief of the Division of Applied Social Sciences of the Department of Social Sciences of UNESCO since 1951, gave the Special University Lectures in Sociology on May 4, 7, and 8 at the London School of Economics. He also lectured on sociology under the Munro Lectureship Foundation at the University of Edinburgh on May 12, and gave the Frazer Lecture in social anthropology at the University of Liverpool on June 26. He returns to his position at the university in September.

Mississippi State College for Women.—Margaret M. Wood, professor of social studies, has been awarded a Fulbright fellowship to lecture in sociology at the Philippine Women's University in Manila.

New York University.—Dr. Benjamin H. Lyndon has been appointed professor of social service and educational director of the new social work training program at New York University's Graduate School of Public Administration and Social Service.

Dr. Lyndon has been associate professor of social work at Wayne University for the last seven years. He was also acting dean of that institution from 1949 to 1950. He has done research in public welfare administration and is a specialist in the field of child development and parent education.

University of North Carolina.—Howard W. Odum was the recipient in March of the

O. Max Gardner Award which goes to "the member of the faculty of the Consolidated University of North Carolina who in the current scholastic year has made the greatest contribution to the welfare of the human race."

Guy B. Johnson was elected president of the Southern Sociological Society for 1953-54 at the sixteenth annual meeting held in Chattanooga in March.

On leave for teaching or research during the summer of 1953 were: Harold D. Meyer, at the University of Colorado; Rupert B. Vance, at Columbia University; John P. Gillin, at the University of Wisconsin; Nicholas J. Demerath, at Harvard University; and E. William Noland, on special research at the Maxwell Air Base, Alabama.

Visiting professors at Chapel Hill for the summer of 1953 were: Joseph K. Balogh, from Bowling Green State University; James E. Fleming, from Kent State University; Charles M. Grigg, from Brown University; and Albert E. Lovejoy, from Lynchburg College.

Reuben Hill taught in the Workshop of Family Life Education at the University of Minnesota in the early summer of 1953. On leave to the University of Puerto Rico for the year 1953-54, Professor Hill is directing, at the Social Science Research Center, the second phase of research in family dynamics and human fertility, continuing the work started in 1951.

Gerald R. Leslie, of Purdue University, is visiting assistant professor, replacing Hill for the year 1953-54.

Gordon W. Blackwell spent part of the summer on a study of communities in disaster for the National Research Council.

Joffre L. Coe has returned from a year's study at the University of Michigan to resume the direction of the Laboratory of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Graduate students in sociology who have recently received teaching appointments are: James W. Green to North Carolina State College (Raleigh) for work in rural sociology; John T. Greene to Boston University as specialist in marriage and the

family; James J. Maslowski to the College of William and Mary for demography and statistics; J. Joel Moss to the University of West Virginia in the Division of Home Economics as family life specialist; O. Norman Simpkins to Bowling Green State University in general sociology; Ram Singh to Hislop College of Nagpur University, Nagpur, M.P., India, to organize a department of sociology and anthropology; Kenneth C. Wagner to Georgia Institute of Technology for industrial sociology.

Ohio State University.—The name of the department of sociology at the Ohio State University has been changed to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. This is in recognition of the increasing role played by the anthropological offerings and research.

At the May meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society held at the University of Illinois, John W. Bennett was elected secretary, and Erika Bourguignon, treasurer. Dr. Bennett chaired one of the sessions and participated in a symposium.

Dr. Bennett has been conducting intensive case studies of Japanese students as one of four projects in the Social Science Research Council's "Cross-cultural Education Research" program. A staff of eight persons, including sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists, were assembled for the project. A full-time researcher, Herbert Passin, has been in Japan all year, studying students already returned from the States. He will spend the summer at Ohio State University, working on an integrated report.

Merton D. Oyler delivered a series of lectures for the Moore Institute of Human Relations, March 25-27, at Southeast Missouri State College. Subjects of his lectures were "The Family as a Persistent Institution," "The Clinical Approach to Family Solidarity," and "The Family Cycle and the 'Rites of Passage.'" Dr. Oyler was the fifth lecturer in the annual series sponsored by the Moore Institute of Human Relations.

Professor C. T. Jonassen has been appointed director and chief investigator of a

project to study urban decentralization in two cities of the United States. The project, sponsored by the National Research Council, is an extension of the study conducted by Jonassen in Columbus in 1952.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The fifteenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society took place at Ohio State University on April 24 and 25. Section meetings were held on "Theoretical Designs in Interdisciplinary Research" (joint session with the Society for Applied Anthropology); "Research Methods"; "Social Psychology"; "Race and Ethnic Relations"; "Industrial Sociology"; "The Family"; and contributed papers. The program included the presidential address by Raymond F. Sletto and an address by Samuel A. Stouffer, president of the American Sociological Society. Officers for 1953-54 are: Harold T. Christensen, Purdue University, president; Leonard C. Kercher, Western Michigan College, vice-president; Harold A. Gibbard, West Virginia University, secretary-treasurer; and C. T. Jonassen, Ohio State University, editor.

The Pacific Sociological Society.—The Pacific Sociological Society held separate meetings of the Northern, Central, and Southern divisions during the month of April. The Southern Division met at Whittier College on April 4. Research papers were read and discussed, and Charles B. Spaulding, vice-president of Santa Barbara College, gave a luncheon address.

The Central Division met at the College of the Pacific on April 10. Robert A. Nisbet, formerly of the Berkeley campus and now at the Riverside campus of the University of California, was in charge of the meeting. A luncheon address was given by Herbert Blumer, chairman of the department of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

The Northern Division met at Gearhart, Oregon, on April 23 and 24. Herman Mannheim, visiting professor from England, was among those presenting papers.

In addition to its divisional meetings, the Pacific Sociological Society co-operated with the American Sociological Society in connection with its annual meeting at Berkeley, August 30–September 2.

Officers of the Pacific Sociological Society for the year 1953–54 are the following: president: Robert E. L. Faris, University of Washington; vice-president, Southern: William S. Robinson (U.C.L.A.), Central: Harold E. Jones, University of California, Berkeley; Northern: Clarence Schrag, University of Washington; secretary-treasurer: Ralph H. Turner, U.C.L.A.; representative to the Council of the American Sociological Society: Leonard Broom, U.C.L.A.; Advisory Council: Ray E. Baber, Pomona College, Joel V. Berreman, University of Oregon, Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington, Harold S. Jacoby, College of the Pacific, Harvey J. Locke, University of Southern California, and George A. Lundberg, University of Washington.

University of Pennsylvania.—William M. Kephart and Richard D. Lambert have been appointed assistant professors; Everett Lee, research assistant professor; and Sidney Goldstein and Earle Reeves, instructors.

Lambert has been appointed assistant editor of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

Lee has prepared a report in three volumes on *Net Intercensal Migration, 1870–1940*. It is the first of a series of "Studies of Population Redistribution and Economic Growth," directed by Simon Kuznets and Dorothy S. Thomas under a Rockefeller Foundation grant.

Arthur K. Davis has been appointed visiting professor for the academic year 1953–54, to fill the place of W. Rex Crawford, who will spend the year in Europe as director of the European Seminar in American Studies, Salzburg.

Albert H. Hobbs's *Social Problems and Scientism* and James H. S. Bossard's *Parent and Child* have recently been published.

Dr. Thorsten Sellin was official United

States observer at a conference of Latin-American nations convened last April in Rio de Janeiro by the United Nations to discuss penological questions. In June he was chairman of a United Nations international *ad hoc* committee to discuss a research program in the field of crime prevention and treatment of offenders and to plan the international prison congress of 1956.

Society for the Study of Social Problems.—Professor Richard A. Schermerhorn, Western Reserve University, as chairman of the elections committee, announces the following as officers of the society for 1953–54, to take office September 2, following the society's convention in Berkeley, California: Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College, president; Herbert Blumer, University of California at Berkeley, president-elect; Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, vice-president; Byron Lester Fox, Syracuse University, secretary; and Richard A. Schermerhorn, treasurer.

The other elected members of the Executive Committee are: Ray H. Abrams, University of Pennsylvania; Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women; Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis; Ira De A. Reid, Haverford College; George Simpson, Brooklyn College; Paul A. Walter, Jr., University of New Mexico; and Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois.

Elected to the Editorial and Publications Committee, directors of the society's publication program, including its quarterly, *Social Problems*, are: Hornell Hart, Duke University; Samuel Koenig, Brooklyn College; Elizabeth Briant Lee, Connecticut College for Women; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; and Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota.

Elected to the Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication, and Teaching, are: Reinhard Bendix, University of California at Berkeley; John F. Cuber, Ohio State University; John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin; Ruby Jo Reeves Ken-

nedy, Connecticut College for Women; and William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin.

University of Toronto.—The University of Toronto announces two memorial awards, established in memory of the late Harry M. Cassidy, director of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1945–51, to provide opportunities for research in social welfare and the practice of social work.

The Cassidy Research Professorship, to be awarded for the first time in 1953 or 1954, is open to men and women throughout the world and has a value equivalent to the salary of an associate or full professor, ranging from \$6,100 to \$8,200, with a possible upward adjustment for a professorship held on a twelve-month basis. Tenure is normally for one year, with possible extension for the completion of a project. Provision will be made for appropriate research assistance, secretarial and office service, and necessary material and travel expenses.

The Cassidy Memorial Senior Fellowships, also open to men and women, have a value equivalent to that of lecturer, ranging from \$3,100 to \$4,600, with possible upward adjustment for fellowships held on a twelve-month basis. One or more fellowships will be awarded for the academic years 1953–54 and 1954–55. Provision will be made for appropriate office assistance and travel expenses.

Further particulars concerning terms of appointments and qualifications may be obtained from the director, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. Applications must be in the hands of the director not later than September 15, 1953.

Washington University.—James B. Watson has received a Ford fellowship grant for two years of research in New Guinea.

Jules Henry will be visiting associate professor at the University of Chicago in 1953–54.

Paul Campisi spent the year 1952–53 in Italy on a Fulbright award. He is making a comparative study of an isolated rural village and a small industrial city.

New additions to the faculty are: Shu-Ching Lee, who comes from the University of Oregon and will offer courses on the Far East; Ralph Patrick, Jr., formerly at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who will teach in the fields of social stratification and social theory; and Nicholas Babchuck, specialist in human relations in industry.

Yale University.—Theodore Anderson, of the University of Wisconsin, joins the staff this fall. John Sirjamaki has accepted an associate professorship at the University of Minnesota, and John Strodbeck will be associate professor of sociology in the law school of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Bernard C. Rosen, who has been research assistant in the Development of Talent Project under the direction of Professor Strodbeck, joins the staff at the University of Connecticut in September.

Ray H. Abrams, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been research associate on the project "Survey and Assessment of Areas and Methods of Research in Nursing," under the direction of Leo W. Simmons. Carolyn Zeleny has been assisting Dr. Simmons in preparing for publication the results of his research on the application of social science to medicine at Cornell Medical Center under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation.

The following have been visiting research fellows during the academic year: Palayam M. Balasundaram, Herman D. Bloch, and Helmut Schoeck.

Robert Straus, research associate at the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies, has accepted an assistant professorship at the State University of New York, College of Medicine, at Syracuse. Charles R. Snyder joins the staff at the Center as research assistant.

The following candidates for the doctoral degree have accepted appointments as of this fall: Russell Langworthy at Carleton College, Richard J. Coughlin at Yale University in the Southeast Asia Studies program, and Raymond Forer at the University of Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

ERRATUM

J. O. Hertzler, reviewing Helmut Schoeck's *Soziologie: Geschichte ihrer Probleme* in the May issue, referred parenthetically to the author's discussion (p. 8) of classifications of sociological theories in Barnes (ed.), *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, stating that "the author erroneously ascribes the organization of this work to Hankins." On page 9, however, the author specifically indicates that he was referring to Hankins' chapter (vi) on "Sociology" in Barnes's work.

Language and Literature in Society: A Sociological Essay on Theory and Method in the Interpretation of Linguistic Symbols, with a Bibliographical Guide to the Sociology of Literature. By HUGH DALZIEL DUNCAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xv+262. \$5.00.

Duncan's essay represents, in a number of respects, a departure from traditional sociological studies. At the same time, however, his work involves a return to one of the classical orientations which has figured in the development of American sociology in particular. His topic, language, and literature certainly constitute an area foreign to the interests of most practicing sociologists. And his approach, which can best be described in the author's own terms as "humanistic," as well as his style and method, reminiscent of Cooley, on the one hand, and Simmel, on the other, recall the sociology of an earlier day. Despite the rather narrow implications of the title and the fact that the work is an essay rather than an empirical analysis, Duncan, in this reviewer's opinion, has written a book with highly significant implications for more general problems in sociological theory and method.

The broader relevance of this intriguing and suggestive volume stems from the author's concern for reintroducing into the sociological consciousness (beyond the textbook level), some of the earlier formulations of Dewey, Cooley, and especially George Herbert Mead. In addition, Duncan establishes in an explicit fashion the relevance of Kenneth Burke's stimulating insights, hints, and

general orientation for the analysis of social action. The central thesis is best summed up in the following citation from the final chapter of Mr. Duncan's book:

If we assume that society arises in and exists through communication, the study of communication becomes the study of human relations. What we can express, where, when, how, and why, the analysis of the communicative means provided for meeting situations and especially situations in which there is much ambiguity, will tell us much about how men are related [p. 135].

A highly compact treatment, consisting of but 140 pages of text, the analysis ranges broadly and is divided into three major parts. The first deals not only with the ultimate function of language and literature in society—symbolic action as the integrator of imagination and reason—but also with the nature of literature as a social institution. With respect to the first topic, the author develops three functional types: literature as "great art," which inspires the exploration of future possibilities of human action; literature as "magical art," which inspires us to normatively correct practical action; and, finally, literature as "make-believe art," which is essentially cathartic in its function, being primarily expiatory and therapeutic. Whereas "great art" is concerned with the problem of ends and "magical art" with that of means, both dealing with the integration of imagination, reason, and action, "make-believe" art serves desire.

With respect to the analysis of literature as an institution, Duncan develops six type forms on the basis of variations in the nature and significance of the functional interrelationships among three elements: "author," "critic," and "public," the role of the critic being regarded as central.

The second part deals with some of the methodological problems which the sociological analysis of symbolic materials involves. First, Duncan presents a very brief and highly cursory critical review of previous (Thomas and Znaniecki, Freud, etc.) and contemporary (Lasswell, Mannheim, etc.) methodologies. He then goes on, by way of a detailed exposition of Kenneth Burke's "dramatistic" approach,

to outline what he feels is an appropriate metaphor for the analysis of symbolic data as indexes of social structure and social change.

In the final section of his book, the author, in a more explicit fashion, attempts to specify a sociological frame of reference for the analysis of symbolic action apropos of the phenomenon of status. Status becomes the focus of the analysis precisely to the extent that the ubiquitous paradox of "merger and division" involved in status differences makes problematical (and therefore functionally and formally cognizable) the basic sociological phenomenon—communication.

A final chapter makes a frank appeal for what the author believes to be the necessary symbolic forms and functions for the stability and progress of the specifically "democratic" society.

A seventy-page general bibliography, comprising an introduction to the sociology of literature, makes up a fourth and final section of the book. The items are arranged under three major topical headings: (1) "Language and Literature in Society." (2) "The Structure of Literature as a Social Institution," and (3) "Literary Perspectives of Society." Numerous subheadings maximize the usefulness of the voluminous listing, which certainly makes the book worth having, not only for those interested in the particular area on which Duncan focuses but also for those who wish to familiarize themselves and explore further what Herbert Blumer has elsewhere termed "the symbolic-interactionist" point of view.

In view of the compactness of the book, together with its broad relevance, it is impossible in a brief review to treat adequately the many implications of Duncan's essay for students of literature as well as sociologists. In terms of his own personal interests, this reviewer was impressed with the possibilities the author holds out to sociologists to reorient themselves in fundamentally sociological fashion to basically sociological concerns. This is in happy contrast to recent and subverting "psychologizing" and "psychoanalyzing" conceptual trends in our professional literature.

To use a phrase from Duncan's acknowledged master, Kenneth Burke, the essay necessarily has "the qualities of its defects and the defects of its qualities." The author's epigrammatic style, the overworking of Burke's

stylistic device of "perspective by incongruity," and a tendency to repetitiousness are minor defects, which, however, act as stumbling blocks in (again to use a phrase of Burke's) the "socialization" of Duncan's very cogent and suggestive position. In addition, his frankly valuational approach, poetic style, and humanistic neologisms are liable to offend the more dedicated positivists among his colleagues.

These, however, are negligible flaws in a book which is replete with estimable qualities. It would be hoped that sometime in the future, the author will present us, in more disciplined and empirical fashion, with researches in this area in terms of the frame of reference which he has developed. This reviewer found that many of the notes might well have been incorporated into the text; their position at the end of the volume seems a device to discourage their maximum usefulness. For those unfamiliar with Mead's position—especially students of literature, to whom the essays are equally addressed—a brief exposition of Mead's conceptual scheme similar to that which Duncan offers for Burke would be a useful addition.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ

Brown University

Students and Staff in a Social Context. By ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND *et al.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education Studies, 1953. Pp. iv+34.

The authors of this pamphlet make the unexceptionable point that learning may occur anywhere in peopled space and time. The social scientist, sensitive to latent functions and informal organizational structure, should be aware of the classroom's limitations. But since teaching largely proceeds on the "drip theory" of education—the notion that education happens to a cohort of cerebral blotters collected in a classroom—the emphasis upon extra-class learning is amply justified.

The thesis, then, is that the whole pattern of campus activities is educationally relevant and that the tools of the social scientist are best adapted to the study of such patterns. Specific cases are used to illustrate the point, as, e.g., the virtual boycott of a recently constructed student union because of alleged domination by Jews and the intransigent editor of a college newspaper venting chronic hostility on the university and its administra-

tion. Finally, it is suggested that the whole pattern of university life could contribute to effective teaching of democratic processes. For, "despite the fact that colleges and universities have been most deeply concerned with teaching the theories of democracy, perhaps they have been in the past the most outstanding examples of basic violation of democracy in action."

This is a good—if very general—statement of the urgent need for analyzing the *whole* of campus life with the critical scrutiny of a good curriculum committee composed of social scientists. One might wish that certain homilies had been omitted e.g.: "Cultural dilemmas can be regarded either as annoying or challenging. The latter is a more productive attitude." The established influence of participation upon learning might well have been emphasized, as well as the effect of shared responsibility in making insurrection a super-erogatory device, thus supporting social change by democratic process. But in thirty-four pages we should expect assertion, not demonstration. And the assertions are of significance for the sociologist as teacher, consultant, and researcher.

EVERETT K. WILSON

Antioch College

The Cultivation of Community Leaders. By WILLIAM W. BIDDLE. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xi+203. \$3.00.

This book is clearly not addressed to sociologists. Indeed, both the author and Baker Brownell, who introduces the book, are defensively ruffled by "that strange deviant from the human race, the professional expert." The social scientist is pictured "with textbooks in hand," unable to plumb the meaning of community as can ordinary folk. We are warned against "conceiving of scientific method as a strait jacket of techniques to be strapped on to every community." For himself, the author is not interested in science in the "narrow sense," as a "sacred substitute for authoritarian religion . . . used only by the elect who are in the know." "Research," he says "is a skill so far pre-empted by the scientific elite. As long as it is held exclusively by them, the method remains arrogant and the people researched tend to remain at an immature level of development."

Toward others, Biddle is more charitable. He speaks warmly of those to whom the book is principally addressed: the ordinary citizen who, as he "matures," develops an active concern for the general welfare. He is somewhat less patient with his second target group, the educator whose efforts at citizenship training need to be geared into the tough realities of community life. It is, then, a three-way alliance between citizen, student, and teacher which is proposed. Furthermore, the Program of Community Dynamics at Earlham College provides a pilot case for tentative appraisal. There are a few scattered details that begin to provide a before-and-after picture of this program, and from such scanty evidence, one would conclude that the program has had a measure of success for each of these allies.

This program is a rare instance of the systematic use of college resources for the development of environing communities. Its objectives are to enhance democratic processes by developing citizenship potential among students and community members. It also aims at tangible community improvements, at curricular revision, and at social research (although this last is loosely defined and emphatically minimized). At the invitation of people in a community, faculty and students join forces on some project in the public interest. Rejecting a series of conventional leader types, the writer plumps for the leader who is labeled a "community educator." Biddle's students are being trained for this role. The undergraduates are learning citizenship by acting like citizens, while the graduate students are getting more specific, professional training to become community educators. The "method of encouragement" (rejecting argument, mass persuasion, and the "old Adam" theory of motivation) is used, as all factions in the community are cordially invited to collaborate with a community council in effecting certain needed improvements. Consensus, rather than majority vote, is emphasized as the basis for decision. The community educator, acting in the role of neutral conciliator, creates a permissive atmosphere, enables catharsis when it is necessary, has a capacity for absorbing criticism and a dogged optimism based upon his confidence in the common man. (Recurrent themes throughout the book are humility, service, sacrifice, the arrogance of science, and the

hope resident in common folk.) The emphasis is on developing loyalties which transcend fragmentary groups and involve the welfare of the whole community.

Social research, too, must be democratized: "The scientist comes down from his pedestal of learned aloofness; his subject rises from the abject role of material-under-observation." This emphasis, reflected in sundry ways, is the book's major shortcoming. It seems to lead to a neglect of research contributions on which this program might build and which, one would think, might be educationally relevant. There is no mention, for example, of Henry Riecken's careful attempt to evaluate the impact of a work-camp experience upon the subjects' beliefs and attitudes. There is no mention of any of the work of Lewin, Lippitt, White, Bavelas, the AJC studies, French and Koch, Thelen, Bales, Mills, and others. While it is not necessary to load a popular work with all the professional impedimenta, it is nonetheless possible to put an important effort like this in the stream of relevant thinking. At the least, the condemnation might be lightened by explicit recognition of some pertinent contributions.

The "democratization of social research" will be a high-sounding but hollow objective if it deprecates the operational statement of goals and the efforts at more precise measures of their achievement. Such a program needs the touch of scientific inquiry to determine the extent to which specific skills in human relations are being developed. I think it hardly scientific arrogance to stress the need for knowing to what extent students or community people are acquiring a knowledge of the complex chain of contingencies which limit the "goodness" of a decision; for measuring the shift from reliance on a leader to confidence in the considered judgment of the group; for a more precise appraisal of the development of attitudes of suspended judgment, the use of others' experience as a "control"—i.e., the development of a scientific frame of mind; for a rigorous check on the extent to which a shift occurs from a primary emphasis upon self-gratification to one oriented toward the general welfare; and for more precise appraisal of increased awareness of the ambivalence of outcomes, or of the latent as well as the manifest functions of human conduct.

The Community Dynamics Program at Earlham is an exciting educational venture. Its worth could be markedly enhanced by placing it in the current of relevant sociological research.

EVERETT K. WILSON

Antioch College

Modern Nationalities: A Sociological Study.

By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952. Pp. xvi+196. \$3.95.

This slim book belongs among the most significant sociological publications of recent years. Using it, American sociologists can begin to catch up with historians, political scientists, and cultural anthropologists in understanding one of the basic phenomena of the "great society" in which we live, namely, modern nationalism or, as Znaniecki prefers to call it, "national culture societies." Znaniecki takes "nation" not as a purely political entity and "nationality" not merely in the sense of citizenship, but rather as a cultural unit and as the consciousness of belonging to such a unit, respectively. National-culture societies differ from tribal societies by being literary in their foundation, from ecclesiastical societies by being secular in their motivation, and from the political state by not being confined by political boundaries. The concept of the national-culture society permits comprehension of the problems of national minorities that are separated from their own national state, as in the case of the German minority in the Venezia Tridentina region of Italy, and of the problems of one and the same nationality extending through a number of political units, or sovereignties, as in the case of the Polish people prior to World War I. Some amount of rigidity and oversimplification inheres in Znaniecki's use of the concept, inasmuch as some nationalities, especially in the Near and Middle East, are religious in origin and spirit, while others, following Roman example, are territorial in concept and aim: natural-culture societies share in these roots, while at the same time struggling to free themselves from them. It remains true, however, that men of letters create national-culture societies, that associations of men of letters give them a firm anchorage, and that a literary language and a written history are

essential for the growth of national, as against tribal, consciousness. Ethnographers, scientists, musicians, artists, also bear their share.

Many concrete examples are necessary to understand the wide variety as well as the essential unity of the concept, and, not all by far, of the possible examples are adduced by the author. For purposes of this review it may be sufficient to mention that associations of men of letters and knowledge assembled in rabbinical academies helped to fix the oldest of all national-culture societies, that of the Jews; that such associations assisted in the formation of the classical modern nationality through the Académie française; that literary, scientific, folkloristic, artistic, and musical societies antedated the national state by decades, and even centuries, in nations such as Italy, Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The various royal societies of England are another case in point. All the nations of Europe are traceable to organized literary origins, and new nations spring from the same roots today in other parts of the globe. Znaniecki omits from consideration the colonial phenomenon of national-cultural consciousness arising from political unification imposed by conquest, as in Mexico or in India; but such consideration merely adds a new chapter and does not invalidate the concept. Wherever it may be, intellectuals, by means of education and propaganda, incite the masses of peasants and manual workers toward the goal of the national-culture society and pry them loose from their clan and locality loyalties. The main themes are the cult of heroes, the myth of common descent, the attachment to the native land, and the appeal for defense against a common enemy (p. 82). Znaniecki mentions, but underplays somewhat, the role of economic development in the making of modern nations. What needs further emphasis is the fact that the rise of the intellectual class is part of the general rise of the middle classes and that the growth of science and technology, which is sponsored by the middle classes, is inseparable from the processes by which national-cultural consciousness is generated. Geographical, assimilative, and ideological expansion follows the expansion of economic capacity. The classical example, after England, is the United States, which Znaniecki nowhere mentions. However, the

author's European bias is too natural a phenomenon to incur blame.

All the above is said, or almost said, in five brief chapters on national culture as a relatively new type of culture, the origin of national-culture societies, social groups functioning on behalf of national-culture societies, the spread of national consciousness, and the main sources of conflict between nationalities. These chapters need elaboration by historically trained sociologists (not only by sociologically inclined historians) and application to the newer, postcolonial nationalisms which are arising in our time. A sixth chapter which Znaniecki adds, on co-operation between national-culture societies as alternative to conflict, is most welcome. Of more dubious value is a seventh, and final, chapter on world culture as the foundation of world society. Just what is meant by this chapter is not entirely clear. Is it a plea to the "liberal" public for forgiveness for having approached such a taboo topic as nationalism in the spirit of scholarly objectivity rather than with the air of condemnation? Or is it a pointer toward the actual or desired analogy between the growth of national culture in the past and the growth of world culture in the future? The analogy would have many aspects. The expansion of national societies, through conflict, bears many incipient features of co-operation leading toward a world society. Science and technology make a development of this sort surely possible and perhaps inevitable. The present role of intellectuals as the advance guard in international activities is reminiscent of their former role in national-culture movements. But the question arises as to whether these things are not the music of the future and therefore somewhat impervious to the synthetic type of scholarly treatment which Znaniecki employs. The documentation is still lacking.

In conclusion, we ought to say that Znaniecki's book deserves careful reading by those sociologists who want to overcome the confines of narrow parochialism, the confusion of sociology and psychology, and the escapism of methodological refinement at the expense of solid knowledge and synthetic insight. If, as a result, new courses should be devised for sociological curriculums and old courses overhauled, the possibility cannot entirely be excluded that sociologists may yet participate

with other scholars in the exploration of the onrushing phenomena of international relations.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Forest Hills, New York

Social Dynamics: Principles and Cases in Introductory Sociology. By JOSEPH B. GITTLER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952. Pp. xi+346. \$4.00.

This book is designed by its author to be an introductory text in sociology. The approach to the subject matter is different from that commonly used in textbooks. Instead of the standard form, he presents basic sociological concepts and principles by way of introductions to illustrative cases, which make up most of the content of the book. The wide range of case studies was selected by the author in the course of his experience in teaching the introductory course. He found that students were able to grasp the meaning of sociological concepts through cases much more readily than through reading textual material.

The frame of reference of the text is that of the symbolic interactionists. ". . . It is the meanings to which humans attribute their actions that constitute the real essence of their social natures. The sciences of social man must, therefore, take into account the less obvious aspects of human behavior. Human-cultural phenomena are dynamic; society is alive and changing. It must be felt as well as seen; it must be experienced, at least vicariously, as well as observed. For this kind of comprehension the case method has special significance."

The book is divided into seven major topical parts: the nature of the social and the meaning of sociology; sociology and personality; the social group and collective behavior; the community and social class; social processes and forms of social interaction; culture and sociocultural change; and some problems of personal and social disorganization. The subtopics under each of these parts are introduced with clear expositions of the main ideas, then followed by case studies which illustrate the fundamental sociological principles.

The author tends, indeed, to be parsimonious with his own analysis of sociological materials. If this were a book of readings, the textual materials he uses would be sufficient. The absence of doctrine, however, may prove to be a chal-

lenge to a good teacher, who might prefer the flexibility of expanding those concepts and areas in sociology which are familiar to him and which he is interested in developing. The cases, which consist of excerpts and adaptations from scientific and semipopular literature, should enliven the interest of both student and teacher. Each section is followed by well-annotated reference material.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. By ARNOLD W. GREEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952. Pp. x+579. \$5.00.

Two approaches to the teaching of introductory sociology seem to be characteristic of recent textbooks. One is the more or less systematic presentation of "principles," concepts, "factors," and processes necessary for the understanding of all social life. The other is a selected description of contemporary American society, perhaps with occasional paragraphs or sections presenting some aspect of some other society—usually primitive—for contrast. The latter approach is the one chosen by Arnold Green of Pennsylvania State College, and he does a highly competent job in following his plan. He defines sociology as "the synthesizing and generalizing science of man in all of his social relationships" (p. 1) and uses material from all the special social sciences, although in a way distinctive from any of them. Sociology is thus not considered to be a special social science, with its own body of data or with a unique set of theories. With this orientation the book is an aggregate of chapters taking up matters considered primarily by psychologists, economists, political scientists, educators, with liberal sprinklings from the anthropologists. Occasionally there are chapters which deal with topics considered primarily by sociologists, but these are treated to increase the scope of the book rather than to give it a framework. Since the book is of reasonable length and well written, it could not be called encyclopedic. It is, rather, an unintegrated compendium of information, which the author feels every college student ought to have in order to understand his society.

The scope is broad: there are chapters on the organism and its physical environment, social processes, culture, socialization, personality,

population, the "politico-economic realm," class and caste, minorities, the family, religion, education, social change, and "the problem of the twentieth century." The student is exposed to content that he would not get in most other texts in sociology, such as discussions of municipal corruption and the controversy between science and religion. For the most part, the exposition is sophisticated and the presentation clear. The chapter on social change is a significant contribution to sociological literature and could be recommended for advanced students as well as beginners.

There are some peculiar misstatements and narrow conceptions throughout the book. What conception of social structure lies behind the statement: "If all the people in the world were to be converted to Christianity, the organized Christian Church also would wither" (p. 45)? The statement "When we learn that peoples at a distance live with different folkways . . . we are amused. When we learn of their different mores . . . we are not amused. We tend to feel, instead, revulsion at such a violation of 'human nature'" (p. 77) not only distorts Sumner's original definitions of these terms but confuses *our* folkways and mores with those of "peoples at a distance." The sentence "Man is not rational" (p. 549) is not only left unqualified but is used to "prove" that any appeal to reason cannot have an effect.

Excursions into fields outside sociology open the author to many errors. The statement about learning (p. 16) would please no psychologist. The sentence "The United States and Russia . . . are the only truly sovereign states left in the world" (p. 543) would be questioned by many besides the political scientists. The author is interested in making predictions, but he sometimes neglects to tell students that various sociologists make different predictions: e.g., when predicting that mobility will tend downward on the average in the United States (p. 307), he neglects to mention that many sociologists would disagree with his prediction.

Only one chapter strikes the reviewer as weak throughout—that on minorities. The author sets out with a claim that he will "present nothing but evidence," but the chapter is shot through with his own interpretations with which many sociologists would not agree. By absence of bias the author seems to mean a peculiar kind of middle-of-the-roadism: for example, with respect to the monogenetic or polygenetic origin of the races; with respect to the environ-

mental or genetic origin of the average score differences in I.Q. between the races; with respect to designating as racists both the "liberals" and the "conservatives." His ignorance of the South is startling, e.g., "In the past decade the Negro has been subjected to more physical violence in the North than in the South" (p. 327).

The reviewer finds, on the whole, that this is a book from which the undergraduate student would learn much that he should know in order to be an educated citizen. He will learn in an agreeable way. But he will not arrive at any conception of what sociology aims to do that is different from "social science" in general.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Landmarks in the History of Education. By T. L. JARMAN. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1952. Pp. v+323. \$4.75.

The emphasis in this excellent volume is on the English educational tradition, but the author has not overlooked the larger Western culture which has nurtured it. The book begins with an account of the educational ideas and practices of the classical world and passes with developing detail and mastery to the principal phases of educational history and reform in the modern world. Throughout, there is a continuous effort to relate education both to philosophical and scientific currents, on the one hand, and to the changing institutional scene, on the other. There is no pretense, especially in the earlier chapters on the ancient and medieval worlds, to original scholarship or novel interpretation; the author has devoted himself to a synthesis of intellectual and social histories as they bear specifically upon educational structures and themes.

Of greatest value to sociologists are the last six chapters, which deal with the impact of the industrial revolution upon European educational systems and with the expansion of nationalistic and equalitarian ideas of education. The most revolutionary aspect of the cultural history of modern Europe, the author points out, is the advance of the masses to an ever higher standard of life and the consequent demand for educational equality. The author does not shrink from the problems of equality which have arisen through this development nor from the problem of the assimilation into society's occupational

structure of ever larger numbers of the technically trained and educated. But he recognizes that the movement toward educational equality is now as much a part of the institutional scene as are the values of industrialism and democracy. Solutions will have to be found *within* the dimensions of mass education, not in educational prescriptions premised upon an economic and political structure that has not existed for several generations.

ROBERT A. NISBET

*University of California
Riverside*

Public Relations and the Police. By G. DOUGLAS GOURLEY. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953. Pp. xviii+123. \$5.75.

This survey of the attitudes of the people of Los Angeles, California, toward their police department fills a real need. The municipal police in the United States face severe problems in public relations. Policemen feel that the public is unduly suspicious, distrustful, and critical of them. The public is convinced that the police are often ill trained, dishonest, and brutal. Consequently, there exists an underlying conflict between both forces, which is inimical to a society increasingly dependent on the law and its agents for social control. Police efforts to ameliorate this situation have necessarily been designed in an *ad hoc* fashion, since there is little reliable information on who makes what criticism of the police. The survey technique would seem an appropriate initial approach.

This survey, by a police captain with an M.A. in public administration, used a questionnaire devised by Professor Parrat of Syracuse University, in which the respondents were asked to evaluate, on a three-point scale, numerous aspects of police activity, training, appearance, and character. Policemen were used as interviewers and gave the questionnaire to various unnamed groups in Los Angeles. The resulting sample was then compared with the population distribution of the social areas of Los Angeles as worked out by Shevky and Williams. Where the sample was too small, statistical adjustments were attempted.

Gourley reports the survey findings both in terms of the characteristics evaluated and in terms of variables such as age, sex, nationality, and occupation.

The social scientist will question many as-

pects of the research procedure such as: possible bias in responses because policemen were used as interviewers; bias in the sample because the questionnaires were distributed to organized groups (thus eliminating the social isolate); and the absence of internal statistical controls in analyzing the findings. Also, there is a disappointing unevenness in the presentation of the results. When the attitudes are analyzed by age and sex groupings, for example, the statistics are presented in detail; this, however, is not true for some important variables. Thus, while Gourley states that occupation is "undoubtedly one of the most significant factors in determining public attitudes towards the police" he gives little statistical information substantiating his point.

These weaknesses seriously limit the worth of the report as a source of valid, reliable information about public attitudes toward the police. Policemen will, however, find the book a valuable introduction to, and demonstration of, the use of survey techniques in the planning of public relations programs. Numerous excellent charts, photographs, and cartoons do much to sustain the reader's interest and to suggest how a good police department organizes its public relations program.

WILLIAM A. WESTLEY

McGill University

Sociology in Educational Practice. By CLYDE B. MOORE and WILLIAM E. COLE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952. Pp. 440.

This text offers an application of sociology to educational policies and procedures. The discussion centers mainly upon the public schools, although the educational activities of the family, churches, and youth groups receive considerable attention. The ideological and economic backgrounds of the present educational system and the demographic changes which continuously give rise to new problems are described in several well-written chapters. The institutional structure of schools in the local community and their function as instruments of socialization and acculturation are dealt with only incidentally, however. The volume is not presented as a general treatise in the sociology of education.

The framework of sociological concepts from which the authors seek to derive specific educational applications is not delineated in any explicit form. It is difficult, accordingly, to discern

what premises have dictated their choice of materials. An intention to "analyze educational policies and procedures" is proclaimed in the Preface, but in the text itself this purpose is subordinated and the discussion proceeds mainly as a straightforward presentation of descriptive and informational materials. Some sections appear to have been included in an effort to lend a more "practical" tone to the text. For example, the chapter entitled "The Sociology of Curriculum Construction" consists largely of prosaic and, at times, colloquial remarks concerning the personal values of arithmetic, hygiene, and other common school subjects, with virtually no attempt at conceptualization or abstraction. The general policies which are described or advocated are not analyzed in any fundamental sense with regard to their actual or probable consequences.

The brief treatment accorded certain topics should be especially noted. Racial segregation is a policy, a practice, and a center of controversy in hundreds of communities, yet it is referred to, obliquely, in less than half a page. The social selection of school administrators who set policy and of teachers who carry it out in practice is scarcely touched upon. The pressure groups and lobbies which so greatly affect education at local, state, and national levels are discussed only briefly, almost casually. Several important commission reports are represented merely by lists of their recommendations with little effort to evaluate them or to integrate them with the text. Notable contributions to the field of interest—the writings of John Dewey and of Willard Waller, to name only two—are neglected; indeed, the absence of any mention of Dewey's influence upon educational practice is probably unique among contemporary works in this field.

Despite these shortcomings, the volume will interest and benefit prospective teachers by virtue of its readable style and the abundance of descriptive materials. It is to be hoped that there will be no inclination to substitute it for standard introductory texts in combination introductory-educational sociology courses. The training of teachers should include a more substantial sociological content than is offered by this text alone.

WILLIAM H. HARLAN

Southern Illinois University

Collegiate Education for Nursing. By Dr. MARGARET BRIDGMAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1953. Pp. 205. \$2.50.

This book by a non-nurse educational consultant is a report of an appraisal of the present situation in nursing education, in terms of the question: "Can the educational means of supply be effectively adapted to serve the interests of candidates for nursing education on the one hand and to meet the demands for personnel in functional areas on the other?" While various aspects of nursing education are discussed in some detail, the main emphasis is placed upon basic baccalaureate curricula. Visits to schools, written reports, and conferences with nurses, as well as other sources of information, yielded data on which statements are based. A solution, suggested in a table in the last chapter, "Outline of Education for Nursing Service," is a reflection of emerging trends in nursing education and one which is largely supported by "planning groups within national nursing organizations."

Dr. Esther Lucille Brown, whose work entitled "Nursing for the Future" is a landmark in nursing progress, has written a foreword, in which provocative uses of the information contained in the report are proposed.

Through this report Dr. Bridgman makes a vigorous appeal to institutions of higher learning. They are asked to take note of the complex problems involved in preparing numbers and kinds of qualified nursing personnel to meet the health needs of the nation. The role of educational institutions in bringing about constructive order despite "bewildering diversity" of patterns in the existing schools of nursing is specified in many ways. The need for administrators and educators in colleges and universities to recognize and accept this role is reiterated. While this text is addressed primarily to responsible officials in these institutions, others, including hospital administrators, practicing nurses at all levels of responsibility, professional workers in allied disciplines, and interested laymen, will be able to locate in it aspects of the problem of immediate concern to themselves.

Many readers will be stimulated to explore tangents only touched upon in the text. Some avenues of inquiry that merit immediate notice can be found in each chapter.

Chapter i discusses "The Critical Deficiency in Nursing Services." The effects of shortages in

numbers and in qualitatively prepared nurses are pointed out by citing extreme and shocking factual examples.

Chapter ii presents "The Hospital School." The confusion in educational status is attributed to the hospital school's detached position and seeming lack of knowledge of "the content, methods, standards, and objectives of nursing education."

Another conflict that underlies opposition to further improvements is identified as "equally legitimate" competing interests, that is, the education of nurses and the interest in keeping hospital costs down.

While the most glaring obstacles to progress are pointed out in the chapter on hospital schools, it is reiterated that improvements have occurred despite them, and nursing has moved in the direction of collegiate programs. Hospital schools have developed devices to secure for nurse trainees the role of student. One such device, herein discussed, was the "introduction of a preclinical period." Another device developed to insure equal exposure to problems of various clinical services was that of a "rotation plan." Dr. Bridgman seems to accept this concept and asserts that "properly adapted teaching can . . . eliminate any educational loss." Educators, however, may question this assertion.

Chapter iii discusses "Relation of Education to Supply" and suggests four main categories in the reservoir of high-school graduates. There are those individuals who seek (1) immediate employment, (2) short-term vocational preparation, (3) two-year post-high school education, and (4) collegiate-level education. Many educators would have been pleased to find here a discussion of the possibilities of mobility upward, from categories 2-4, above, in terms of educational planning to meet the needs for nurses and to allow for exigencies of choices made by individuals who develop hidden potentialities.

"Baccalaureate Curricula and the Qualitative Demand" is presented in chapter iv. The need to reconcile policies on nursing education with those in institutions of higher learning and some possible outcomes of this step are suggested. Four types of degree programs in nursing are described, and differences are graphically presented in a chart.

Chapter v offers a brief discussion on "Supplementary and Graduate Programs." Basic

education is viewed as a foundation upon which graduate work is built. A critical problem in the latter area can be inferred from the statement that "little or no attempt has been made to evaluate the quality or content of the basic knowledge of the candidate in the field in which she was supposedly preparing to teach or to assume administrative functions."

A section on "Graduate Work in Special Fields" states that "development of graduate programs to prepare highly competent personnel for specialized functions and crucial responsibilities in nursing is contingent upon uniformity and reliability in the content and quality of undergraduate education." The author does not suggest, however, how uniformity is to be prevented from moving in the direction of even greater crystallization of program and rigidity of procedure than is already apparent in basic nursing education.

Chapter vi deals with the "Content of a Baccalaureate Curriculum." Some readers will disagree that the "chief problem" is "the selection and correlation of materials." Dr. Bridgman here suggests that "developments will depend upon experimentation and the interchange of new ideas as they emerge in various institutions." However, a chart showing "suggestions for content" is provided and sequences are identified. The roles of various departments in a college or university are discussed in detail. Sociologists will be interested to note the suggestions on how they can participate best in the education of nurses. This section poses many points at issue for teachers, and it would be a good basis for discussion in graduate-level courses on curriculum.

In chapter vii, the problems presented are reviewed and summarized. Education and health services are cited as measures of achievement of a civilization. How different educational institutions can aid in the further development of nursing as a health service is succinctly stated.

This report is a provocative one. It deals with a complex social form for guaranteeing services needed for the comfort and well-being of the individual, and it cannot, therefore, be expected to reveal all facets of interrelated problems as they affect the one posed for this study. It concludes, understandably, that professional nursing ought to be taught in collegiate institutions, and it abundantly reflects the interest and concern of the author that nursing

will grow and change and become ever more useful.

HILDEGARDE E. PEPLAU

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terial is discussed in terms of maladjusted children, it has a much wider range of usefulness.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

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Social Science and Psychotherapy for Children.

By OTTO POLLAK and COLLABORATORS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952. Pp. 242. \$4.00.

This book attempts to bring together sociological and psychoanalytic concepts used in child psychotherapy—a procedure much needed, as the disciplines have developed in isolation, with the one emphasizing cultural factors and the other highly individualistic psychological and biological concepts. It is the result of a two-year experiment sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Jewish Board of Guardians, during which Otto Pollak, as social science consultant, and the staff of the Guardians' child-guidance clinic worked together to conceptualize environmental factors and coordinate them with the psychoanalytic concepts already in use. The social concepts selected for integration were family of orientation, social interaction, socialization, cultural relativity, culture conflict, social roles, status, youth culture, and reinforcement in stimulus-response learning.

Chapter ii on the "Concept of Family of Orientation" may be cited as an illustration of the procedure. It became clear to clinicians and social workers that individual or intrapersonal factors were inadequate in the analysis of a maladjusted child's problems and that consideration of the mother alone of the family group was not enough. Viewing the child as a member of a family constellation brought out the desirability of examining social interaction and relationships within the family and often revealed the necessity of therapeutic work with other members of the family. Illustrative cases are repeatedly discussed against a background of social factors.

The book is valuable not only for the psychoanalytically oriented person but also for the sociologist, for he too has tended to intrench himself behind a barrier of sociological concepts and to ignore the applicability of psychological and psychoanalytic concepts. Although the ma-

Essentials in Interviewing: For the Interviewer Offering Professional Services. By ANNE F. FENLASON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. Pp. xi+352. \$4.00.

This text consists of four chapters dealing with the effect of cultural backgrounds on personality, components of personality, interviewing methods, and essential attitudes for successful interviewing. The last third of the book is devoted to case-work interviews for analysis according to stated questions.

The book is simply written, with a minimum of professional terminology, each chapter explaining and illustrating certain concepts. The illustrations are drawn from a wide variety of sources, published and unpublished, and from many types of life-situations. The result is a chatty and anecdotal book, which lacks focus on social-work techniques.

This is an elementary presentation, which does not delve into therapeutic concepts or methods of interviewing but confines itself to an exploration of simple problems or of surface symptoms. It offers greatest usefulness to the person untrained in psychological or sociological processes but who, nevertheless, finds himself in a position where he must interview and counsel in terms of practical problems.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

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The British Worker. By FERDYNAND ZWEIF. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1952. Pp. 243. \$0.65.

This stimulating little volume is the result of the author's firsthand observations of the British working man. Unfortunately, the reader is not informed on the representativeness of the sample, or on the type of observational approach pursued—for example, the nature of the interviewing. I would guess that the techniques espoused by Zweig leave much to be desired from a scientific viewpoint, which is why his

conclusions must properly be viewed only as impressions.

These impressions are gleaned from numerous facets of the British worker's life, as the chapter headings indicate: "Grades of Labor," "Industrial Types," "Regional Types," "The Younger Worker and the Old," "The Worker in His Family Life," "Habits of Mind and Behavior," "The Attitude To Work," "Ideas of Sportsmanship," "Hobbies," "The Worker in His Trade Union," "Class Consciousness," "Views on Life and Ways of Expression," "Religion in the Worker's Life," and others.

The study reveals the British worker as resembling his American counterpart in numerous ways. Many of the author's findings jibe remarkably well with those now available about the American workman. A few illustrations will suffice: The craftsman shows much greater interest in, and attachment to, his job than does the semiskilled or unskilled operative. The miner is significantly more militant and more class conscious than most other types of industrial workers. Printers are among the most intelligent workmen. The younger worker is much more receptive to fundamental socio-economic change than is the older man. The worker believes that, in the absence of union rules on this point, promotion is largely a matter of connections and favoritism; as Zweig puts it: "In my talks with workers I often heard the remark, 'Promotion all depends on your relations, whether your family can pull strings or not. If no one backs you up, it's no use. You must be a relation of a general foreman or a junior executive to be considered.'" This international similarity in many of the workers' behavior patterns is worthy of further, and more refined, exploration, for such comparative research is a *sine qua non* in testing the universality of certain socio-economic tools and models.

The author's findings make still another contribution to the field, not unrelated to the one noted above. The volume is riddled with plausible and suggestive ideas about worker behavior. True, these insightful impressions are inadequately formulated to be considered operational hypotheses, let alone definitive conclusions. But, in the hands of a skilled and operationally oriented sociologist or social psychologist, these hunches can ultimately yield practical and constructive results. Take, for instance, the following comment by the author: "The differences between the working class and the middle class are becoming less pronounced. The workers'

security of employment and earning capacity are constantly improving; education is rapidly reducing the differences between the standards of the classes, and standard English is becoming more widespread especially on account of the wireless. Manual jobs need a higher degree of intelligence than they used to, and in many industries, such as the engineering industry, the distinction between manual work and brainwork is a distinction of degree only."

Here is a stimulating and provocative viewpoint, pregnant with significant implications for the student of stratification. In fact, some American scholars—Nelson Foote among others—are pursuing this approach in their research.

JOSEPH SHISTER

University of Buffalo

A Social Program for Older People. By JEROME KAPLAN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953. Pp. xiii+158. \$3.00.

This is a handbook for those interested in helping older people in our society retain their interest in living. Its basic hypothesis is that "age does not affect adversely the fundamental dignity of the human being, even though it may at times affect the dignity of his behavior."

The author, a group-work consultant for the Hennepin County (Minnesota) Welfare Board and secretary of the Minnesota Commission on Aging, utilizes his own experiences to point out the need for social services for the "senior citizen" and to offer concrete suggestions for implementing them. His emphasis is on the less tangible needs of older people: companionship and creative activity. He maintains that "creative group activity" is the single most effective means toward the goal of satisfying these needs. Physical and mental health seem to be related to the availability of companionship and creativity, regardless of age. Nevertheless, Kaplan cautiously and correctly asserts that the precise etiological relationship between these two sets of variables remains to be scientifically investigated.

Group programs or a planned social life must be designed exclusively for older people, for the author feels it unlikely that many of them would participate in organized activities

which are primarily aimed at meeting the needs of youth and younger adults. A case study of what his own pioneering welfare agency has done in group programs for the aged is followed by specific program suggestions for other agencies, public and private, as well as for professional and volunteer workers. The role of homes for the aged is given careful consideration in one chapter. A much more unusual chapter is on the topic of senior-citizen camping out-of-doors. There is, in addition, an interesting Appendix, containing eight illustrations of techniques which Kaplan and others have found to be useful in establishing programs for the aged. Social workers and others will also find value in the annotated Bibliography on general aspects of gerontology and geriatrics, supplementing that on recreational needs and activity of the aged.

MILTON L. BARRON

Cornell University

Atomic Power: An Economic and Social Analysis. By WALTER ISARD and VINCENT WHITNEY. Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1952. Pp. xi+235. \$4.75.

The appearance of this monograph may be symptomatic of an important trend in social research. There have been studies dealing with the social effects of a major invention, comparable in scope and thoroughness to this one; but they have generally been carried out only after the invention had established itself in the market and some of its major use patterns had become evident. Since it takes an invention from a third to a half a century to develop from working model to maturity, it has been urged that research efforts be made to anticipate the social adjustments required by the invention rather than merely wait to record the history of such adjustments. While research done in the early stages of an invention's growth cycle scarcely can be definitive, there is a chance that the important directions of inquiry can be discerned for the guidance of the subsequent study, which should continue along with increasing application of the invention. Isard and Whitney have made a distinct contribution of this kind, though their interest is somewhat

narrowly focused on industrial location and regional economic development.

The general tenor of the analysis is to demonstrate the unwarranted character of the "optimism on which many of the predictions of alleged revolutionary consequences of atomic power have been based." It is stated that there is no known method of using nuclear energy directly as a source of commercial power; rather, the heat liberated by nuclear fission must be transformed into electricity. Consequently, the feasibility of commercial application of atomic power will depend on its ability to compete with other sources of electric power, i.e., its relative cost. While specific cost estimates are not warranted at the present time, it seems probable to the authors that atomic power cannot be competitive with steam and hydroelectric sources under conditions favorable to the latter, barring extensive government subsidy. On the other hand, the present "have-not" nations with respect to conventional power resources may not benefit relative to the "haves," because of the high cost of the necessary capital, the small quantity of power demanded by their present industrial capacity, lack of technical resources, and cultural resistance to utilization of atomic energy. In this context, the often-emphasized low cost of atomic fuel appears as a factor of minor importance: "The common insistence that the development of atomic power spells an equalization of economic strength among nations is an instance of contemporary mythology. . . . A stronger probability appears to be that atomic power would increase the inequalities among nations."

Within the industrialized nations, which are most likely to make commercial use of cheap atomic power—if it becomes available—direct economic effects will not be spectacular, since power costs are only a small percentage of total production costs. In certain industries, like glass and aluminum, where power costs are of critical importance and differentials in such costs have been a major locational factor, new plants may have a somewhat different localization from those now existing; but neither general relocation of industry nor a strong impulse to decentralization is to be expected. "Atomic power does not remove the many other determinants of industrial location." The indirect effects of

atomic power, which can scarcely be foreseen now, may, however, weigh much heavier than the direct effects. The hope is held out that the development of regional input-output models for economic analysis will enable the forecasting of the principal indirect ("second and third-round") effects. However, the authors only incidentally allude to the likelihood of effects stemming from possible derivative inventions, which have been of major importance in connection with previous power innovations. Nor do they make any effort to foresee social consequences of atomic power in other than the economic sphere, though they, of course, recognize that the issues of power politics and international control are crucial for both the development of atomic power and its pacific application.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Caste in Modern Ceylon: The Sinhalese System in Transition. By BRYCE RYAN. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953. Pp. ix+371. \$6.00.

Any serious student of social stratification, not of oriental caste alone, will sooner or later have to read this book. The author, to be sure, sticks to his last. He does not pontificate or even speculate about social stratification beyond the Sinhalese scene. The data themselves, however, so thoughtfully and intelligently reported and analyzed by a well-trained American sociologist, are replete with conceptual and theoretical implications for the study of social stratification in general.

The book is based on the extant literature and on extensive field work conducted by the author while he was professor of sociology at the University of Ceylon. It includes a brief account of the historical backgrounds which will add some fuel to the never ending speculation about the origins of caste. The bulk of the book is concerned with description and analysis of caste as it exists today, with its relationships to familism, Buddhism, feudalism, other forms of stratification, and the power structure and with change under the impact of urbanization and Western ideology. It is doubtful if there exists elsewhere, within the compass of a single volume, so comprehen-

sive and competent an analysis of caste in a single society.

Popular and scientific images of caste are largely based on our knowledge of the Indian system. Although the Sinhalese system has historical connections with the Indian system and may indeed be regarded as a variant thereof, in a number of important respects it differs dramatically from the Indian case. There is no priestly caste corresponding to the Brahmins. Caste organization and government, corresponding to the Indian panchayats, are virtually absent. There is no caste that is "untouchable" in the sacred or ritual sense. Although Buddhism, with its doctrine of Karma, is consistent with caste, it does not legitimize caste by specific religious prescription. The highest caste includes half or more of Sinhalese society. Commensalism remains the supreme symbol of social distance, but food and its preparation have little caste significance. The etiquette of deference and abasement, in comparison with the Indian prototype, is mild, attenuated, and humane. Despite all this, endogamy, communalism, rank differentiation, and functional specialization stamp the Sinhalese system as indubitably a caste system within the purview of any definition of caste. Clearly, if one wants to generalize about caste, one can no longer reason from the Indian case alone.

Besides this, caste within Ceylon, exhibits an enormous diversity, as it does in India itself, and, even within a given region, facile generalizations about caste are dangerous. In Ryan's book we get the kind of detailed contemporary description that Morris Opler and Rudra Datt Singh give us in their valuable paper on an Indian village, together with a perspective on the variability of caste that only a more extensive treatise can afford.

This emphasis on diversity and the demonstration of the differential impact of changing conditions upon different aspects of the caste system point up the necessity for conceptual distinctions not always carefully observed. It appears plausible, for example, that caste as a system of hierarchically graded birth-status groups is slowly breaking down; but the vitality of caste in the sense of strictly endogamous communal groups—without distinctive culture, but with a keen sense of consciousness of kind and particularistic loyalties—is unimpaired. For those who have played with

"caste-and-class" diagrams and have wondered about the best way of conceptualizing the interpenetration of two different status systems, this book offers invaluable materials. In Ceylon, class differences are as marked and pervasive as caste differences, and the extremes of class differences, with their concomitants of power and life-chances, are found within the same caste. From the point of view of the reviewer, the most important theoretical implications of the volume are for the problem of the structural strains and the structural consequences of incumbency of different positions on different status ladders. Although the author himself attempts no high-level generalizations, the interaction of caste and class is one of the major and theoretically most provocative themes of the book.

Further exemplifying the broader implications of the data, the author several times notes the tendency, where a caste consists of terminologically differentiated subdivisions of higher and lower rank, for members of the lower ranks to prefer the generic caste designation and for members of the higher ranks to prefer the more specific and differentiating terms. Here, too, although the author contents himself with shrewd observation and careful description, the theoretically oriented reader cannot help speculating about the implications for the social psychology of perception and categorization in settings remote from Ceylon.

Although Ryan, in the last section of the book, carefully describes the modifications and partial disintegration of caste in the city, the treatment of the mechanisms or processes by which these changes occur is rather more summary and less detailed than one would wish. Here too, however, are observations of broad theoretical significance: the paradox for example, that caste is weakest and strongest among those urban elements which are, respectively, most and least directly exposed to Western ideologies. The educated urban elite and the lowest strata of the urban proletariat are the most "emancipated" from the strictures of caste; the former, at least in part, through the direct diffusion of Western ideas, the latter in consequence of structural strains resulting from urbanization, a force for change analytically quite independent of new ideological currents.

This book is a distinguished monograph on a particular caste system. At the same time,

it represents an important extension of the empirical base for the further development of social theory in the area of social stratification and differentiation.

ALBERT K. COHEN

Indiana University

Soziale Theorie des Betriebes. By FRANZ H. MUELLER. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1952. Pp. 222.

Mueller's discussion seeks to lay the groundwork for an analysis of the economic, legal, and sociological significance of the industrial plant. It is the third part of the book, concerned with an analysis of the plant as a social system, which will be of greatest interest to the sociologist.

The various historical forms of the plant are seen as having one characteristic in common: combination of efforts toward the continued production of scarce goods. Seen as a societal form *sui generis*, the plant is distinguished from other social structures by its intrinsic nature and purpose. It is on the basis of an analysis of the *finis operis* that the author conceptualizes an ideal type of the structure and relationships of the plant. By setting the plant thus apart from other social systems on the basis of its specific purpose, i.e., output, the author accounts for the typical manner in which people relate to one another. As a social system, this structure aims at maintenance of co-operation: people do not meet as friends, as enemies, or as partners to a contract, but as cofunctionaries. Analyzed in terms of the well-known, established categories, the plant is neither society (*Gesellschaft*) nor community (*Gemeinschaft*); while showing some of the characteristics defined under the concepts of groups (*Gruppen*) and abstract collectivities (*abstrakte Kollektiva*), it has a uniqueness of its own. Seen as the prototype of "organization," its typical characteristics flow from the integration of a complex of functional relationships.

On the basis of this conceptualization, the author makes a sharp distinction between those types of social relationships which lead to and serve the co-operative process directly and appropriately belong to the concept of "organization" and those types of relationships which merely accompany co-operation. In

addition, a theoretical distinction is made between those processes which lead to the co-operative relationships of the plant and those which actually express them. The development is one from the impersonal relationships of the labor market to the functional, organic, and co-operative relationships of the plant itself.

It is impossible to do justice to the detailed and scholarly discussion of the economic legal, and sociological writings which pertain to the area of discussion. For the reader who is not familiar with German thought in this area, particularly as it was developed in the 1920's and early 1930's, the arguments will at times be difficult to follow. However, students of systematic sociology, particularly of Von Wiese, whom the author follows closely, will find this theoretical analysis very thought-provoking.

This search for the pure, structural elements carries with it the danger of overlooking the fact that these categories are abstractions rather than observable relationships. One may wonder whether the theoretical constructs of the author would not have been greatly altered if they had been more closely related to and influenced by the growing body of empirical knowledge with which he shows familiarity. Much basic research needs to be done before highly abstract and useful concepts can be formulated. The author's brief discussion of the social problems of the shop reflects his underlying philosophy but still leaves doubt regarding the heuristic value of his classifications. One may agree with the author that an analysis of the social system of the plant as a mere reflection of the conflicts in the labor market may lead us to overlook problems arising from the intrinsic nature of the shop society; but it may be equally dangerous to view problems of social adjustment as obstacles to the basically co-operative relationships of the plant or, theoretically, as mere deviations from the established pure type. Such an approach tends to place in residual categories, processes which from another point of view can be considered inseparable and indissoluble for a genuine understanding of the plant social system.

DAISY M. LILIENTHAL

Chicago, Illinois

Population Growth in Malaya: A Survey of Recent Trends. By T. E. SMITH. London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1952. Pp. viii+126. \$3.00.

In 1947 the population of Malaya was just under six million. Nearly nine-tenths were Chinese and Malaysians, the former slightly outnumbering the latter with an Indian minority of about 10 per cent. Since World War II, there has not been the large flow of immigration which has been primarily responsible for the tripling of the Chinese population since 1911. But reductions in the death rate over the past several decades have been sufficient to give the country a current rate of natural increase exceeding 2 per cent per year. Estimates subject to considerable error place the gross reproduction rate of the Malaysians at 2.7 and the net reproduction rate at 1.7 per cent, the corresponding figures for the Chinese being 3.3 and 2.6 per cent. There is no evidence of a general reduction in fertility, although there are moderate differentials in fertility between the urban and rural populations. One-third of the population is urban (living in villages and towns with a population of over a thousand), but little further urbanization is expected in the present stage of economic development. Given the relations of population, economy, and natural resources, Malaya's population pressure is perhaps less than that of other areas of Southeast Asia; but the country has, nevertheless, only a limited capacity to absorb further population growth without serious consequences for the standard of living.

Successive chapters of the book are devoted to the population dynamics of the Malaysians, Chinese, and Indians; the monograph concludes with two chapters surveying economic and demographic prospects. The author is to be commended for providing a competent case study in the demography of a less developed area—a study notable for its skill and caution in the use and interpretation of statistics of limited scope and defective quality.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Personality: In Nature, Society, and Culture.
Edited by CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, HENRY A.

MURRAY, and DAVID M. SCHNEIDER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953. Pp. xxv+701+xv. Text, \$5.75; trade \$7.50.

This is a revision of the 1948 collection of readings. While seven papers from the first edition were dropped, thirteen new papers were added, and the price raised by \$1.25.

Of the changes in this edition, it may be said, first, that Murray and Kluckhohn's "entirely rewritten" version of their *Outline of a Conception of Personality* seems no less incoherent and no more workable than before.

Two of the added papers have not been published elsewhere—Inkeles discusses some of the problems involved in the study of the relation of "personality" to "society," and Bauer presents the case histories of two Soviet refugees, with an eye to understanding the kind of person holding official positions in the Soviet bureaucratic structure.

The editors attempted to represent two areas not covered by the first edition—the concept of "values" and the subject of literature. Given the primitive state of our present conceptualization of "values," the papers of Lee, Bauer, and Mrs. Kluckhohn are appropriately selected. Given the sophistication of such expert students of literature as Edmund Wilson, however, it is difficult to understand why the papers of Leites and Rosenzweig were chosen to represent serious and informed treatments of literature.

It is, of course, impossible for any collection of readings to be completely satisfactory to everyone, but this collection is on the whole well chosen and should please many.

ELIOT FREIDSON

University of Illinois

From Black to White in South Australia. By RONALD and CATHERINE BERNDT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952. Pp. 313. \$5.00.

In this new work by an exceptionally productive husband-and-wife team, the Berndts have made an important contribution to the literature of culture contact in a part of the world which is relatively little known to Americans. Representatives of Western culture in Australia came into contact with natives who were not only preindustrial and preagricultural but also among the most isolated and

marginal of humans on earth, the archetype, from Tylor to Durkheim to Levi-Strauss, of folk culture or *Urkultur*—as theoretical penchant dictates.

The authors proceed by sketching the aboriginal cultural background of South Australia, as well as the development of white Australian attitudes and behavior standards toward the native folk. In these respects, South Australia is not peculiar on the island continent. Estimated at about 300,000 at the time of initial contact, aboriginal numbers have steadily declined in practically all parts, as a regular consequence of contact. The census of 1947 gives continental totals of 46,538 "full-blood" aborigines and 29,327 "half-castes." "Passing" is a well-recognized occurrence and will increasingly affect the totals. Very few areas of Australia remain where aborigines are not by now in direct and organized contact with alien people. Yet, despite this, there is considerable ignorance by white Australians of the real facts of aboriginal life and of their own impact upon it. This ignorance has contributed to certain missionary and secular policies frankly designed to eradicate all trace of the native traditions as rapidly as possible, even if the effort to do so should, for example, through disease and cultural dislocation, exterminate the natives. Quite calculatedly, children are indoctrinated against their parents' ways—and hence against their parents. And in some sectors, lack of appreciation of natives as fully human beings has led to brutal, public disparagement and to ridicule as "niggers," "abos," or "blacks."

Although British and, to some extent, official colonial attitudes were more benevolent, actual relations between early colonist and native were frequently harsh, and aboriginal life was not valued highly. Issues which predominated were the white sexual use of aboriginal women and the employment of aborigines as domestics for the "station" (pastoral) work. Heavy use of liquor, though legally prohibited, prostitution, and general promiscuity are major behavioral adjustments of aborigines from early contact until the present.

The secular attack upon native institutions, such as takes place on the cattle stations, has been less deliberate and less rapid than that of the missions. And the elders, even about missions, have been able for a time to resist white doctrine. But the battle is constantly

lost, and poignant folk expressions of sadness and desperation, dirges and laments for what once was good, are all that is left to mark the disintegrating ranks. Increasingly the young of all but the remaining "Bush" tribes "outback," grow up in ignorance of their own culture, committed to living primarily by the standards of the lowest class in white society. The Berndts can find no fundamental difference between the pattern of contact as it evolves today, in tribes recently affected, and that which began a hundred years ago.

Since the aborigines in South Australia run the gamut from Bush tribes to largely Europeanized urban dwellers, the authors present us with four studies, in as many chapters: two of "outback" regions; one of a more closely settled area; and, finally, one of the aborigines of the city of Adelaide (population, 375,000). The temporal-acculturational location of the four sites on the continuum is quite evident. Against the background of local, state, and national policy and attitudes, mission policy and attitudes, and also unofficial attitudes, such as color bar in public places, the different ways of life (or degrees of acculturation) are presented: residence pattern, economy and employment, the aboriginal and the law, sexual behavior, entertainment, education, and general adjustment. A careful description is given of each of the four cases. The Adelaide group is most highly assimilated—to the lower class of urban society, although there is some formal social acceptance in one of the "outback" areas particularly of half-castes, especially women, who accurately emulate white norms, and who may be married to whites. The city, however, has come to be considered as offering the minimum of discrimination and the maximum of opportunity.

The authors have no doubt that the direction of the process in Australia is toward clear assimilation—and for some observers not in any hypothetical future. In retrospect they question the wisdom of a general white refusal to incorporate and appreciate at least a few elements, say, songs and dramatic ballads, of aboriginal culture, which would have provided a measure of self-respect to the assimilees and made them feel less like worthless receptacles of an entirely alien contribution. And the authors seem to be right, because even the most highly assimilated

individuals, knowing scarcely more than a white man of "aboriginal" culture, often feel helplessly cheated of their birthright and hence demand government paternalism; they likewise feel empty, secretly curious, and perhaps a bit in awe, but the fact remains that they do not know their own forefathers in their own land.

JAMES B. WATSON

Washington University

A Methodological Study of Migration and Labor Mobility in Michigan and Ohio in 1947. By DONALD J. BOGUE. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1952. Pp. vi+100. \$1.00.

In the words of its author, this study attempts to make a contribution toward a revised economic and sociological theory of migration and mobility, focusing its attention upon the employment aspect of the problem and viewing mobility as labor mobility. This general approach of the study and its more specific objectives were obviously dictated by the nature of the data used in the analysis. The study represents part of a program designed to develop the use of old age and survivors insurance statistics for research and administrative purposes. Bogue has done an admirable and scholarly job of delineating a conceptual scheme within which to fit these data and has produced a meaningful analysis of the mobility of workers in the two states designated.

The criteria for selecting the states of Michigan and Ohio for this particular task are not presented. This is an especially disturbing omission for any reader who may seek to evaluate the generalizations based upon the experience of these states. Though the author constantly reminds his readers of this and other limitations in the data, it would have been useful to have had at hand some fuller knowledge of the areas of analysis.

Total labor mobility is defined in terms of three principal types of employment change: (1) change of county of employment—migration; (2) change of industry of employment; and (3) change of employer. That this definition, which is imposed by the nature of the data, is a limited one is recognized by the author, but it serves well to emphasize that labor mobility consists of several different

but related subtypes of mobility. The findings point out that each form of labor mobility is selective of workers with particular characteristics. The detailed analysis of these differentials and the resultant unanswered questions, together with the findings of other labor-mobility studies, lead Bogue to a suggested classification of types of labor mobility, which, of course, is more inclusive than the one with which he started.

The findings are presented first in terms of single-variable analysis (i.e., age, earnings, employment pattern, etc.) and then via a multiple-variable analysis (direct standardization). The summary of findings and the conclusions are discussed in a series of related hypotheses which begin with the recognition of subtypes of labor mobility and end with the suggested classification of these types. The interim hypotheses present primarily a discussion of labor-mobility differentials.

The imaginative thinking and research which went into producing this volume deserve more careful publication. It is particularly unfortunate that the tabular materials were not reproduced more clearly.

ELEANOR H. BERNERT

New York City

Changing the Attitude of Christian toward Jew: A Psychological Approach through Religion. By HENRY ENOCH KAGAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi+155. \$2.75.

Race Awareness in Young Children. By MARY L. GOODMAN. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952. Pp. viii+280. \$3.75.

Both these books represent research monographs stemming originally from Ph.D. dissertations, dressed up in hard covers and aimed at a wider audience than the academic research community. Kagan reports on a series of experiments involving his own persuasiveness in changing attitudes, as an invited lecturer working with Protestant religious groups.

In measuring instruments and experimental design his methodology conforms well with current standards. He uses equated comparison groups, which were given pretests and posttests on attitude scales of adequate reliability. He compares his effectiveness in changing atti-

tudes using three different techniques. The Indirect Group Method involves teaching about the Jewish origins of the Christian religion and the common values shared by Christian and Jew. This method, which he regards as the most common interfaith technique, does not change attitudes as he applies it. The more effective Direct Group Method involves group discussion about current Christian-Jewish problems, correcting misinformation about contemporary Jewish society, and affording opportunity for group catharsis of hostility. A third method, of significant but lesser effectiveness, is the Focused Individual Interview, which involves, in addition to the biblical training, a half-hour private interview dealing with Christian-Jewish attitudes. Follow-up tests showed attitude changes remaining after eight months.

Kagan presents a scholarly research report which enables the reader to evaluate adequately the results presented. The main methodological criticism to be offered is that he generalizes to the methods as they might be applied by any person, from research findings based solely upon his own persuasiveness. A weakness for which he cannot be blamed is the application of the traditional pretest, posttest experimental design in a situation such as this, where it can hardly avoid creating, on the part of the subject, self-consciousness and awareness of the experimenter's purpose.

Dr. Goodman's book is in the tradition of Bruno Lasker's *Race Attitudes in Children*, in that it consists almost entirely of quotations from children and their parents. These quotations from both white and Negro families that shared three urban nursery schools, are organized around the child's problem of defining self and other in terms of racial categories. The assembly presented and the interviewing and observation which lie behind it, seem excellently done.

As raw material and persuasive reading, this would seem to be an excellent auxiliary text for a course in educational sociology. As a contribution to social science research, however, the monograph is defective. Awareness of race, for example, was measured through interviewing, observation, and a number of children's games techniques, some of which represent valuable original contributions. However, in spite of the fact that Dr. Goodman

obviously has quantitative data on these measures, there is no report of the extent to which the various approaches agreed with one another or were related to background factors, intelligence tests, and personality rating data also available. Careful observations of interracial play in nursery-school situations were apparently made, but this potentially valuable contribution to methodology is reported only in a brief three-page appendix and is not related to the attitudes of the children as otherwise diagnosed. In spite of the gross incompleteness from the research point of view, the volume remains valuable for both student and general citizen as an effective introduction to children's thinking about racial identity in an interracial situation.

DONALD T. CAMPBELL

University of Chicago

The Acquisition of Word Meanings: A Developmental Study. By HEINZ WERNER and EDITH KAPLAN. ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc.," Vol. XV, Ser. 51, No. 1.) Evanston Ill.: Northwestern University, Child Development Publications, 1952. Pp. 120.

Heinz Werner is an unusual child psychologist. He does not believe that children's thought-processes are essentially like those of adults or less adequate merely because of their lack of experience. And he believes that children advance to adulthood by abrupt, relatively discontinuous advances—by developmental levels rather than by slow, relatively continuous accretions of knowledge. He has stated and documented his views in his well-known *The Comparative Psychology of Mental Development* (translated in 1940). The tasks of developmental psychology are there outlined as describing the developmental levels, showing relationships between levels, and showing the general direction of development. Like Head, Goldstein, Vygotsky, Weigl, and others, he drew a distinction between more and less primitive modes of thinking-perceiving-acting, which he called concrete and abstract types. The meat of the book centers around a delineation of various kinds of lower-level thinking. *The Acquisition of Word Meanings* gives further support for Werner's

position and fills out a section of the earlier book that was relatively unworked.

A "Word Context Test" was designed and given to 125 children between the ages of eight and a half and thirteen and a half years. Artificial words were imbedded in a series of sentences; the child was expected to arrive eventually at the correct meaning. Each artificial word stood for an object or event "varying in concreteness." There were twelve series of six sentences each. Thus: "Contavish [hole]: (1) You can't fill anything with a contavish; (2) The more you take out of a contavish the larger it gets;" etc. The specific point of this test is that it is such a novel and difficult task for the child that it may force him to regress to more primitive modes of thinking than those with which he normally operates. The assumption, clearly stated, is that no child, or adult for that matter, operates always at his highest levels, that under conditions of novelty, difficulty, stress, and emotionality he may think, perceive, and act on lower symbolic levels. So the question is not simply whether the child symbolizes concretely or abstractly but rather "Is the genetically higher level of operation well established? Or is it stabilized insufficiently, so that certain circumstances which do not affect the more mature individual may force him to a lower level of functioning? In brief, the genetic level... will have to be defined in terms of its stability... measured by the response to tasks varying in degree of difficulty."

A large number of lower thought-processes are distinguished. For instance, at lower levels of performance the word does not have the stability, closure, and relative independence that it does at higher levels. It may have a wide and often diffuse contextual connotation (holophrasis), it may be fused with other concepts (syncretism), its meaning may be readily altered (fluidity). Subtypes of these operations are specified. Sentences, for younger children, do not have the structural stability that they gain later on, either. This instability is shown by the child's manipulation of sentence meanings in several peculiar ways. Lower symbolism is evidenced also by various types of rigid verbal behavior and by forms such as homophonic word symbolism, where sound pattern and meaning are mingled, and by sentence realism, where the hypothetical nature of test sentences is not grasped. The

authors' discussion of various types of pre-conceptual generalization is richly detailed and suggests as well or better the egocentric character of younger children's behavior than anything that Piaget has written.

It is shown that low genetic processes virtually cease by the age of eleven or twelve, and this finding is bolstered with similar results from the studies of other child psychologists. Of more importance, the authors are able to show that most lower symbolic processes cease with some abruptness, at certain age levels, rather than gradually decreasing and fading away. This, of course, supports Werner's basic theoretical position.

Scattered throughout the monograph are information and discussion suggesting which processes are necessary for the arising of others: for research in this tradition is logically constrained to state the necessary conditions whereby one set of associated processes follows and is built upon other sets. Although this research is not obviously "social," every social psychologist ought to be familiar with its contents.

ANSELM STRAUSS

University of Chicago

Child Development: The Process of Growing Up in Society. By WILLIAM E. MARTIN and CELIA B. STENDLER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953. Pp. xxii+519. \$6.50.

Sociologists who have an interest in child psychology may wish to glance through this introductory text. It is a sign of our changing era. Instead of the familiar time-worn topics—emotional behavior, motor development, emotional development, interests, etc.—newer anthropological and sociological topic headings strike the eye: for instance, "The Meaning of Society and Culture," "The Goals of Socialization," "Peer Groups," "Society, Culture, and Personality." In the Introduction, readers are told that the text represents an integrated theoretical approach as over against the older "descriptive" approach of child psychology.

But this text is neither more nor less theoretical and integrated than most. There is the usual very lengthy initial section which deals with biological and maturational matters, including drives. Then the real business of the day is tackled: What are culture and society?

How does the child become socialized? and so on. A palatable potpourri is served up, steaming hot, from the research kitchens: culture, subcultures, basic personalities, developmental tasks, family climates, peer-group influences. The learning theory cementing these modern building blocks is social learning theory of the Mowrer, Whiting, Kluckhohn-Murray kinds—complete with drives, cues, rewards, goals, models, etc. A great deal of space is devoted in various places to social learning. A chapter presenting psychoanalytic views of socialization is thrown in for good form, but is otherwise functionless.

The illustrative materials are largely anthropological (Mead, Whiting, Warner), even when American character and childhood are discussed (Davis, Gorer). The psychologists are utilized here and there, but sociologists—other than Hollingshead on class and clique—hardly at all, though we crash through in a mild way in the chapter on mass-media influence. Despite occasional references to our dynamic society, there is no feeling whatever, any more than in most of child psychology, for history, for trends, for what is emerging in child personality and child care. Other than in utilization of anthropological materials, the book is strictly about American children. The writing is clear and uninvolved. The numerous cartoons and pictures are decorative and useful.

ANSELM STRAUSS

University of Chicago

On the Social Frontier of Medicine. By IDA M. CANNON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. xiv+273. \$4.75.

This is Ida M. Cannon's story of the pioneering hospital social service in which she was involved at the Massachusetts General Hospital. It also tells of the development of a new field—that of medical social work. It is of interest to sociologists both for its portrayal of occupational development and for its delineation of the early social-medical frontier.

The pattern of the early development of medical social work was not a clear one. The field strove to meet a variety of loosely related needs. An early purpose, we are told, was to recognize the interdependence of hospital and community and to bridge the gap

between them for the patient. Another purpose was to interpret to the patients the complexities of hospital and clinic and to guide them through the maze of health services. Yet another was the determination of the relationship of cause and effect in the patient's disease and his environment.

The orientation of the early hospital workers reflected the then current trends in social work—a welfare-oriented occupation of reformers. People came into social work from a variety of occupations (Miss Cannon had been a visiting nurse) to help the depressed of the masses. It was an era of muckraking; the problems of adulterated food, patent medicines, industrial hazards, and the slums were in the forefront of attention. Social pathology, not the normal functioning of average communities, was the point of concern.

Two main phases of professional development emerge from this story. The early medical social workers had to "sell" their occupation to largely indifferent and often hostile hospital professional staffs. Their problems centered around the duties they would be permitted to perform in clinics or (after much struggle) on the ward. Once their areas of operation had been accepted, another important occupational problem arose—What were the specific skills mustered by the medical social workers, and how were these differentiated from those of other occupations? Just what was the medical social worker expert in?

As the field developed, it extended to other areas, becoming involved in the education of medical students and in studies of the effects of social-environmental factors upon health. Increasingly, the diversification of areas of function sharpened the concerns of medical social work with its bases of technical competence and with its status as a profession. This self-concern produced a series of surveys and re-evaluations which reflect the attempt to keep abreast of the discrete development of the field. In Ida Cannon's book no clear picture of the intrinsic skills of medical social workers is presented, nor is there ever an effective delimitation of just what it is they do. The interests of social work in general have been characterized as segmental, specific, and immediate, and these characteristics appear to be true of medical social work.

Clinical medicine has become increasingly concerned with health and social environment

as inseparable correlatives—the sociocultural patterns of living to which health and disease are forms of adaptation and of which they are relevant expressions. A high order of social scientific skill is required here for the setting of research problems and their analysis. Medicine has continued to receive help in this area from social workers. But now there are other occupations also working along the social frontier of medicine. The fuller understanding of the relationships between man and his social milieu which anthropology and sociology have achieved is being channeled to clinical medicine in a variety of situations. These recent entrants to the field of social-medical research are adding new dimensions to the cross-disciplinary collaboration reported upon by Miss Cannon.

HARVEY L. SMITH

University of North Carolina

Society and Personality Disorders. By S. KIRSON WEINBERG. New York: Prentice-Hall Book Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. viii+536. \$5.75.

"This book deals with the effects of social relations upon disordered behavior in contemporary American society. It covers the kinds of social relations and personality processes which lead to disordered behavior, and the social aspects of treating, caring for, and preventing disordered behavior" (p. 3). There are five parts, treating of "Approach and Theory," "Disordered Behavior and the Social Process," "Treatment," "Care and Custody," and "Rehabilitation and Prevention." Both an author and a subject index are included at the end of the text, as well as selected readings at the end of each chapter.

After a general introduction to his subject matter in chapter i, Professor Weinberg follows with a chapter which examines research findings on the influence of heredity and constitution on disordered behavior. Theoretical approaches to personality disorders formulated by psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychiatrists are summarized in chapter iii, wherein the author presents his position on the pertinence of social relationships to the study of personality disorders under the following subjects: (1) the nature of social relationships, (2) social relations and the

culture context, and (3) social relationships and personal development (pp. 48-51). Unfortunately, there is no theory offered as to how social relations are related to the development of personality disorders; the writing is descriptive; personality disorders are expressed in terms of social roles, social conflicts, and so forth.

Further theories pertaining to personality disorders are presented in chapter iv, "The Social Personality in Ordered and Disordered Behavior." Again the reader is referred to the writings of a number of researchers with varied approaches to personality disorders. The author appears to favor a social-psychological approach to personality disorders which stems from George Mead's conception of personality development by internalized role-taking. He also borrows from other points of view, particularly that found in the psychoanalytical literature.

Chapter v, "Abnormal Behavior, Personal Disorders, and Culture," completes Part I on approach and theory, with an examination of cultural definitions of abnormality as distinguished from disorder in terms of the individual's conception of himself. Personality abnormality within the context of different cultural milieus is also investigated.

Weinberg writes that the approach of his text to "the varied types of disorders is developmental and deals with disordered behavior in sequential phases covering the processes which precede the disorder, the behavior during the disorder, and the readjustment after the disorder" (p. v). Yet there is not much theoretical reference within the first five chapters on approach and theory to the question of how personality disorders do arise, the main consideration being of the "behavior during the disorder." Exceptions are a section on how satisfaction of the infant's needs (pp. 56-57) and mother-child relationships (pp. 104-5) can direct early personality development.

It is in "Part II. Disordered Behavior and the Social Process" that the author incorporates an emphasis germane to the developmental aspects of personality disorders. Much data prepared from diverse theoretical perspectives are presented, first with reference to the neuroses (chaps. vi and vii), then with reference to the psychoses (chaps. viii-xi), and finally with a chapter on "Acting-out Disorders: Psychopathy and Deviant Behavior."

Nevertheless, a great deal of the writing still centers on the precipitating experiences and behavior symptomizing the neuroses or psychoses rather than on the processes, social or psychological, which lead to the illness or which have made the person prone to mental disturbance.

The chapters comprising these first two parts of the text do not follow an order making for clarity, despite summarizing paragraphs which frequently bridge ideas from chapter to chapter. Part of the difficulty can be traced to the research cited, which is based on a variety of theoretical frameworks. Moreover, Weinberg's social-psychological interpretations with supplemental borrowings from psychiatric theory are neither concise nor consistent enough to give unifying form to the large number of studies to which he refers. The unity of presentation is further hampered by the inclusion in "Part I. Approach and Theory" of research findings of illustrative value, which anticipate and are closely allied to the findings cited in "Part II. Disordered Behavior and the Social Process." In general, the diverse findings available for inclusion rather than the author's social-psychological approach seem to have directed much of the organization of Part II.

In Part III individual and group psychotherapy are discussed as functions of social relationships. Comparisons are made between various treatments of personality disorders, such as psychoanalysis, nondirective counseling, and group therapy. The theoretical framework behind these approaches is competently covered. Difficulties and problems of the relationships—for instance, the transference phenomenon of the psychoanalytic situation—are interestingly stated.

Part IV, on the care and custody of patients, includes statistics and descriptive information on the mental hospital, its functions, personnel, and patients. Various treatments and attitudes of patients toward these treatments are described. The life within the mental hospital is discussed from the perspective of social relationships and social attitudes. Topics are covered with which the author has had direct research experience. They are presented in a manner to give the reader a sense of intimacy with the problems involved, making these sections the most satisfactory reading in the book.

Part V covers the rehabilitation of mental patients and the prevention of personality disorders. Included are sections on the care of the ex-patient, his adjustments to his family, the community, and industry. The need for preventive measures is considered, and different conceptions of preventive plans are noted.

A general criticism of this book is that little evaluation is made of the data cited from other sources. As a result, the importance of studies summarized often becomes, by default, a matter of the space allotted to them in the text rather than their comparable value as research contributing to the subject being examined. Similarly, statistical information from research articles is introduced and differences between samples commented upon, with little attention being paid to the statistical significance of the differences, the reliability of the measurements, or the validity of the measurements with respect to the researcher's intention or approach. There are statistical data included which this reviewer questioned just on the basis of the number of cases studied. The author, having examined so many publications, and because of his own research interest in the field, is qualified to be critical of the research he cites. That he does not usually evaluate his sources is a limitation for the reader who is not sufficiently familiar with the original research to appraise its contribution.

Perhaps the criticisms expressed in this review are too severe, notwithstanding the stated intention of the author (p. v) to present "an integrated analysis of personality disorders from social psychological and sociological viewpoints," since so little is known particularly of the etiology and development of psychoses. The measurement alone of symptoms of personality disorders leads to very controversial questions. Concomitant with this, diverse theoretical approaches to personality disorders are also mirrored in this volume, which attempts to give perspective to the research that has been done. While we can admire the author's intention, therefore, it is questionable whether an integrated analysis such as he proposes can be accomplished at the present time.

ERWIN L. LINN

Chicago Board of Health

Graphic Regional Sociology. By CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN and RICHARD E. DU WORS. Cambridge: Phillips Book Store, 1952. Pp. ix+206. \$3.50.

The subtitle of this book is *A Study in American Social Organization*, and it purports to discuss regionalism in terms of its influence upon the culture of American regions, including the institutions and personalities of the inhabitants of the regions. The book may be examined with reference to its main features—graphics, regionalism, and the effects of regionalism on social organization.

It is reasonable to expect some discussion about the methods of graphically portraying socioeconomic data, the practical utility of maps and charts, and the possible shortcomings of the graphical method. The reader will be disappointed to discover that there is no discussion concerning the use of graphics. The maps and charts included are good ones, particularly those showing the origin and major movements of the farm labor force. Almost all the graphical material, however, was prepared by other authors (primarily the Bureau of Agricultural Economics) for use in other publications. One of the major shortcomings of the illustrations is the complete lack of up-to-date population data. There are thirteen charts concerned with population; of those dealing with recent data, five are based on the 1940 census and two on the 1948 sample of population made by the Bureau of the Census.

This reviewer is still somewhat puzzled by the ambiguous use of the term "regionalism." Is regionalism a hypothesis? Is it a state of mind? Is it a social movement? Or is it a practical tool for social engineering? In the reviewer's opinion, we cannot escape from the late Louis Wirth's damaging charge that regionalism is essentially a single-factor theory which cannot give us an accurate or clear conception of the real world of social-cultural life. There are no indications given in the text as to the method used to differentiate a region. Is it delineated by its climate, soil, geology, and economic base? Or is the delineation based on customs, habits, folkways, mores, attitudes, and other behavioral manifestations?

The book deals with the cultures of the regions in a nonscientific, loosely organized, and somewhat cryptic fashion. Typical of this is the following quotation from the lead para-

graph, under the title "National Influences of Regionalism," on page 172:

Le Play has said that if one understood a given family system, one understood the whole society. Certain fundamental truths are in this statement . . . the American society of the present time is also conditioned in many respects by its regional organization. Success begets success . . . we seek to promote in the whole world a regional development such as ours. . . . This is the key to one side of the great struggle of the twentieth century.

Discussing this topic further, the authors state that

national influences of regionalism are manifested in our life and national character in at least four interrelated forms of behavior . . . free management, compromise on conflicting ideas, and promotion of growth of regional ideas . . . unified into a unique way of life . . . called the American Miracle.

Some generalizations of the operation of these factors are presented by way of illustration. These include the "basing-point" plan in steel pricing, oleo versus butter consumption, and racial issues.

Regionalism is also discussed in terms of its influence upon such social institutions as the family, economic and political organization, and upon personality. Thus we have regional types of families, political organization, and personality. The authors tend to attribute an importance to regionalism that nowhere in the text is supported by empirical data, based on scientific studies that would demonstrate the effects of regionalism on social organization. This book contributes little to an approach given impetus and recognition by the work of such men as Odum, Moore, Vance, and others.

LEO G. REEDER

University of Minnesota

The Community Factor in Modern Technology. By JEROME F. SCOTT and R. P. LYNTON. Paris: UNESCO, 1952. Pp. 171. \$1.00.

The stated purpose of this book was to carry out, for UNESCO, a survey of studies which describe factors common to "harmonious" or "healthy" industries and factors associated with "disrupted" industrial establishments. Following this plan, twelve studies were made—two each in Belgium, France, Great Britain,

Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland. The authors summarize these studies and several earlier American studies, along with additional recent studies made in England.

From their summary of the condition of present industrial societies, the authors conclude that current discords are profound, with a resultant loss of "a sense of community in industry." They illustrate this point of view with two examples—the Yankee City factories and the wartime aircraft plants around Los Angeles. A summary of the twelve studies of European industries leads to the conclusion that these plants have "reintegrated" industry and community. Two more British studies are analyzed, and the factories described are labeled "healthy."

A brief chapter on method is included, and in summation the authors state that the factors common to "unhealthy" factories are: (1) absence of a craft hierarchy; (2) inadequate internal communication; (3) inadequate "contact" with the outside community; (4) "social sickness" in the establishment and its environment. "Healthy" factories, by contrast, tend to have opposite characteristics, which the authors then describe.

It is the reviewer's opinion that the manner in which the various studies were surveyed produces few, if any, conclusions concerning sociative and dissociative processes in industry. Rather, these studies were used as vehicles whereby the authors illustrated their special point of view about social "health" and "sickness" in industry.

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Fundamentals of Social Psychology. By EUGENE L. HARTLEY and RUTH E. HARTLEY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. Pp. xix+740. \$5.50.

There has been in recent years a plethora of texts in social psychology of varying subject matter and different emphases. As yet there is no agreement as to the specific body of knowledge subsumed in this field, nor is there any sign of working toward standard concepts. This ill-defined borderline field is becoming increasingly so broad in scope as to include almost the entire field of social science. The authors themselves suggest that various pairs

of their text could be used by students in the language arts, journalism, advertising, child development, genetic psychology, personality study, abnormal psychology, and "an additional use, of course, would be in a social science survey course and any general reading list in the social sciences or psychology."

Such a wide application of a text would not in itself be a point of criticism. It does, however, add to the student's difficulty in determining the scope of social psychology. In attempting to delineate this field, for example, the authors give as an illustration an international conference in progress at the headquarters of the United Nations. They point out the particular area of study with which the various social sciences would naturally concern themselves, assigning to the social psychologist the role of assessing the "atmosphere of the group" and answering such questions as:

Are the delegates co-operating or competing? Are the processes tending toward a synthesis of divergent views or toward cumulatively hostile relationships? Does the situation allow for a free interchange of views, or is it being conducted in an atmosphere of tension and resentment? The social psychologist might attempt to assay the roles being played by the various delegates—the formal roles of chairman and recorder and the informally adopted roles such as champion of the people, defender of national honor, conciliator, and martyr. He would study closely the process of communication and the barriers to understanding. He might attempt to explain how disagreements result from the various meanings given to common symbols by individuals from different backgrounds. . . . The area of study would include, among other interests, the way in which the individual establishes the nature of his own group membership, his reference groups, and his interiorization of the norms that characterize that group. . . . In short, social psychology is primarily focused on those aspects of social behavior found when men interact with one another in manifest social relationships. The social psychologist searches for the universals to be found in human interaction and for the basic laws governing the dynamics of such functioning.

This definition might very well describe the field of sociology itself, and most of the questions which are assigned to the social psychologist are also the preoccupation of the sociologist and political scientist.

The eclecticism of this text in drawing on

theories and interpretations from individual psychology, experimental psychology, sociology, anthropology, and other fields in the social sciences does not help to establish a unitary point of view about a distinctive body of knowledge. In discussing the problem of experimentation and scientific method in relation to social psychology, the authors state very aptly that "because of the difficulty of applying the experimental method to the materials of social psychology, a great deal of the work has been based on observational study in the community. Perfectly controlled conditions are obviously not available." They also point out that, "since we are dealing with complex social structures, many variables are uncontrolled and the interpretations of results are accordingly never unequivocally demonstrable." Despite this, they draw upon many studies from the field of experimental social psychology, not so much perhaps from a desire to add scientific respectability to their treatment as from the normal inconsistency that arises from an eclectic approach.

The text is divided into three parts. Part I deals with "Communication—the Basic Social Process" and considers "The Importance and Nature of Communication," "The Task of the Communicator," "The Task of the Communicant," "The Nature of the Communique," "Communication Barriers and Facilitation of Communication," and "Mass Communication" (contributed by Gerhart Wieber). Part II, "Socialization—the Group and the Individual," deals with such subjects as "Socialization Is Learning," "Perception and Socialization," "The Cultural Control of Behavior and Emotion," and "Delinquency" (by Fabian Rouke). Part III, "The Individual and the Group," discusses "Group and Group Processes," "The Functioning of Social Norms," "The Individual in the Group," "Social Role," "Adjustment of the Individual to Social Role," "Status," "Leadership-Followership," "Attitudes and Opinions" (written with Clyde Hart), "Ethnic Attitudes," and "Modifying Ethnic Attitudes."

While the authors take up the problems of communication and roles, the self, and the group, it is disappointing to find that there is no reference to men like Cooley, Dewey, and Thomas and only a very negligible one to G. H. Mead, whose work in language and communication is especially significant and of

which no systematic theory is presented in this book. It is surprising, too, that a text in fundamentals of social psychology should omit some of the crucial problems of collective behavior, for example, the nature, development, and consequences of social movements. These critical observations stem from the fact that there is a need for a more unified conception of what social psychology is and what its subject matter should include.

The book is well written. It has a wealth of material, interestingly presented, and should appeal to those who are interested in using a compendium of studies in sociology, anthropology, and the various types of psychology brought together in one volume.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

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The Nature of Culture. By A. L. KROEBER.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952.
Pp. x+438. \$6.50.

Dr. Kroeber in this book presents a collection of 45 of his journal articles and occasional papers covering a period of fifty years (1901-51). To these are added five pieces previously unpublished, five introductions to the various parts of the book, and numerous commentaries prepared especially for this volume. Although the wordage runs to nearly 300,000, it includes only a small fraction of Kroeber's writings. As he says in the Preface:

Most of what I have written has consisted of contributions to factual knowledge or of organization of knowledge or of first-level generalization from it. . . . I have therefore selected here only passages that bear on culture, and, of those, the more theoretical or general ones. . . . The procedure yields a kind of unity [which] consists of a theory about the kind of thing culture is: about its properties and typical manifestations, its relation to other kinds of things, and how it is most fruitfully viewed and investigated.

The ideas, says the author, have been "sweated out" of his work with "facts." ". . . I am not a formal theoretician. My natural and first interest always has been in phenomena and their ordering: it is akin to an aesthetic proclivity, presumably congenital. From the ordering, general conclusions emerge; and, with these, eventuate certain principles as to how best to arrive at valid conclusions" (p. 3).

At another point he says: "It is clear I am not by temperament a social scientist. It took me several decades to come to a realization of the fact" (p. 57).

Kroeber in these articles considers himself a "natural historian of culture" and holds that it is the proper business of anthropology to reconstruct "phenomenological reality" in time and space.

The book contains several short examples of Kroeber's work at its best, for example, portions of the monograph written with Jane Richardson on "Three Centuries of Women's Dress Fashions." Evidence is presented in a form that can be checked by others that certain features of European women's evening dress have shown a regular periodic change over 150 years, with a "wave-length" of about 100 years. The postulate of "pattern saturation" is introduced in partial explanation, and the suggestion is made that "pattern stress" (the period of the cycle farthest removed stylistically from the ideal of the oscillating pattern) *may* be causally connected with certain other concurrent stresses of the total system (such as wars, etc.). The door is left open to various other theoretical possibilities, even including "psychological" ones. In the chapter reprinted from his book *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (first published, 1939) he neatly sets forth and documents the concept of culture climax, which not only "involves the focus of an area but also culmination in time" and uses the idea of intercultural stimulus, which in part is further elaborated in the article called "Stimulus Diffusion," first published in 1940.

The papers devoted to more purely theoretical argument, as distinguished from interpretation of concrete data, are less satisfying and will probably prove to be more ephemeral. The impression is repeatedly given that Kroeber's own "natural-history" approach to culture is the only legitimate one for students who are "really" interested in culture. But there must have been considerable uncertainty, judging by the amount of argumentation given to defense of this position. A natural-history study of cultural phenomena today needs no defense, perhaps in part due to Kroeber's work. But in rereading these papers one is struck by the seemingly "overdetermined" efforts made to validate and justify the position. There are repeated attempts to legislate to fellow-anthropologists, sociologists, and psy-

chologists, and there seems to be almost an obsession with disciplinary labels and the supposed "proper" hierarchy of the sciences, with, of course, the culture-history studies on the highest level. Apparently, anthropologists have a weakness for occasionally peering down at "lower" levels, particularly "psychology," and we are therefore more than once lectured on the awful sin of "reductionism." In all this there is more than a little that sounds like dogmatism, which must have been as unnecessary at the time it was first written as it is today. Since on the basis of his "factual" publications Kroeber is not a dogmatic and pontificating scholar, much of this outdated argumentative material could well have been left out of the book.

As regards the theory itself, several crucial issues are not solved and, in fact, are not squarely faced. Space, unfortunately, does not permit a full discussion of these here, but one or two may be mentioned. For one thing, despite the promise of the Preface, it is never clear just what kind of "thing" culture is in this theory, although it often sounds like a reification. The fact that the concept of culture and all its ramifications can, for certain theoretical purposes, be considered as a set of abstractions or scientific constructs is not clearly considered, and, of course, the theoretical consequences thereof are ignored.

For another thing, Kroeber seems to have a horror of "generalizations"; and this feature of his theory leads to certain difficulties and confusions that perhaps could have been avoided. He tells us, for instance, that the anthropologist should select and interpret the data of culture history in order to reconstruct the significant patterns in historical context. He himself has done this successfully, for example, in his book *Configurations of Culture Growth*. However, in several papers in the present collection he seems to say that such reconstruction is actually done on the basis of intuition and that the validity of the results rests, in effect, upon their plausibility. He says that such patterns cannot be "proved" and that therefore culture history is not "science" (despite his concern about its hier-

archical position among the sciences). However, I would submit that the fact that the reconstructions which Kroeber himself has made appear to us to be plausible rather than fantastic is because, in making them, he has actually been operating on the basis of certain generalizations, whether he was consciously aware of them or not. Kroeber is very wise and erudite in the ways of men in living cultural groups and societies that have been subjected to direct study by ethnologists, and so on. In the selection, interpretation, and judgment of significance of data and in the reconstruction of historical patterns therefrom, the student (as distinguished perhaps from the writer of fantasy fiction) is inevitably guided by certain generalizations concerning culture which he has derived, perhaps implicitly, from his knowledge of the behavior and products of living societies. In short, I venture to suggest that the culture historian, like other students of cultural phenomena, is operating within a framework of a general theory of culture. And, of course, there are many advantages to be derived from a conscious attempt to make such a theory explicit and orderly. Once this is done, I believe, careful culture historians *would* be able to "prove" the validity of their reconstructions, at least in terms of such a general theory. Nor would such explicit theoretical operations necessarily do violence to the preservation of the "phenomenological reality" of pattern wholes in historical context, which Kroeber argues is the main objective of anthropology.

Thus the valuable contributions and insights of Kroeber's work can serve, for those who are more inclined to theoretical work than he, to contribute to a systematic general theory of culture. And such theoreticians will not be overly inhibited by Kroeber's admonitions about what you can or can't do, should or shouldn't do, and the like.

So saying, I shall conclude by *admonishing* social scientists that they *should* read this book.

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SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF EIGHT-HOUR INTERVIEWS¹

NEAL GROSS AND WARD S. MASON

ABSTRACT

In a study of the occupational role of school superintendents a relatively unstructured question approach failed to tap role-conflict situations, whereas a combination of a structured check-list series of questions and probes, followed by an open-ended series of questions, succeeded. The role-within-a-role procedure for the interviewer was highly conducive to effective rapport. This research experience suggests that respondent fatigue may depend more upon extent of interest and rapport than on sheer length of the interview.

There is a great need for the codification of the success and failure of various methodologies employed in behavioral science investigations.² This paper reports several

methodological problems that arose from four waves of pretests and the interviewing program of the School Executive Role Project. It also considers the decisions made to meet them.

This inquiry is concerned with the following major substantive areas: (1) variability in role definition and related sanction patterns; (2) the determination of the kinds and incidence of role ambiguity and role conflict in the school executive and methods of their solution; (3) the social pressures on and the crucial referents of incumbents of this occupational role; (4) the impact of the community power system or systems on this role; (5) the social sensitivity of superintendent vis-à-vis school-board members; and

¹ A concensation of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society in Cambridge, March 28-29, 1953. Indebtedness is acknowledged to Florence R. Kluckhohn, A. W. McEachern, Elliott G. Mishler, and James Shipton for their provocative comments after a critical reading of an earlier draft of this paper. This project is being carried on under the joint sponsorship of the Laboratory of Social Relations and the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University under grants from the Rockefeller and Kellogg foundations.

² For other reports on field work and methodological problems see Robert K. Merton, "Selected Problems of Field Work in the Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), 304-12; Robert K. Merton and Patricia L. Kendall, "The Focused Interview," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (May, 1946), 541-77; William K. Sewell, "Field Techniques in Social Psychological Study in a Rural Community," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1949), 718-26; F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 270-91; August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949), chap. ii; Her-

bert Hyman, "Problems in the Collection of Opinion Research Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1950), 362-70, and "Interviewing as a Scientific Procedure," in *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method*, ed. Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1951); and John W. Bennett, "The Study of Cultures: A Survey of Technique and Methodology in Field Work," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1948), 672-89.

(6) the career patterns and occupational mobility of incumbents of this occupational role.

The research design required interviews with two categories of respondents, school superintendents and school-board members. The population consisted of the superintendents and school boards of all school systems in Massachusetts, and a 50 per cent stratified random sample of these systems was drawn. This paper will be concerned primarily with the superintendent interviews.

Several aspects of the interviewing situations to be described are unusual in sociological investigations. First, the interviews average eight hours in length, with a range of from seven to ten hours.³ Second, instead of interviewing the respondents in their home communities, it was decided to invite them to the research-staff offices. This decision was made for the following reasons: (1) The pretest interviews revealed that it was impossible to secure adequate rapport and continuity when the interviews were held in the superintendent's office.⁴ (2) Interviewing the superintendents in the staff offices provided a more "scientific" and anonymous environment. This condition

³ In general, these interviews are of much longer duration than those employed in most sociological investigations. Their length and "one-shot" nature also differentiate them from most interviewing procedures reported in the anthropological, clinical, and sociopsychological literature. However, see the following for studies involving interviews of relatively long duration: Margaret Mead, *The Mountain Apaches: The Record of Unabelin with Rorschach Analysis* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XLI, Part III [New York, 1949]); Henry Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938); and *Assessment of Men* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1948); and M. Brewster Smith, Jerome Bruner, and Robert White, "Group Research Project on the Dynamics and Measurement of Opinion," *International Journal of Attitude and Opinion Research*, I (1947), 78-82.

⁴ For the rationale behind the choice of the place of the interviewing in another research situation see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (2d ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), pp. 23-25.

was essential, since the interviewer covered a number of "delicate" matters, such as the power system of the community, the superintendent's referents in decision-making, his job and career satisfaction, and his reactions to and feelings about individual school-board members as well as his career aspirations. (3) By holding the interviews in his own office, the interviewer had much greater control of the interviewing situation. Further, a comfortable arm-chair could be provided the respondent, together with coffee and other refreshments served at appropriate times; luncheon at the Faculty Club could be prearranged. The fact that the respondent was a guest of a major university seemed to help the rapport situation considerably.

Three topics have been selected for specific consideration in this paper. They deal with problems frequently encountered in less "complicated" interviews as well as those faced in lengthy interviews and concerned with "private" information. They represent special problems which the research staff faced directly and on which decisions had to be made. It is unfortunate that it is not common practice to make explicit in the presentation of research findings the rationales behind such decisions. It is primarily with this in mind that the following effort is made to state the reasons underlying several crucial methodological problems that confronted the research staff.⁵ It should also be noted that a number of notions and biases of the research staff regarding the interviewing process and data-collection procedures derived from previous research activities and from the methodological literature were of necessity abandoned as a consequence of this field experience. The topics considered are: (a) question method-

⁵ The senior research staff is composed of the authors and A. W. McEachern. The superintendency interviews were conducted by the authors, and A. W. McEachern supervised the school-board interviews field program. Other staff members are Donald G. McKinley, Harold J. Greenwald, John E. Tirrell, and James M. Coffee.

ology; (b) the social role of the interviewer; and (c) problems of fatigue and rapport.

A. QUESTION METHODOLOGY⁶

One of the primary problems faced in designing the schedules entailed the series of decisions concerning the type and wording of questions to be used to tap various substantive phenomena. A central problem was the degree to which the questions should be structured. Attention will be limited to the design of questions to tap the phenomenon of role conflict, although a similar process of question formulation and reformulation occurred in several other areas of the project.

Previously published research on role conflict has been concerned chiefly with hypothetical situations.⁷ The present problem was to find what conflicts actually existed for incumbents of the role of school superintendent. The initial assumption was that an open-ended approach was required in order to uncover major types of role conflict actually present and not just those anticipated by the researcher. In consequence, a number of variations of the following question, plus probes, was utilized in the several pretests: "People in important community positions frequently find themselves caught in situa-

tions in which their obligations to different individuals or groups come in conflict. What type of situations of this kind do you face?" Questions of this sort, however, failed to draw out the kinds of data required. They disclosed, primarily, situations in which the superintendent was in disagreement with groups or individuals in his community but did not tap role conflict. The dilemma of the foreman in industry as an example cue for the respondent was used in one of the pretests. This, likewise, did not work. In short, this type of question used by reasonably experienced interviewers failed to elicit the type of data required for the purposes of this inquiry.

It readily became apparent that the crucial problem was to develop a technique by means of which the interviewer could ask, "What role conflicts do you experience?" in a way which would make sense to non-social scientists. In the earlier pretests what the interviewer had been trying to do, and failed in his attempt, was to "teach" the respondent what was meant by role conflict in order that he could then tell what role conflicts he faced.⁸

After considerable experimentation with various techniques, the following procedure was developed, which met the data specifications of the research.⁹ Four structured situations that all superintendents face in their occupational role, and which, on the basis of the pretests, were felt to be potential role-conflict situations, are presented to the superintendent. They deal with procedures for promoting teachers, salary increases for teachers, how the superintendent spends his evenings, and the priority of educational

⁶ For various positions, criticisms, and uses of different question techniques see N.O.R.C. Staff, *Interviewing for N.O.R.C.* (Denver, 1945); Carl R. Rogers, "The Non-directive Method as a Technique for Social Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (January, 1945), 279-83; Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*; Isidor Chein *et al.*, "Consistency and Inconsistency in Intergroup Relations," *Journal of Social Issues*, V, No. 3 (1949), 52-61; E. Herzog, "Pending Perfection: A Qualitative Complement to Quantitative Methods," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, I, No. 3 (1947), 32-48; Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Vols. I-IV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949-50); and the heavy emphasis on open-ended methodology employed by the Survey Research Center under the direction of Rensis Likert and Angus Campbell at the University of Michigan.

⁷ See Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (December, 1949), 707-17; Samuel A. Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (March, 1951), 395-406.

⁸ After the original cue question the interviewer was free to use his own judgment in the matter of using structured probes or following up comments in a nondirective manner. It should be noted that even the original question was not strictly an open-ended question such as that used in polling studies. It calls for a structured response, i.e., a role conflict.

⁹ The work in progress at Harvard University under the general direction of Professor Stouffer and at Ohio State University under Professor Melvin Seeman shows promise of major contributions to this substantive and methodological problem area.

needs versus financial limitations in preparing the school budget. For each situation three alternatives are given regarding expectations that potential role alters might have. For example, in the situation involving promotion of teachers these three expectation categories are used:

- A. Expect me to recommend promotions of teachers and other school employees on the basis of merit only.
- B. Expect me to give consideration to their preferences in recommending promotions for teachers and other school employees.
- C. Have no expectations either way regarding whom I should recommend for promotions.

Nineteen potentially relevant role alters are then listed. The superintendent is asked to indicate which of the three statements most nearly represents what each alter expects the superintendent to do in this situation. After indicating what the role expectation is for each potential role alter, he then is asked what alters *have a right* to the indicated expectation. If he indicates contradictory but legitimate expectations for any alters, he is reporting a potential role-conflict situation. The interviewer then proceeds to probe in some detail with "focused" questions¹⁰ for the existence and extent of anxiety, the method of resolution and the sanctions resulting from selecting one horn of the dilemma or the other.

After these four situations have been explored, the interviewer probes for other role-conflict situations. Since a considerable amount of time has been spent on the four structured situations, the respondent now has a reasonably clear idea of the research frame of reference of the interviewer, and, in consequence, a number of other role-conflict situations are being uncovered.¹¹

¹⁰ Merton and Kendall, *op. cit.*

¹¹ It is pertinent to raise the question of whether it may not be necessary in other types of research problems to "instruct" the respondent in the type of data needed. Investigators frequently infer meanings from replies with little evidence for the validity of the inference. Perhaps such "legitimate instruction" of respondents is a solution to data-collection situations concerned with relatively complex behavioral science phenomena.

This "reverse-funnel" technique results in the retention of certain of the special advantages of the relatively unstructured approach. It provides, for example, the opportunity for the respondent to discuss identified role conflicts as he perceives them. It allows him to discuss other role-conflict situations in his own terms rather than in those of the interviewer. On the other hand, these four common role-conflict situations provide the research staff with a fund of *comparable* information which will allow it to answer such questions as, "To what extent do potential role-conflict situations actually result in role conflict?" and "What are the structural correlates of the existence of these role conflicts and the use of role-conflict resolution techniques?" This methodological procedure has also led to several important changes in the theoretical structure underpinning the research design and to the development of several novel concepts such as role collision, multiple role alters, and intra- and interrole conflict. These will be described in another paper.

In short, the open-ended, "relatively unstructured" question approach, when used by itself, failed to tap dimensions that appeared to be "a natural" for this technique on a priori grounds.¹² A combination of a structured check-list series of questions and probes, *followed* by an open-ended series of questions, however, did provide the required data.

B. THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE INTERVIEWERS¹³

Another important decision that the research staff faced was "What social role

¹² It could be argued that the only reason that the less structured approach failed to work on the pre-test was lack of skill on the part of the interviewers. The *same* interviewers, however, were successful with a similar procedure when this came *after* the structured questions.

¹³ The problem of the social role of the investigator has been considered by Florence Kluckhohn, "The Participant-Observer Technique in Small Communities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (November, 1940), 331-43; Hollingshead, *op. cit.*; Marie Jahoda *et al.*, *Research Methods in Social*

should the interviewer play?" More specifically, "Should the superintendent view the interviewer's role as being that of a learner or that of a sophisticate?" It must be recalled that each respondent was at the top of the hierarchy of the educational system in his community. All were college graduates, most had Master's degrees, and a number had Doctor's degrees or were working for them. The interviewers were sociologists who had affiliations with the Department of Social Relations and the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University.

The role the interviewer should play depends in large part on the inherent possibilities of role structuring as well as the role expectations of the interviewee. If, of necessity, the interviewer is defined as a complete outsider (e.g., the anthropologist in a foreign culture) there is scarcely any alternative except to play the role of the learner. It should be noted, however, that in such a situation the respondent has greater control of the interview than the interviewer; he can be highly selective in what he "teaches" the investigator. In the interviewing situation for this study the pretests readily revealed that the respondent perceived the interviewer as a representative of the Graduate School of Education and in consequence as an education "expert," even though the interviewers were actually naïve about a great number of educational matters. To admit complete ignorance was inadvisable, the pretests showed, since the superintendents were then unwilling to "open up" to an "outsider" on such matters as role referents, problems with school-board members, the

pressures faced, and the power system of the community. In short, it was decided that if the interviewing situation could be so structured that the respondent would view the interviewer as a colleague in an anonymous situation, such a perception would tend to maximize the rapport situation.

In view of these considerations a middle path between the learner and sophisticate role was adopted which might be termed the *role-within-a-role* procedure. It has been highly conducive to effective rapport in this research. Four factors tend to result in the superintendent's perception of the interviewer role as that of the sophisticate. (1) Although the data will be treated primarily in a sociological and social psychological framework, the substantive material in much of the interview is heavily educationally oriented. The "jargon" of educators is used in the schedule material, and many topics that are controversial among superintendents are utilized. (2) The interviewer introduces himself to the superintendent in his first contact (a long-distance telephone call) only as a member of the faculty of the Graduate School of Education and uses this same device in the actual preliminaries of the interviewing situation. (3) It is emphasized that the project has been indorsed by the executive committee of two highly respected educational associations in New England.¹⁴ (4) Finally, if a superintendent asks the advice or opinion of the interviewer as an educational "expert," ignorance is never admitted. On the other hand, he does not answer the respondent's question directly. The procedure followed is to mention someone else on the faculty who knows more about the problem, to throw the question back to the respondent ("What do you think?"), or to indicate that, like most educational matters, there are differing views as to the correct answer and that one of the research problems is to ascertain what superintendents actually think about such problems.

Relations (New York: Dryden Press), Part I, p. 475; William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952); Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology," *American Sociological Review*, VII (June, 1942), 381; H. Hyman and P. B. Sheatsley, "The Kinsey Report and Survey Methodology," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, II (1948), 183-95; Arnold Rose, "Public Opinion Research Techniques Suggested by Sociological Theory," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (1950), 205-14.

¹⁴ See Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 718-19, for a discussion of the "sponsorship" problem.

On the other hand, the interviewer assumes the learner role in a manner that apparently tends to maximize the respondent's ego involvement and minimize the negative implications of the learner role. The device is as follows. The interviewer tells the superintendent that he and the other research staff members have gone through most of the textbooks in educational administration (which they have done) and found little that is helpful in understanding what the staff feels to be a crucial problem for the administrator; namely, how to work with and through people. The phrase "human relations" apparently is as attractive to superintendents as it is to business executives. It is explained that his help is needed to determine the problems that the men "on the firing line" actually face, not what the textbook writers talk about. This, apparently, hits a communicative chord. This device sets the stage later for probing in delicate areas such as the power system of the superintendent's community. In general, the learner role within the sophisticate role seems to be a highly satisfactory resolution of the social role problem of the interviewer in this particular eight-hour interview situation.¹⁵

C. PROBLEMS OF FATIGUE AND RAPPORT

With an interview of such length and covering numerous confidential matters it was expected that there would be peculiar problems of fatigue and rapport. Up to this point, however, such anticipated problems have occurred infrequently in the actual interviews. This research experience suggests that fatigue may depend more upon extent of interest and rapport than on sheer length.¹⁶ It is believed that the paucity of

these problems is due partly to certain features of the interview design and partly to certain phenomena inherent in this interview situation.

A concerted attempt is made to establish rapport in the initial contacts with the superintendent.¹⁷ Appointments are made by phone, a long-distance phone call for the great majority of cases. This in itself apparently carries a certain amount of weight. During the phone call and in talking with the superintendent when he first arrives for the interview several points are emphasized. First, stress is placed on the anonymous and confidential nature of the interview. Second, he is told that this research is similar to studies which have been made of industrial executives, who are apparently important status referents of many superintendents. Third, an appeal is made to his professional values by pointing out that the research findings may exert an impact on training programs in educational administration and that he can be of tremendous help to his profession by giving us the benefit of his insights and experiences. In addition, those factors described previously, tending to increase the acceptance of the interviewer as a colleague in contrast to an outsider, are important in gaining rapport.

In planning an interview of such length, a great deal of attention had to be given to the problem of minimization of respondent fatigue. A "change of pace" device was specifically employed to introduce variety and "breathing spells" for the respondent; it also served the heterogeneous methodological requirements of the several areas of the study. Within the limits of the research and time requirements the criterion employed was to introduce the maximum amount of procedural variety into the interviewing situa-

¹⁵ On the other hand, it was found to be advisable to take a "non-expert-learner" role when interviewing school-board members. Many school-board members are uneasy and "anxious to please" if they feel they are talking to a professional educator, while they are glad to propound their own ideas in the presence of a learner.

¹⁶ This observation regarding the impact of interest and rapport on length deserves comparison with Sletto's findings regarding questionnaire response and length. His findings suggest that interest may be

a more important factor than length in influencing the amount of response to mailed questionnaires (see R. F. Sletto, "Pretesting of Questionnaires," *American Sociological Review*, V [April, 1940], 193-200).

¹⁷ See Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 720-22, for a consideration of the establishment and maintenance of rapport problems in a different type of interviewing situation.

tion. Numerous data-collection approaches were utilized, including both self-administered and interviewer-administered questionnaires, open-ended, focused, and closed questions, and scaling techniques in the coverage of the several substantive areas. It was felt that interest was maintained and fatigue decreased by not sticking with one type of questioning for an excessive period of time. In a series of pretest interviews a greater reliance had been placed on self-administered questionnaires; even though these interviews were somewhat shorter than those emphasizing open-ended questions, some evidence of greater fatigue was apparent.

In addition to the "change of pace" device, attention was directed to the sequence of these changes. Data on the superintendent's job history were obtained very early in the interview, and this turned out to be a very valuable, though unplanned, rapport device. Superintendents enjoy reminiscing about the jobs they have held, and it was actually necessary to push many of them at this point in order not to get bogged down in irrelevant detail. Another feature of the interview relative to the problem of sequence was to obtain seemingly superficial information relatively early in the interview and then use this information as cues for deeper probing at later stages. For example, after finding out who the three most intimate friends of the respondent are early in the interview, the interviewer then uses this information later when probing for the referents of the respondent in decision-making. The interviewer was also alert for any comments or asides which could be used for later probing. Careful observation and recording of the onset of fatigue, of anxiety-producing questions, and the time required to complete the several sections of the pretest interviews were of great value in deciding the final sequence of question techniques and substantive areas covered. These were also of great value in deriving the sequence so as to provide smooth transitions and "psychological continuity."

The most unstructured part of the interview takes place over the luncheon table.

The respondent is unaware that this "breathing spell" is a part of the interviewing situation. Between or after jokes and the usual variety of luncheon small talk, the respondent, through informal cue questions, is encouraged to express his perceptions of the social structure of his community and, especially, its influence and prestige structure. The interviewer plays the role of an interested colleague, and, of course, no attempt is made to record the conversation at this time. In the early-afternoon part of the interview the interviewer exploits this information together with cues he has picked up in earlier sections of the interview to probe into specific details of the perceived power structure. Further, the interview procedure is so designed that just prior to the luncheon "break" the topic under consideration deals with those individuals who do most to block and promote good education in the superintendent's community.

The superintendency role, itself, has several features that tend to maximize rapport and minimize fatigue in this interview situation. A superintendent finds it difficult to talk over his problems with people in his own community; as a consequence he seems to derive great cathartic value from being able to talk with a "colleague interviewer." Most of these men are viewed as being important individuals in their communities. It would seem to be a reasonable hypothesis that one may share confidences with equals but not subordinates. The isolation of the top man in formal organizations has frequently been commented upon by students of industrial sociology. In the case of the school superintendent this isolation applies not only to his relations with his staff but also frequently to his relationships within the community. Nearly everyone in the community is involved in the school system in one way or another (at least potentially) and therefore can possibly affect his job and career. Most of his time is spent in his own community, where he must watch his step, but he can "let his hair down" (a) when he leaves his community and (b) when he talks

ORIENTATION OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PETER M. BLAU

ABSTRACT

The orientation of college students toward international relations is related to their domestic ideology, with conservative students tending to emphasize the use of military power and those progressively oriented in domestic affairs generally advocating international co-operation. Changes of attitudes between 1950 and 1952 further accentuated this tendency. This pattern of change seems to result from the fact that the student's political convictions determine, in part, his interpersonal associations and, hence, the social pressures that act upon him. As a consequence, individuals least integrated in the college community are least likely to change their orientation in either direction.

Fighting in Korea and intensified "cold war" throughout the world have thrown a shadow over the experience of going to college. To be sure, most college life does not seem to be directly affected. However, the prospect of having to join the armed forces, which all healthy male students face, has made the problem of how to preserve, or restore, peace far more than an academic question for them.

This paper examines the attitudes of students toward international affairs, with special reference to their ideas on the prevention of war, and analyzes recent changes in these attitudes. First, the factors related to a student's orientation toward the prevention of international conflict will be discussed. This part is based on a survey of cross-sections of the undergraduate male population in 11 universities,¹ which was conducted in the spring of 1952.² Second, an

analysis of changes in these political opinions will be presented, based on a panel of male and female Cornell University undergraduates, who were interviewed in the spring of 1950, just before the outbreak of the Korean war, and again two years later together with the rest of the sample.

ORIENTATION TOWARD INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Although most students in this survey agreed that peace should be preserved, there was considerable disagreement as to the best way to achieve this goal. Some put their faith in international co-operation, even advocating world government, while others felt that only strengthening the military power of the United States would preserve peace.

A score of "orientation toward international affairs" was based on responses to a question asking students to select the most effective means for the prevention of war (see Table 1). One-eighth of the sample (376) had a score of +2 or more, and slightly over one-quarter (815) had one of -2 or less. These extreme groups can be considered the advocates of power and of international co-operation, respectively.

To justify the use of this score, it must be shown that students defined as "power oriented" were actually more war-minded than the opposite group, that they were more ready to utilize military power and generally thought of social relations in terms of power, as the concept "power orienta-

¹ The participating universities were: California (UCLA), Cornell, Dartmouth, Fisk, Harvard, Michigan, North Carolina, Texas, Wayne, Wesleyan, and Yale. Whereas representative samples were selected within each university, the total sample is not a representative cross-section of American male undergraduates. However, since a comparison on the major variables revealed only minor differences between universities, there is some reason to assume that the findings also apply to students in other universities.

² This survey was carried out under a grant of the Carnegie Corporation by Edward A. Suchman, Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Rose K. Goldsen. The author is greatly indebted to them not only for the use of the data but also for many helpful criticisms and suggestions in the preparation of this manuscript.

tion" implies. The first six items presented in Table 2 show that this was the case. Power-oriented students were much less likely to oppose war than were those who

TABLE 1

SUGGESTED MEANS FOR PREVENTING WAR

QUESTION: Listed below are some of the suggestions which have been made about what the U.S. should rely on in order to prevent another great war. We would like to know your opinion.*

	Highly Important (Per Cent)	Score Value
World government.....	41	-1
Military power.....	46	+1
Increased U.S. influence over internal affairs of other na- tions.....	11	+1
Free-enterprise economic sys- tem.....	35	+1
Emphasis on individual spirit- ual values and inner re- sources.....	34	-1
Stop Russia.....	38	+1
Long-range social planning...	31	-1
Understanding, on the part of every citizen, of other peoples at home and in other countries.....	70	-1
Number of cases in sample...	2,975	.....

* Answers that indicate or imply that enemies should be stopped or that the American system should become dominant were given a positive value (power) in the score, and those that refer to institutions or values that would further co-operation between all peoples were assigned a negative value in the score. The interrelation between these items can be illustrated by contrasting students who chose world government with those who chose military power, perhaps the two most typical response categories, in respect to their other choices on this question:

	World Government (Per Cent)	Military Power (Per Cent)
Increased U.S. influence.....	7	17
Free-enterprise economic system...	30	39
Stop Russia.....	25	55
Emphasis on spiritual values.....	37	30
Long-range social planning.....	40	21
Understanding of other peoples...	80	58

avored international co-operation, and they were more likely to expect another great war in the near future. The significance that military might assumed in the thinking of power-oriented students is indicated by their belief that the atom bomb is a better deterrent against war than is the United Nations and by the fact that they were twice

as likely to advocate Universal Military Training than were students with a co-operative orientation. Power-oriented students were also more prone to think of human relationships in terms of dominance and submission. They were less likely than were other students to question military authority or to disagree with the authoritarian idea that "people can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong."

The political ideology of a student was related to his orientation toward war and peace, as the lower half of Table 2 shows. Power-oriented students were most inclined to interpret American foreign policy as a fight for an ideal. This combination of a belief in military power and idealistic nationalism may seem, at first glance, to indicate an imperialistic attitude. Most advocates of power, however, were not imperialists. On the contrary, they leaned toward isolationism, opposing increased concern of our government with the conditions in other countries.

Students who favored co-operation in foreign affairs generally had more progressive political opinions on domestic issues. The greater conservatism of power-oriented students is manifest in their greater tendency to accept authoritarian political ideas, to oppose labor unions, and to criticize governmental action in behalf of underprivileged groups (see last four rows in Table 2).

These relations suggest the existence of two distinct political philosophies. On the one hand, the belief in national supremacy and the righteousness of our cause is accompanied by a distrust of "foreign entanglements" and an identification with the status quo at home, reminiscent of the "America First" doctrine. On the other hand, the ideal of international co-operation is associated with strong opposition to war and a favorable attitude toward New Deal principles.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ORIENTATION
TOWARD INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The fact that his orientation toward foreign affairs is related to an individual's

domestic political philosophy suggests that the former, as well as the latter, is partly determined by his socioeconomic position. Students who came from wealthier homes had a slightly greater tendency to be power oriented, and those whose fathers had lower incomes were somewhat more likely to favor international co-operation. However, differences in socioeconomic status cannot ac-

count for the relationship between conservatism and a power orientation, since even when income is held constant, this relationship persists. Taking, for example, only students whose fathers earn more than \$10,000 a year, 60 per cent of those with a power orientation, but 30 per cent of those with a co-operative orientation, agree that the laws governing unions are not strict

TABLE 2
OPINIONS ASSOCIATED WITH ORIENTATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

	PROPORTIONS HOLDING INDICATED OPINIONS AMONG		
	Power Oriented	Inter- mediate	Co-opera- tion Oriented
<i>War and power:</i>			
1. Five-item Guttman scale on "attitude toward war." Per cent least opposed to war.....	21	12	6
2. "Do you, personally, expect that this country will be in another great war within the next ten years or so, or do you think there is a good chance of avoiding it?" Per cent "We're in it now" or "Expect war within ten years".....	56	51	35
3. "Which do you, personally, count on as the most effective deterrent against war: the atom bomb or the UN?" Per cent "The atom bomb".....	78	55	30
4. "Are you in favor of UMT (Universal Military Training) or opposed to it?" Per cent "Strongly in favor".....	31	21	13
5. "A soldier should obey all rules and regulations without questioning." Per cent disagree.....	36	45	55
6. "People can be divided into two distinct classes—the weak and the strong." Per cent disagree.....	59	68	76
<i>Political ideology:</i>			
7. "We are fighting today for an ideal—the free peoples of the world against dictatorship." Per cent agree.....	70	62	55
8. "Would you like to see our government show more con- cern for conditions in other countries, or would you prefer us to show less concern?" Per cent "Much more" or "More concern".....	40	43	58
9. "Only people whose loyalty to the government has been proved should run for public office." Per cent agree.....	61	52	40
10. "The laws governing labor unions today are not strict enough." Per cent agree.....	54	42	27
11. "If people are certain of a minimum wage, they might lose their initiative." Per cent agree.....	48	36	26
12. "The 'welfare state' tends to destroy individual initia- tive." Per cent agree.....	71	60	50
Number of cases.....	376	1,784	815

enough. About the same differences exist among students in the other income groups. In other words, whereas ideology and socioeconomic status are related, the interdependence between foreign and domestic ideology is independent of socioeconomic status.

Religious background likewise exerts some influence on the orientation toward international affairs, but this influence works in opposite directions for the major denominations. Among the Protestants,

TABLE 3

CO-OPERATIVE ORIENTATION IN RELATION TO
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND
CHURCH ATTENDANCE

(Numbers in parentheses are the numbers on which the percentages are based.)

ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES	PER CENT WITH CO-OPERATIVE ORIENTATION		
	Protestants	Catholics	Jews
Once a week or more..	35 (408)	25 (251)	— (*)
Once or twice a month	23 (644)	19 (31)	29 (38)
Mainly on the important holidays.....	22 (332)	35 (26)	29 (213)
Never or almost never	28 (398)	35 (55)	41 (158)

* Less than 20 cases.

students who attended church regularly were most likely to advocate international co-operation, in contrast to the occasional churchgoers, as Table 3 shows. Among the Jews and Catholics, however, the least devout individuals leaned most toward a co-operative orientation.

These differences may well reflect ideological strains within American religious bodies. Although the Protestant churches include many very conservative elements, it is well known that there exists a strong "social reform" and pacifist tradition within Protestantism, particularly among its ministry and its most devout adherents. This seems to reinforce a belief in international co-operation among the most faithful Protestants. Catholicism and orthodox Judaism,

however, are more traditional, and perhaps also more authoritarian, religious convictions. Consequently, the student who has broken away from these groups may be predisposed toward a liberal political ideology, which includes a belief in international co-operation.³

Contrary to expectation, military experience did not influence a student's ideas about war and peace. Veterans did not differ from nonveterans in their orientation toward the prevention of war, and neither did students in basic R.O.T.C. differ from those who did not take military training. (The incidence of power orientation was slightly higher among students in advanced R.O.T.C., where enlistment is voluntary, whereas basic military training is compulsory at many universities. This suggests that power-oriented students were more likely to volunteer for the military-training program but that this program did not affect the political orientation of students.) Apparently, young people in America successfully segmentalize their roles as citizens and as soldiers. Political convictions, even those directly concerned with war and peace, are thus insulated from the influence of military service.

Ambition was one of the psychological attributes that had some bearing on this orientation. A strong drive toward personal success was associated with a power orientation (see Table 4).

The fact that a co-operative orientation was more prevalent among less ambitious students raises the question of whether the failure to achieve a dominant position in his personal life induces an individual to favor co-operation rather than the use of power in general, even in politics. Actually, the opposite seems to be the case. Superior students were the ones most prone to advocate

³ Church attendance and religious affiliation were highly related: 68 per cent of the Catholics, 23 per cent of the Protestants, and 4 per cent of the Jews attended religious services at least weekly. For this reason a slightly larger proportion of Jews (34 per cent) than of either Protestants (26 per cent) or Catholics (28 per cent) had a co-operative orientation.

co-operation in world affairs. A third of those whose grades averaged 85 or more did so, as compared with 23 per cent of the students with average grades lower than 75. Lack of success as well as ambition to be successful encouraged a power orientation.⁴ Of course, it is more important for many students to attain superior status among peers—to become a “big man on campus”—than to get good marks. The least successful ones in this respect, those who reported that

philosophy. Conservatives tend to favor the use of power; progressives, international co-operation. Factors associated with a liberal political viewpoint, such as certain religious convictions or the absence of authoritarian religious beliefs, also encourage the adoption of a co-operative orientation in international affairs. Spheres separated in our culture from politics, such as military service, have no discernible effect upon this orientation. Ambitious striving for superior status, particularly if frustrated, often finds expression in a preference for the use of power.

TABLE 4
AMBITION AND ORIENTATIONS TO
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

QUESTION: How important to you, personally, is it to get ahead in life?

	Very Important (Per Cent)	Fairly Important (Per Cent)	Not Important (Per Cent)
Power orientation....	15	11	6
Intermediate.....	61	58	54
Co-operative orientation.....	24	31	40
Total per cent.....	100	100	100
Total cases.....	1,731	1,018	197

they “never” or “rarely” take a position of leadership in a group, were also not less, but somewhat more, likely to be power oriented than students who thought of themselves as leaders (20 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively). This suggests that the striver rather than the individual who has achieved a dominant position is most inclined to advocate the use of military force.

In summary, a student’s ideas concerning the prevention of war are part of his political

⁴ Paradoxically, the students who were less successful in college were most ambitious to get ahead in life. Nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of those whose cumulative average was below 75 considered it “very important” to get ahead, in contrast to less than half (48 per cent) of those with an average of 85 or more. This corresponds to the finding of psychological experiments that level of aspiration is often inversely related to actual achievement. See Kurt Lewin *et al.*, “Level of Aspiration,” in J. McV. Hunt, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: Ronald Press, 1944).

CHANGES IN ORIENTATION TOWARD
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The second part of this paper is concerned with the process of change in the political thinking of college students. How have their opinions about world affairs been affected by the crucial international developments since the beginning of the Korean conflict? What is the significance of associations at college for opinion change?

To reach valid answers to these questions, it is essential to compare the way students answered the identical questions before and after the start of hostilities. Fortunately, such information is available for 944 Cornell University students, who were interviewed in the spring of 1950, just before the outbreak of fighting in Korea, and again in the spring of 1952. Hence, changes in the attitudes of the same individuals can be analyzed. In addition, response patterns that remained consistent provide a test of reliability.

The distribution of the scores on orientation toward international affairs hardly changed between 1950 and 1952. This similarity, however, conceals compensating changes in opposite directions. One-fifth of these 944 students shifted toward a more co-operative disposition, and about as many (18 per cent) became more power oriented.

An examination of these changes reveals a strain toward consistency. A progressive political philosophy is associated with a co-operative orientation, as has been shown.

This is confirmed by an examination of the most reliable responses. Thus, one-third of the students who had favored Wallace or another third-party candidate in the 1948 election expressed a co-operative orientation both in 1950 and in 1952, but only 13 per cent of the supporters of Dewey and 21 per cent of those of Truman did so. (Of course, considerably larger proportions favored co-operation either in 1950 or in 1952.) Since a power orientation was inconsistent with a progressive ideology, the students who endorsed very progressive political programs were most constrained to become increasingly favorable toward international co-operation. Among the third-party followers who, in 1950, had not been advocates of international co-operation, 47 per cent moved toward a more co-operative orientation. Among the corresponding groups of Democrats and Republicans, only 27 and 32 per cent, respectively, moved in this direction.

The same pattern of change can be observed in nonpolitical groups. Women students at Cornell, for instance, were more inclined than were men to favor international co-operation, and to do so consistently. And women were also more likely to shift to a more co-operative position in the course of two years of college life; 44 per cent of them did, as compared with 28 per cent of the men.

These findings suggest that it is not primarily the logical inconsistency of a student's political ideology but rather the influence of his or her associates which induces the strain toward consistency. Since a disproportionate number of women, as well as of progressives, favored international co-operation, those members of either reference group who originally did not share this attitude were under greater pressure to shift toward a more co-operative orientation than were either men or more conservative students. This relationship between reference group and change can be further clarified by singling out for analysis the attitude toward world government.

THE TREND IN THE ATTITUDE TOWARD WORLD GOVERNMENT

On the whole, the students in this sample have become less favorably disposed toward world government since 1950. Table 5 shows that only two-fifths of this group considered world government an important means to prevent war in 1952. Two years earlier, more

TABLE 5
CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD
WORLD GOVERNMENT

Students were asked to indicate which of nine factors they considered highly important for the prevention of another great war.

1952	1950		
	Select World Govern- ment (Per Cent)	Do Not Select World Gov- ernment (Per Cent)	Total (Per Cent)
Select world govern- ment.....	53	24	40
Do not select world government.....	47	76	60
Total per cent....	100	100	100
Total cases.....	493	451	944

than half of them had done so. Nearly half of the students who had put their faith into world government had shifted away from this position by 1952. Change in the opposite direction was much smaller. Only a quarter of the students who had not advocated world government as a way to preserve peace in 1950 changed over to a positive view. In short, the trend *away* from world government was twice as heavy as the countertrend *toward* world government.

This trend furnishes particularly clear illustrations of the strain toward consistency. In 1952, students were asked whether they considered themselves Republicans, Democrats, or independents. Nearly half (46 per cent) of the Republicans rejected world government as a solution to the problem of war at both periods of questioning, in

contrast to 29 per cent of the Democrats and independents. By 1952, 57 per cent of the Republicans who had favored world government two years earlier had abandoned this position, a deviant one for a conservative student. The corresponding shift away from world government was only 33 per cent among Democrats and 43 per cent among independents. The same pattern is found if students with different responses to specific political questions are compared. Conservative respondents consistently demonstrated a greater tendency to move away from acceptance of world government than did progressive ones.

Political independents, on the other hand, were more likely to change *against* the trend. Thirty-one per cent of them became converts to world government while they were at college, compared with 21 per cent of the students who were loyal to either major party. Moreover, fully 48 per cent of the most progressive students among the independents, those who had sympathized with a third party in 1948, were new converts to world government.⁵ For independent political thinkers, the strain toward consistency was toward a more liberal position, in opposition to the prevailing trend.

It has been suggested that students tend to associate with like-minded fellow students and that it is the social pressure of his friends which constrains the individual with a deviate opinion to change. If this explanation of the observed pattern of change is correct, it would follow that the more isolated students, who are less subject to social pressures, should change less frequently. This indeed seems to be the case.

A third of the students who reported that they had difficulty making friends changed with the trend, away from world government, in contrast to almost half (48 per cent) of those who found it easier to make friends. Similarly, students whose responses indicate

personal maladjustment,⁶ quite possibly associated with lack of integration in the college community, changed with the trend in smaller numbers (32 per cent) than did better-adjusted students (48 per cent). The pressure of social contacts at Cornell seems to have been toward a more conservative view of the international scene. This manifested itself in the trend away from world government.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that *any* shift of opinion, against the trend as well as with the trend, is related to a student's integration in the college community. The differences found were small,⁷ but they reveal a coherent pattern that is suggestive, although not conclusive. Students who had difficulty making friends, those who participated little in extracurricular activities, those who participated little in religious activities, those with a low personal-adjustment score, those not well adjusted to college—all these groups were somewhat less likely to change in either direction, toward world government or away from it, than their counterparts.

Changes in the orientation toward international affairs also indicate that students who are integrated into significant groups on their campus are more prone to shift their opinions than are others. For example, fraternity members were more likely to change their orientation, regardless of the direction of this change, than independent students. The groups that provided a student with a feeling of integration and helped him to adjust to college life also made his opinions subject to their controlling influence. In a large university, even the deviant can find a group whose opinions are akin to his. If he does, he is more likely to change some of his ideas than if he remains isolated, just as the

⁶ A personal-adjustment score was based on three questions that ascertained whether a student is usually in good spirits, how often his stomach gets upset, and whether he is bothered by nervousness.

⁷ The differences ranged between 5 and 10 per cent; not all were significant on the 0.05 level; only one was significant on the 0.01 level (that between fraternity and nonfraternity members).

⁵ The percentage of changers has been computed always by dividing the number of students who shifted away from a position by the number of those who had occupied this position in 1950.

integrated conformist is especially likely to change some of his ideas, although the two will tend to change in opposite directions.

A MAJOR SHIFT IN OPINION
TOWARD GERMANS

The attitude of Cornell students toward Germans underwent a profound change between 1950 and 1952. Only 32 per cent had disagreed in 1950 that most Germans have shown little understanding of democracy; two years later, this proportion has nearly doubled, as Table 6 shows. Virtually three-

TABLE 6

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMANS

Relationship between 1950 and 1952 responses to the question: Do you agree or disagree that very few Germans have shown understanding or inclination toward democracy over the last fifty years?

1952	1950			
	Agree (Per Cent)	Unde- cided (Per Cent)	Dis- agree (Per Cent)	Total (Per Cent)
Agree.....	26	10	9	15
Undecided.....	25	33	15	25
Disagree.....	49	57	76	60
Total per cent..	100	100	100	100
Total cases...	341	300	303	944

quarters of the students who had agreed with this anti-German statement earlier became more favorable, while only a quarter of those who had disagreed became less favorable toward Germans.

Analysis of this large change again reveals that the better-integrated student is most often affected by political trends. Taking only students who had not disagreed with the statement in 1950, barely half of those who had trouble making friends, but two-thirds of those who did not, had shifted toward a more pro-German position by 1952.⁸ Similarly, 61 per cent of the students

not very well adjusted to college, but 75 per cent of those who had a very good time at college, became more favorable toward Germans. Students who participated much in extracurricular activities also had a slightly greater tendency to change with the trend than had others.

It was expected that Jews would be most likely to remain anti-German, but the opposite was found to be the case. Among those who had not been pro-German in 1950 the shift to a more favorable position was more prevalent among Jews (73 per cent) than among Protestants (64 per cent). To be sure, a somewhat greater proportion of Jews (44 per cent) than of Protestants (33 per cent) had been initially anti-German, and their greater rate of change merely wiped out this difference. Nevertheless, it is surprising that anti-German Jews were less likely to remain so than anti-German Protestants were.

As the era of Hitler recedes into the past, its influence upon the attitudes of Jews toward Germans is decreasing, and the influence of other factors is increasing. Jews, as have been pointed out, tended to have a co-operative orientation in international affairs. Students with such an orientation were more often pro-German (65 per cent) than power-oriented students were (55 per cent). Today, an anti-German position is inconsistent with a belief in international co-operation. Jews, therefore, moved in greater numbers toward a pro-German disposition than did Protestants, who had been less antagonistic toward Germans in the first place and who were not so co-operatively oriented.

Changes in political beliefs are associated with changes in political involvement. Students whose attitudes toward Germans shifted in these two years, regardless of the direction of their shift, tended to lose interest in politics. This loss of political involvement contrasts sharply with the case of stu-

⁸ Students who had trouble making friends were also less likely to change *against* the trend, by becoming more anti-German (10 per cent), than those

who had less difficulty in their social relationships (18 per cent), although the difference between them is too small to be statistically significant.

dents who remained consistently anti-German. The latter became increasingly concerned with politics, as Table 7 shows.

Persistent adherence to an unpopular political position in defiance of a major trend puts the burden of proof, so to speak, upon the individual and therefore con-

TABLE 7

CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMANS AND IN POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

QUESTION: Do you ever get as worked up about something that happens in politics or public affairs as you do about something that happens in your private life?

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT	ATTITUDE TOWARD GERMANS			
	Changed Decidedly		Remained Consistent	
	More pro (Per Cent)	More anti (Per Cent)	Pro (Per Cent)	Anti (Per Cent)
Increased*.....	9	7	12	20
Decreased†.....	29	29	20	13
Unchanged‡....	62	64	68	67
Total per cent.	100	100	100	100
Total cases...	164	28	230	87

*Those who answered the above question "No" in 1950 and "Yes" in 1952.

†Those who answered "Yes" in 1950 and "No" in 1952.

‡All others.

strains him to become increasingly concerned with political issues. If he does not develop such concern, he is likely to surrender his "outdated" opinion. Hence, consistently anti-German students were more likely to exhibit increased interest in politics than any other group was. On the other hand, a decided change in political opinion is an indication of the existence of conflicting pressures, which reduce an individual's political involvement, as it were, as an escape from these cross-pressures.⁹ Hence, students

⁹ Corresponding results have been obtained in studies in political sociology. The people who are less interested in an election are most likely to change their vote intention. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld *et al.*, *The People's Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944).

whose attitudes toward the Germans had definitely changed, whatever the direction of this change, were particularly prone to have lost interest in politics. The findings that loss of political interest was most frequent among students whose opinion had changed, and that such change was most frequent among better-integrated students, suggest that political apathy was the price many students paid for becoming integrated at Cornell.

Finally, it may be worth while to look briefly at the individual who is often neglected in discussions of surveys, the one who is "undecided." It was found repeatedly that students undecided on one question also tended to be undecided on others. For example, many students who were undecided as to whether a legal minimum wage destroys initiative also remained consistently undecided with respect to their attitudes toward Germans (23 per cent). This is in contrast to students who held any definite opinion about a minimum wage, of whom only 9 per cent were consistently undecided about the Germans.

There exists also a strain toward becoming "consistently indecisive." Half of the students who were undecided about a minimum wage but had had a clear-cut attitude toward Germans in 1950 became undecided on the German question by 1952. In contrast, only 17 per cent of those with a definite opinion on a minimum wage shifted from a definite to an undecided position with regard to the Germans. This suggests that persons undecided on a question are not simply an intermediate category between two extremes but that "sitting on the fence" is a characteristic political position, just as, say, conservatism is.

CONCLUSIONS

The opinions of college students as to the kinds of international relations that would best serve to prevent another great war are indicative of their general orientations toward social relationships and form an integral part of their political ideologies. Con-

servatism is associated with a power orientation toward international affairs, and a progressive philosophy with faith in international co-operation. Such faith is more frequent among students who are not very ambitious, and among those who are relatively successful in their personal lives, than among unsuccessful strivers.

Changes in political opinions concerning the international scene occur in the direction of consistency. A power orientation, initially more popular among conservatives, attracts a disproportionate number of conservative changers, and a co-operative orientation, originally more prevalent among progressives, is most often newly adopted by progressives. It appears that this pattern of change is the result of the personal associations of students. The individual's political ideology partly determines the friends with whom he discusses politics. The conservative friends of the conservative student, most of whom reject world government, for instance, constrain him, if he favors world government, to change his opinion to conform with theirs. The same principle accounts for the tendency of the progressive student to become increasingly identified with international co-operation.

This conclusion is supported by the finding that students who have few social contacts and are not well integrated at college are least likely to change their political

opinions in any direction. Individuals who experience no difficulty in making friends, who feel well adjusted to college and are members of relatively well-integrated groups, such as fraternities, are not only particularly prone to change with a prevailing trend, but they also have a greater tendency than others to change against the trend of the majority. In the course of shifting their opinion in either direction, they often lose interest in politics.

Integration in a small college, such as Bennington, virtually requires the adoption of the progressive political viewpoint of the majority, as Theodore M. Newcomb shows.¹⁰ In as large a university as Cornell, where distinct social groups with divergent political ideologies coexist, integration requires different changes from individuals in different social positions, namely, those that will make their orientation more consistent with that of their associates. Shifts of political opinions in opposite directions, therefore, have the same function of enhancing conformity and social cohesion in the subgroups at Cornell. Isolates have no inducement to change; unwillingness to change makes it difficult for a student to become integrated.

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¹⁰ *Personality and Social Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943).

THE VANISHING SERVANT AND THE CONTEMPORARY STATUS SYSTEM OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON AND MARY JEAN BOWMAN

ABSTRACT

The nonfarm South now participates fully in the nation-wide sharp decline of servants. Previously, servant use in the Deep South spread far down the income scale, manifesting a "caste" rather than a "class" incidence. A greater proportionate decrease in white, over Negro, servants, is shown in both North and South. Servant frequencies are closely but imperfectly related to Negro population; the South, both farm and nonfarm, is extremely diverse in its servant use. The waning of the servant, a key feature of traditional southern life, manifests the shift from familistic toward impersonal and equalitarian culture traits.

"In a slave country every freeman is an aristocrat," said Representative Hammond from South Carolina in 1836. While few white families of that day were so blessed by the "sacred institution," the status structure of which it was a part cast a long shadow. A century later the findings of a national study of family living justified characterization of the South as that unique area in the nation where the typical white family might aspire to have a servant.

More than a decade of prosperity and industrialization, however, has altered this situation drastically. The ratio of servants to population has been cut by two-fifths over the nation. Except for farming areas, the proportionate decrease in hired help in the South has been exceeded only in New England, marking a dramatic stage in the revolutionizing of the southern status structure.

The servant has played a key role in the South in both class and race systems. Only with servants was the traditional pattern of life of the southern elite possible, resting as it did, upon the availability, at a buyer's price, of subordinate Negroes. With the exodus of such domestic help, the anticipated transformation in southern life is taking place.

The volume of servant use in different sections of the nation is the theme of the first part of this paper. Employment of domestics is related to the proportion of Negroes in the population, type of com-

munity, levels of income, and racial segregation in servant occupation. The influence of family income upon the hiring of servants is dealt with in the second part. Finally, "state profiles" point up some implications of the results developed in the first two parts.

I. STATE CONTRASTS IN USE OF SERVANTS, 1930-50

A. EXTENT OF SERVANT USE

Fifty years ago writers in popular magazines were decrying the servant shortage. Yet at that time there were about 20 domestics for every thousand people in the nation, a ratio that had dropped only to 16 by 1940. By 1950 the proportion was down to 9.¹ The nation over, the number of servants has dropped from 2.1 to 1.4 million, a 33 per cent decline in the last decade, 28 per cent in the South and 36 per cent elsewhere. In the face of increasing populations this has meant declines in servant-to-population ratios of 36 per cent in the South and 45 per cent in the rest of the country.

¹ For a summary of the data through 1940 see George J. Stigler, *Domestic Servants in the United States 1900-1940* ("Occasional Paper," No. 24 [New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1946]). His figures, which were based on the 1930 census classifications, included untrained nurses but excluded housekeepers in private homes. We use the 1940 rubrics, adjusting 1930 figures accordingly; the 1940 and 1950 categories exclude nurses from "domestic service" but include housekeepers in private families. For the whole nation, for 1940, these adjustments canceled out so that our figure, like his, was 16 servants per thousand population.

In these comparisons it is misleading to ignore the wide differences among the states in urbanization. In the urban population servants have decreased uniformly, except for the five Mountain States that had fewer than 10 servants per thousand people in 1940. Weighting each state the same, the average percentage decline in this ratio for the urban South was 48, the states ranging from Delaware (39 per cent) to Texas (53 per cent). This decline was exceeded only by that of New England, which was 53 per cent. In the rural nonfarm areas (hereafter called "villages") the southern decline was again 48 per cent, ranging from 40 to 58 per cent. Again, only New England was higher, with 52 per cent.

In the farm areas, however, the South lost fewer servants than other regions. Only four non-southern states lost farm servants by less than the average southern rate of 30 per cent. The largest reductions, in the North Central States, averaged 75 per cent. Nevertheless, farm families in the South have few servants compared to city or village residents. By 1950, only the cities of the South employed as many servants as the national average for all residence groups at the opening of this century.

Prior to World War II the people of this nation hired about half as many servants in proportion to population as the British. The American pattern, however, is distinctive in that the frequency of servants is correlated with the availability of Negroes in local populations, and there has been little change in the degree of this correlation. The linear coefficients relating servant-population ratios and proportions of Negroes in state populations were in the .90's for both urban and village communities (Chart I). (Unlabeled dots on these charts are for northern states.)²

² The northern states included here were all those (except California) with ten thousand or more male Negroes in the labor force in 1940; these states were selected for a larger study of which this report is one part. California was omitted because of the presence of the Orientals, and Texas was excluded from the southern group because of the complica-

Owing to the sharp decline in servants during the past decade, the slopes of the regression lines have been halved.³ Relative differences remain as large as formerly, but the equally important absolute differences diminish greatly. Diversity among states is greater for urban than for village populations. A decade ago servants were as numerous in the ten highest southern states as in prewar Britain. Today only four southern states have that many servants in their cities, and these states fall below this level in villages. At present the southern state highest in utilization of servants, Mississippi, stands where the tenth of them, Virginia, did a decade ago.

Dispersion of the individual states around the line of average relationship has remained stable during this dynamic decade. Georgia is high in both years in cities and villages, while in cities Louisiana is as far below the regression line as Georgia is above it. Tennessee cities, but not villages, have more servants than might be expected, due no doubt to this state's exceptional concentration of its Negro population in cities. The upward deviation of rural Delaware is not readily explained.

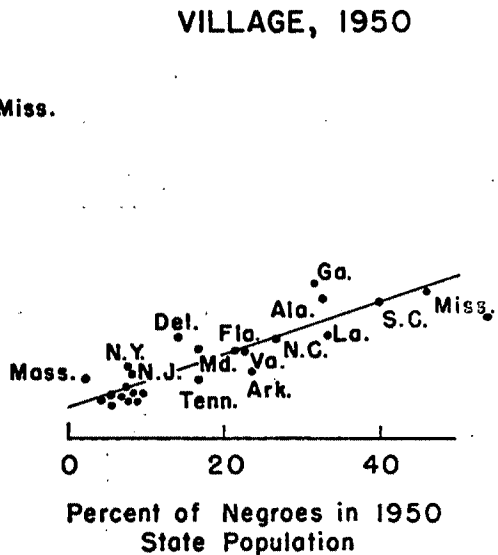
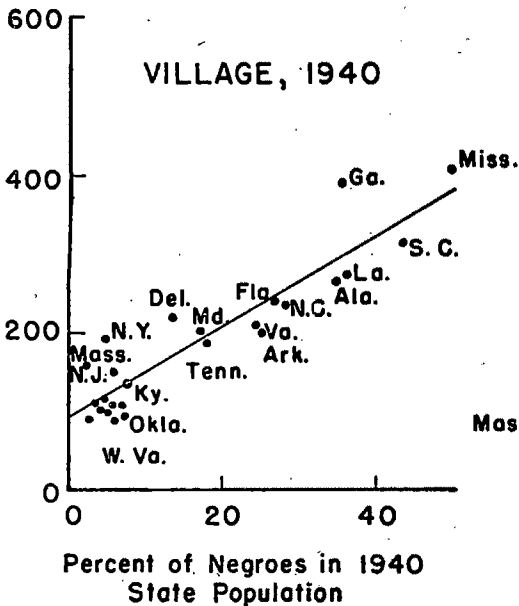
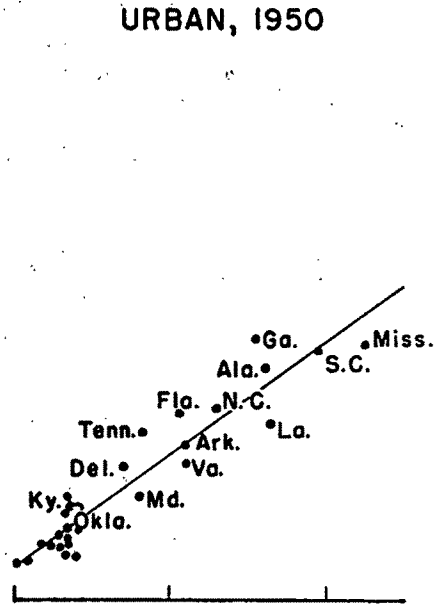
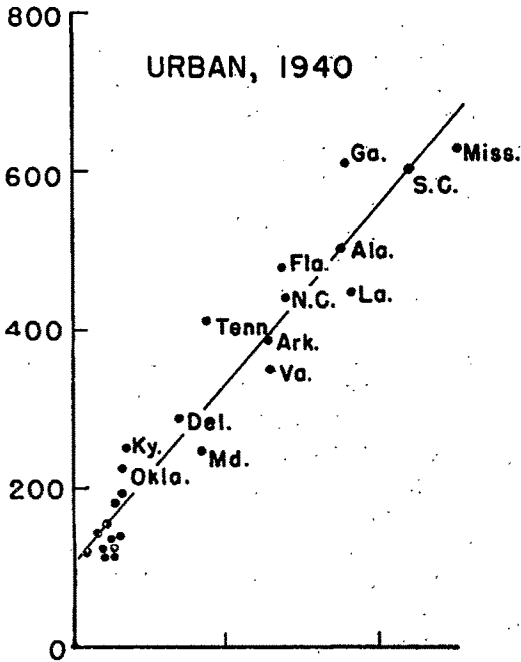
The northern states lie below the regression line, although the villages of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey are notable exceptions. While these three states

tions due to the "Mexicans." The included northern states were: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Kansas. In central tendency and range of servant use these states turned out to be representative of the rest of the North and West, except that lower servant figures occurred in most Mountain States.

³ The equations to the regression lines on Chart I were: urban, 1940, $Y = 111 + 11.5X$; urban, 1950, $Y = 53 + 6.9X$; village, 1940, $Y = 94 + 5.8X$; village, 1950, $Y = 44 + 3.3X$. For the fifteen southern states alone the urban slopes are reduced slightly and that of the 1940 village series is slightly increased; the 1950 village regression line is unchanged. For the farm data (not shown on the chart) the regression slopes are much smaller than either the urban or village series. For 1940 the farm equation is $Y = 77 + .9X$; for 1950, $Y = 34 + 1.6X$. See n. 4 for the correlation coefficients.

CHART I
URBAN AND VILLAGE SERVANTS

Servants per 10,000 Population



do have heavy concentrations of foreign-born, this factor is generally unrelated to variations in servant use among northern states. The rural focus of the discrepancy suggests in these instances an explanation in terms of demand rather than supply, a supposition that is strengthened by the fact that most of the other New England states show higher rates of servant use in villages than in cities. In the remainder of the nation the rates are higher in cities.

Among farm families the patterns of servant hiring are blurred. The proportionate changes in the ratios of servants to farm population were quite diverse within the South, ranging from an actual increase of 27 per cent in Florida (the only increase) to a decline of 58 per cent in West Virginia. Moreover, among farm families the hiring of domestics appeared to vary randomly in relation to the percentages of Negroes in either the state or the farm population. Since virtually no Negro farm families hire servants, the following analysis was based on the white farm population only.

The 1950 correlation between servant incidence among white farmers and ratios of Negroes in the population was .55; that for 1940, only .32.⁴ In both years South Caro-

⁴ If only the southern states are used, the correlations are slightly lower. In lesser degree this is true also for the village and city series. The linear coefficients for all twenty-five states and for the fifteen southern states only were, respectively: urban, 1940, .96 and .94; urban, 1950, .95 and .92; village, 1940, .92 and .92; village 1950, .91 and .88; farm, 1940, .32 and .24; farm, 1950, .55 and .53. The rise in the farm coefficients, together with other aspects of the pattern, suggests that in most southern farm areas in 1940 a large and highly elastic supply of servants faced a relatively inelastic demand from the small portion of farm families with good incomes. Under these circumstances the level of farm servant use in the South (and to a considerable extent elsewhere) appears to have been ruled by the demand rather than the supply situation. Over the past decade of prosperity these demand-supply relations changed, with a lower and more inelastic supply coming to play a greater part in determining the incidence of servants on farms. With supply factors playing a more dominant role in determining levels of servant use, the correlations with percentages of Negroes in the population would presumably rise.

lina and especially Maryland lie markedly above any of the other southern states, though in 1940 they were topped by Connecticut and Rhode Island. The 1950 farm series resembles the village in that Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia are in the midst of the cluster of northern states, while Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey lie well above the regression lines. The farm servant frequencies for all forty-eight states ranged from 28 (Utah) to 216 (Connecticut) in 1940 and from 15 (Missouri) to 95 (New Hampshire) in 1950.

The comparative unimportance of the availability of Negroes in determining the number of servants hired by farm families is illuminated by taking account of incomes. First, deviations from the 1950 farm regression line were related to deviations of median 1949 white farm incomes for each state from the average of all states. Only a slight positive association was found. Second, the servant frequencies were divided by these median incomes and the ratios plotted against percentages of Negroes in the population, with a resulting correlation of .79.⁵ South Carolina has much the highest farm servant use relative to income, with Georgia second. The scatter remaining after allowing for income points to other factors of diversity in farm life as affecting servant use. Comparable analyses of the urban and village data revealed no parallel income effect.⁶

⁵ For the fifteen southern states only, the correlation was .68. Further clues to the complexities of the income factor are set forth in the next part of the paper.

⁶ The influence of income upon the frequency of servants and the servant-caste ratios (Chart II) was probed in additional ways, but no factor was influential. The tests included: (1) levels of Negro incomes; (2) ratios of median white to Negro incomes; and (3) ratios of upper- to lower-income quartiles. The data did not appear to support the hypothesis that inequality of income determines state differences in servant use, nor did any of these measures correlate with deviations from the regression line of servant use upon proportion of Negroes in the population.

B. RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE
SERVANT ROLE

The rarity with which southern white women undertake domestic work for pay is a revealing sign of the nature of the southern class structure and of the place of the servant in that system. The varying percentages

mestics among Negro women in nonagricultural employments do not depend upon the proportion of Negroes in the state population. Servants comprised about three-fourths of the employed Negro women in 1940 and a half in 1950. By contrast, the much smaller proportions among white

TABLE 1
RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION IN PERCENTAGES OF DOMESTIC
SERVANTS AMONG FEMALE WORKERS OUTSIDE AGRICULTURE

	STATES GROUPED* BY PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN POPULATION				
	More than 30 I	20-29 II	10-19 III	Less than 10	
				IV A	IV B
White women:					
Employed, 1950.....	1.5	2.8	2.9	4.9	4.1
Employed, 1940.....	3.8	8.1	8.1	14.9	11.6
Gainful workers, 1930.....	5.6	9.7	9.7	16.5	14.6
Decrease (%)					
1930-40.....	28.8	15.2	17.0	9.1	20.9
1940-50.....	60.3	63.7	64.1	67.5	64.6
Nonwhite women:					
Employed, 1950.....	54.9	50.4	50.7	51.0	35.1
Employed, 1940.....	75.8	70.0	73.3	72.2	62.3
Gainful workers, 1930.....	81.0	75.0	80.3	77.3	69.0
Decrease (%)					
1930-40.....	6.4	6.5	8.8	8.0	9.8
1940-50.....	27.6	28.0	30.9	28.3	44.0
Ratios, Nonwhite/White:					
1950.....	38.5	18.9	17.8	10.5	8.9
1940.....	21.4	9.5	9.6	4.9	5.5
1930.....	16.2	8.7	8.3	4.8	4.8
Gainfully employed whites, 1930:					
Native.....	5.5	9.4	8.5	16.2	12.1
Foreign-born.....	10.5	16.3	22.5	23.3	28.8
Ratio, Foreign/Native.....	2.1	2.0	2.6	1.4	2.6

* The states in each group can be read from Table 4. Group IV A are southern states and IV B northern.

of women (in nonfarm employment) who were in domestic service at each of the last three censuses are summarized in Table 1.⁷

Within the South the proportions of do-

⁷ The states were grouped by percentages of Negroes in the population. The last group was divided: A, the three "southern" states of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Oklahoma; B, northern states. In 1950 the average percentages of Negroes were the same in both Groups A and B, though in 1940 the A group averaged a little higher Negro proportions (see Table 4).

women show a marked negative association with the availability of Negro women for this work. Among Negroes the North-South contrast was greater in 1950 than in the earlier years.

Conflicting factors are reflected in these data. Better job opportunities lower the northern proportions for women of both races, even though a lack of such opportunities did not raise the southern white figures where Negroes were numerous. Each

of the marginally southern states (Group IV A) had higher ratios of domestics among white women than any northern state. Also, in Arkansas, despite its relatively high Negro population (Group II), 15 per cent of the employed white women were domestics in 1930, 13 per cent in 1940, and 4 per cent in 1950. Poverty is doubtless a factor in these cases.⁸

The larger part of the shrinkage in the domestic group of both races has occurred since 1940. The percentage decreases have been twice as large among whites as among Negroes. Accordingly, the ratios of the percentages of Negroes who are servants to the corresponding white percentages are double what they were in 1930. If these figures reflect caste, the caste element has grown in this area.

It is commonly asserted that the immigrant woman has been the northern substitute for the Negro servant. In 1930, when one can separate white servants by nativity, about twice as large a percentage of foreign as of native women were domestics. Both groups were affected about equally by the varying proportions of Negroes in the population (Table 1). The low ratio of foreign to native domestics in the border states testifies to the disadvantages of the native white women rather than to any privileged position of the immigrants. As against this 2:1 ratio between immigrants and natives, the ratios of Negro to white servants range upward from 10:1 to more than 50:1. The immigrant was not the northerners' Negro.

The racial contrast in the South is minimized by using the ratio of domestics to

employed women, for part of the southern culture pattern has been the leisure of the lady. The percentages of *all* women (age fourteen plus) who were domestics are summarized in Table 2. In most southern states less than 2 per cent of the white women of any residence group became domestics. These proportions are strongly affected, tiny as they are, by the presence of Negro women in the state. By contrast, the much greater tendency to enter domestic service among the Negro women is not affected by the proportion of Negroes in the population.⁹ In most states more urban than village Negroes enter service, while among whites the village women are more prone to do so.

What we call a servant-caste index was derived from the data of Table 2 in the form of the ratio of Negro to white percentages of all women who are servants. For the city populations these indexes range from 15 (Oklahoma) to 72 (Mississippi) in 1950 and from 9 (West Virginia) to 93 (Mississippi) in 1940. The village ratios range from 3 (West Virginia) in both years to highs in Mississippi of 43 in 1950 and 53 in 1940. These ratios are plotted against the number of servants of both races per ten thousand of total population in Chart II.

⁹ The absence of any effect of the density of Negroes upon the entrance of Negro women into service suggested an examination of unemployment among domestics. Using the eight states whose populations were at least 20 per cent Negro (except Louisiana), the correlation between the percentage of all domestics who were unemployed in 1950 and the percentage of Negro women who were domestics was .83. (Louisiana had an average level of unemployment but few Negro servants; this state appears to have a long-run distinctive position.) Three type situations are illustrated. South Carolina had few servants unemployed and many Negroes in service; here a seller's market is suggested, with strong demand pressing an inelastic supply. Mississippi had a middling portion of its Negro women in service and a high proportion unemployed; here cultural change appears to have outrun the decline in servant supply, and the Mississippi demand for servants, though still high, has been met from the large Negro population. Arkansas has both few Negroes in service and many out of work; here low incomes cannot support a demand sufficient to take up the supply of still lower-income Negro women offering their labor.

⁸ A crude comparison was attempted by plotting servants/employed free 1860 population of both sexes against total domestics/total 1940 employed population. (Since Oklahoma and West Virginia were not states in 1860 and two states are on the median lines, 21 comparisons were possible.) Dividing into a fourfold table at the medians, the positive diagonal held 16 cases, and two of the five discrepancies were near both medians. Maryland was considerably higher in 1860 than today, as was Louisiana. North Carolina was close to the top in 1860 but is low today. The free population of North Carolina in 1860 contained many free Negro servants.

Contrasting caste-class situations can be illustrated by different sections of Chart II. In the upper-right corner we have the caste-servant situation exemplified in 1940 in urban Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia. A lower boundary for this type must be arbitrary, but, when the proportion of Negro women becoming domestics is fifty times the white proportion, we may perhaps speak of "caste." The highest level of servant use in Great Britain in this century was 400 (per ten thousand population). The cities of these three states exceeded this level a decade ago, but the only village population then falling in this high area was that of Mississippi. None is in this category today.

The lower-right corner signifies a tiny group of servants with a caste determination of the servant role. If the present trend to the elimination of servants even in the South continues, the last waning remnants of the traditional culture pattern may approximate this type in a few southern states.

At the left-hand margin of the chart, servants would be of any or all ethnic groups without distinction. Of the fifteen southern states included in Chart II, West Virginia comes the closest to this margin, especially in the villages. We must look to other countries or to states having homogeneous populations for relatively pure type cases. Even assuming a near-zero servant-caste index, the servant pattern is not necessarily equalitarian. Essentially this depends, so far as selection for the servant occupation is concerned, upon the range of alternative opportunities open to those who become servants and the nature of their relations with their employers. Since a high level of servant use may be more commonly associated with lack of alternative opportunities, one is tempted to call the upper-left corner the class-servant type, the lower-left the equalitarian type. However, a low aggregate level of servant use is compatible with a plutocratic society in which the very few have many servants apiece but in which these menials are a small proportion of a large mass of poor. The above analysis has focused

upon the class or caste element in the selectivity of persons occupying the servant role. In the next section we will examine the class or caste patterns from another perspective—that of who hires the servants.

TABLE 2
RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN PERCENTAGES OF
FEMALES AGE FOURTEEN AND OVER WHO
ARE EMPLOYED IN DOMESTIC SERVICE

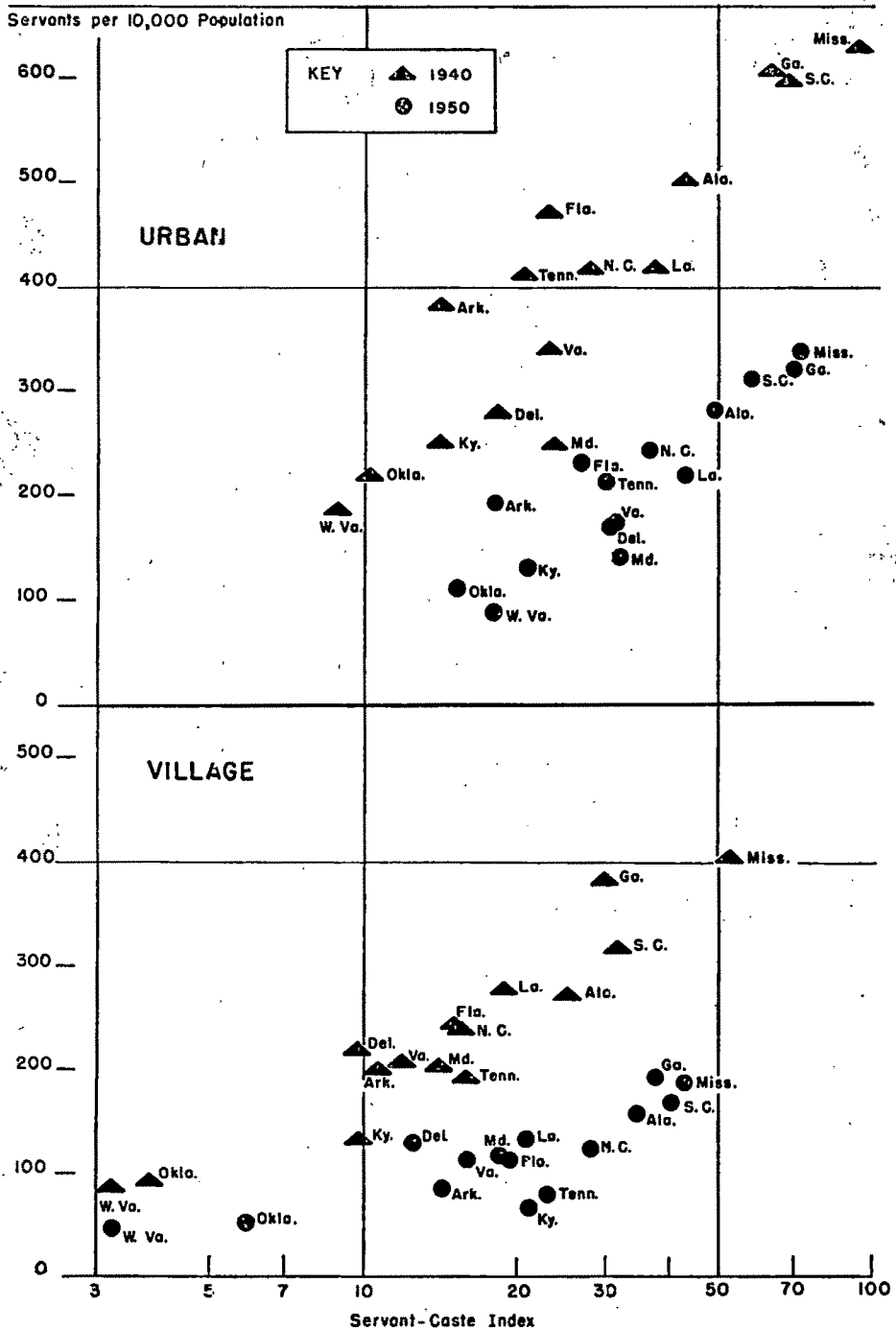
	STATES GROUPED BY PERCENT- AGE OF NEGROES IN POPULATION			
	More than 30 I	20-29 II	10-19 III	Less than 10 IV*
Urban percentages:				
White				
1950.....	0.4	0.7	0.7	1.0
1940.....	0.6	1.4	1.5	2.5
Nonwhite				
1950.....	21.4	19.7	21.4	18.2
1940.....	32.7	29.6	30.8	27.2
Rural nonfarm percentages:				
White				
1950.....	0.4	0.7	0.9	1.3
1940.....	0.9	1.5	2.0	2.1
Nonwhite				
1950.....	15.0	13.1	16.0	10.0
1940.....	24.9	20.5	26.3	11.9
Negroes as percentage of all domestics in state:				
1950.....	95	83	74	43
1940.....	96	86	82	52

* The available data do not permit using northern states. Scattergrams for individual states in both years relating the percentage of servants who are Negroes to the percentage of state population that is Negro reveal that (except Arkansas in 1940) all the states with Negroes making up 20 per cent or more of the population had over 80 per cent of their servants taken from the Negro group. Among the states with sparse Negro population, the proportions of servants who were Negro ranged from 10 to over 50 in both years; the highest percentages were for New York, New Jersey, and Kentucky. In 1940, 25 per cent of servants were Negro in the North (IV B); in 1950, 40 per cent.

Two trends stand out sharply from Chart II. One is the drastic shrinkage over the decade in the volume of servant time employed: the symbols all drifted downward on the chart. The second is the general shift to the right on the servant-caste axis: whites have been leaving domestic service more rapidly than Negroes. Mississippi, which has come more into line with other states, is

CHART II

SERVANT FREQUENCIES AND CASTE IN THE SERVANT ROLE



an exception, in that Negroes have deserted domestic jobs more rapidly, relatively, than whites. This occurred also in urban South Carolina. On the whole, much as the traditional servant pattern has been shaken, it remains on a firm racial basis.

II. INCOME CLASS DIFFERENCES IN SERVANT USE

The long shadow of slavery has been fading. Its outlines were still clearly recognizable, however, in the pattern of domestic service just before the recent war. Among the families surveyed in four southern states by the *Consumer Purchases Study*,¹⁰ 43 per cent employed some domestic help, virtually all of which was furnished by Negroes.

These high percentages of families able to employ servants testify to the central role of the Negro domestic in southern life and point to a unique distribution of servants compared to family incomes. Earlier we distinguished the class-servant from the caste-servant pattern on the basis of segregation of domestic service occupations to one race preponderantly. Here we look at the class-caste pattern from another perspective. The further servant use spreads down the white income scale the more service is a castelike affair. The greater the concentration of servants among upper-income families, the more we have a class phenomenon.

These relationships are portrayed in Chart III. Just before the late war 20-40 per cent of the nonfarm southern white families with incomes as low as \$1,000 hired at least some help, more often in villages than in cities. At a \$2,000 income level at least half of the nonfarm families had help,

and, when incomes rose to \$3,000, over three-fourths employed servants.

No other region of the country could match this "housewife's utopia." In other regions it required twice as high a family income as in the South to procure the same level of domestic assistance. (Only the West Central area is included on the chart, but the samples from other regions showed similar contrasts with the southern samples.) The ramifications of so marked a contrast in family living patterns are inevitably extensive. The tendency toward universality of servants within the nonfarm South was shown also by the fact that at given income levels wage-earner families were nearly as likely as white-collar families to hire help. In other areas of the nation these two groups had quite distinct patterns of servant employment.

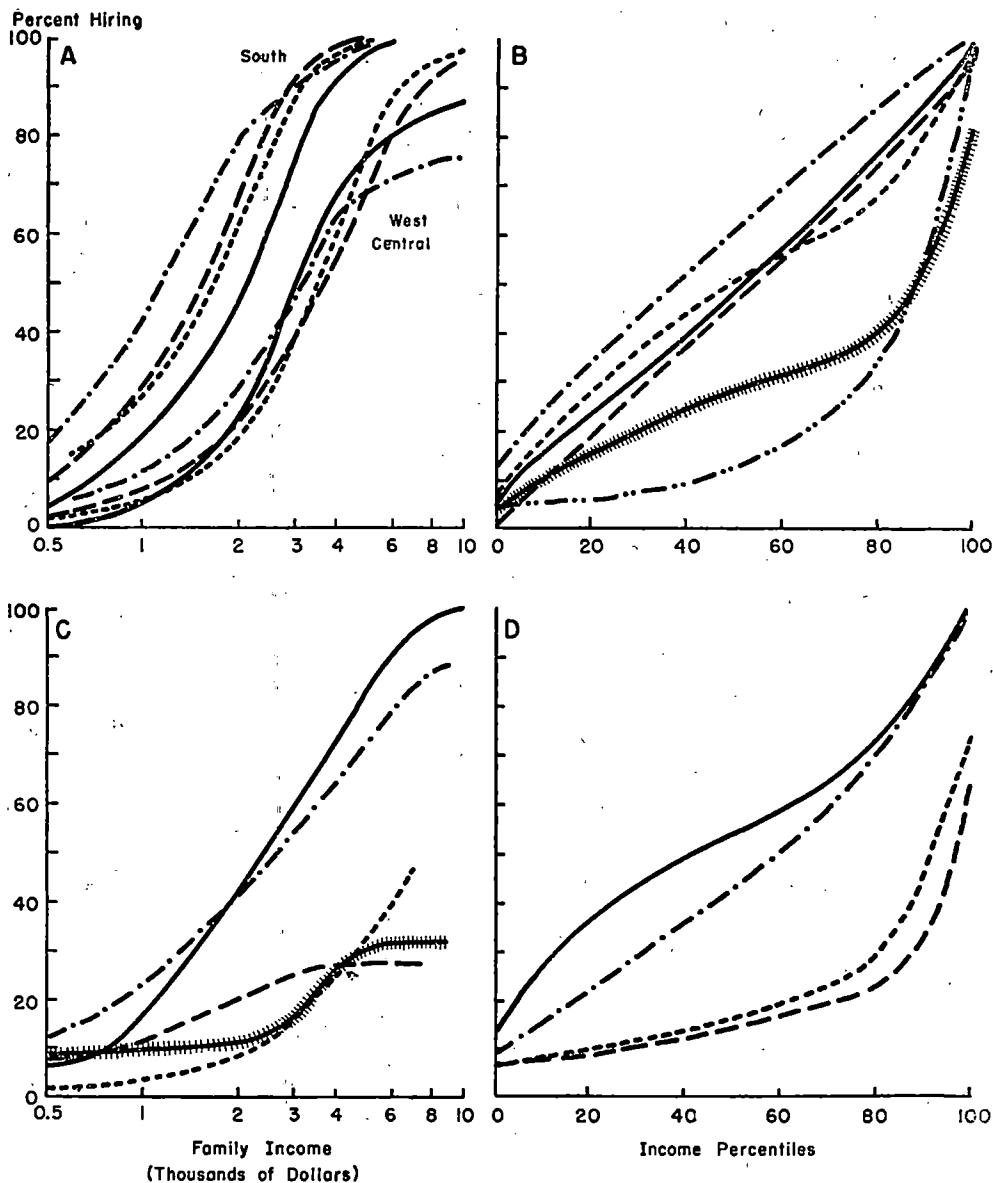
The peculiar conditions of southern agriculture and the plantation heritage have interacted in complex ways to fix the level of servant use in the region. At the \$1,000 income level white families residing in villages were twice as likely to hire help as those living in large cities. At upper-income levels place of residence (other than farm) was irrelevant, as in the midwestern region it tended to be at all income levels.

Southern farm families are more likely to hire help than nonfarm families in other sections at given income levels—and much more likely than farm families elsewhere. As between the two Cotton Belt samples, the gradient of servant hire with income was steeper among the Georgia-Mississippi than among the Carolina white farm families. The contrast was greater still when days of help hired rather than percentages of families hiring help are compared. The Georgia-Mississippi figures reveal a marked class stratification overlapping the caste distinction, and this class hierarchy among white families appears to be more pronounced where small farms and large plantations are intermingled.

Stratification is a matter of relative position as well as of absolute possessions. Servant use in terms of relative income is de-

¹⁰ The reports of this survey are scattered in many documents; specific citations are not given here. The relevant samples refer to Georgia-Mississippi and the Carolinas. Since the Carolina farm sample did not cover the self-sufficient areas, the proportion of servants estimated for the Carolinas is inflated. The sample results were weighted by the total population proportions of the various residence groups. Curiously enough, in these same states in 1860; 40 per cent of the white families owned slaves.

CHART III
WHITE FAMILIES HAVING SERVANTS, 1935-36



Key to A and B:

- Big Cities
- - - Middle Cities
- - - Small Cities
- - - Villages
- ||||| N.C., S.C. Farm Operators
- - - Ga., Miss. Farm Operators

Key to C:

- Farm Operators in:
- Ga., Miss.
 - - - N.C., S.C.
 - - - Penn., Ohio
 - ||||| Ill., Iowa
 - - - California

Key to D:

- All Families in:
- Southeast Cities and Villages
 - - - All Southeast
 - - - West Central Cities and Villages
 - - - All West Central

picted in the third panel of Chart III. Among southern urban white families the proportions hiring help correspond closely to the income percentile: families at the top quartile were three times as likely as those at the lower quartile to employ help. At that time, then, typical southern urban families might aspire to have servants, the likelihood that they would do so rising in step with relative income. Village families acquired help even more rapidly than they rose in income. Among farm families, however, the curves are concave; the rate of hiring servants rose slowly with relative income until the upper levels where farm rates approximated the nonfarm.

Regional contrasts are shown in the fourth panel of Chart III. Even when the several southern samples are combined to include all residence groups, servant use roughly matched relative income position. By contrast, in the Midwest servants are a privilege of the highest-income families, as was true generally in the nation outside the South.

The interweaving of class with caste in the South is nowhere better illustrated than in the fact that Atlanta Negroes, income for income, were almost as likely to hire some help as were whites in large cities of other regions and that they exceeded non-southern whites in the average weeks of service employed. At \$3,000 a third of the Atlanta colored families spent money on help, and in the middle-sized cities the proportion of Negro families with service exceeded that of whites of similar incomes outside the South.

The amounts of help hired are not charted. By way of example, at a \$2,000 income in middle-sized cities of the Far West the average was 6.7 weeks of help a year; in the Mountain States, 2.5 weeks; in the East Central region, 5.2 weeks; and in New England, 4.7 weeks. The comparable southern Negro families made use of 5.8 weeks and southern whites 31.8 weeks. Contrasts of the same order were reported (here in days) among farmers: only 15 days in the Corn Belt, 14 in California, 101 days among Carolina white operators, and 133

days among Georgia-Mississippi white farmers.

Inequalities in the distribution of aggregate domestic help among families in each of the regional and residence categories are summarized from a Lorenz analysis in Table 3.¹¹ That domestic help is more evenly distributed among nonfarm southern white families than among families in other regions is immediately evident. The top 5 per cent of income-receivers in cities and villages outside the South had control of from 25 to 49 per cent of all servant time hired, but among southern whites the range was only from 11 to 14 per cent. The most "plutocratic" pattern of all was displayed by southern urban Negroes among whom the top 5 per cent accounted for three-fifths to two-thirds of the total domestic help employed by all urban Negro families.

Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to compare the availability of servants in the 1930's with that of slaves in 1860. It has already been pointed out that in these four states 40 per cent of the white families were slaveowners and that in the 1930's 43 per cent of the white families hired help. If we take 300 days or 42 weeks as full-time help, only 11 per cent of the families had one or more full-time servants. Of the village families, 48 per cent had full help. Use of servant time is less concentrated than were slaveholdings. Among families with at least one slave in 1860, the top 5 per cent owned about a third of the total, and among all families, irrespective of whether they owned a slave, the top 5 per cent held well over half the slaves. Among the white farm families in the Georgia-Mississippi area in the 1930's servant hire was surprisingly close to the former slave distribution.

In the absence of current data on the subject, there is no direct testimony to the

¹¹ Lorenz analysis is a graphical device for showing what proportion of the individuals in a population possess stated percentages of income, or any other good. This and other measures of inequality are discussed in Mary Jean Bowman, "A Graphical Analysis of Personal Income Distribution," in *Readings in the Theory of Income Distribution* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1946), pp. 72-99.

effects of recent occupational changes upon the income pattern of servant use. There can be little doubt that the drastic decline of

TABLE 3
INEQUALITY IN UTILIZATION OF HIRED
DOMESTIC SERVICE, 1935-36

	PERCENTAGES OF AGGREGATE HELP EMPLOYED BY VARIOUS PERCENTAGES OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION		
	Upper 5 Per Cent	Upper 33 Per Cent	Bottom 33 Per Cent
Big cities:			
Providence.....	49	94	1
Omaha.....	28	76	5
Portland.....	29	76	6
Atlanta whites.....	14	59	11
Atlanta Negroes.....	65	83	4
Middle cities:			
New England.....	36	82	2
East Central.....	42	83	3
West Central.....	34	83	2
Mountain.....	40	80	6
Pacific.....	35	75	6
Southeast whites.....	13	57	12
Southeast Negroes.....	62	90	0
Villages:*			
Middle Atlantic, North Central.....	31	76	5
Plains, Mountains.....	25	70	8
Southeast whites.....	11	57	10
Farms:			
Pennsylvania, Ohio....	10	56	14
Illinois, Iowa.....	16	55	17
California.....	42	83	2
North and South Caro- lina whites (all).....	21	71	3
North and South Caro- lina white operators†	18	66	8
Georgia, Mississippi whites (all).....	39	88	1
Georgia, Mississippi white operators.....	35	82	3

* New England and Pacific villages and southeastern village Negroes omitted due to inadequate samples.

† All whites include sharecroppers, who are omitted from operators. Other than among white operators, servants were virtually lacking in all farm homes with the minor exception of some Carolina white sharecroppers.

late in aggregate servant help available has altered this pattern. Attention has already been called to a magnified "caste" element in selection for the servant role over the past decade, especially in the states with relatively low Negro populations. However, two of

the states (Mississippi and South Carolina) covered in the present section were exceptions to that trend. Taking the other perspective, which views relative income homogeneity among whites in servant use as a caste phenomenon and sharp income gradients as a class pattern, a guess may be hazarded that regional contrasts have diminished and that the income gradient within the South has steepened. In any event, it is clear that the South is and has been not one but many. Even among the four states high in use of servants that have just been scrutinized, the contrast between the Carolinas and the Georgia-Mississippi farm families is noteworthy. When other states are included in the South, as in the first section, this variation is greatly increased.¹²

III. STATE PROFILES

In his "New South" Holland Thompson pointed out that as the crow flies it is farther from Richmond to Memphis than to Bangor; from Richmond to Galveston than to Duluth; and New Orleans is closer to Cincinnati than to Raleigh. Social distances are no less great.

Along the dimensions of servant use and servant-caste patterns analyzed in Section I, the distance from Mississippi to Louisiana exceeds that from Virginia to Illinois or Kansas. In respect to the proportions of nonfarm whites who are domestics, the states called "southern" span and inclose the northern states. This diversity in the southern servant pattern is now pointed up by the use of "state profiles." The nonfarm pattern of servant use derived entirely from the data of Section I is portrayed in Chart IV, while Table 4 presents some racial differences in female occupations.¹³

¹² Perhaps social scientists have been imprudent in accepting *Deep South* as a picture of typical southern race relations.

¹³ It should be noticed that the figures in Table 4 giving ratios of nonwhite to white percentages of domestics among women in nonagricultural employments differ from but are correlated with the servant-caste ratios of Chart II. The latter figures referred to all women, whether or not employed.

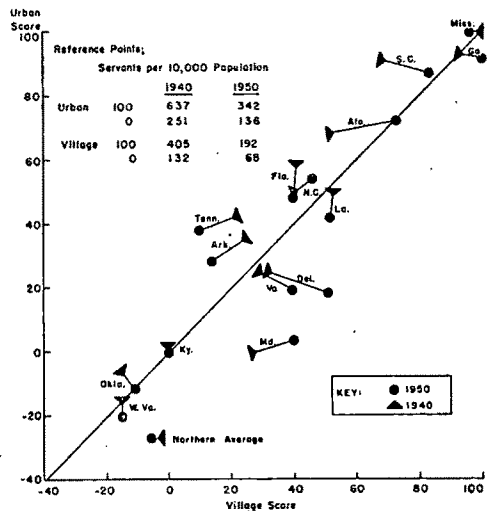
The ratios of Negro to white percentages of domestics are higher in 1950 than in 1940 in every state.¹⁴ The unusually low ratios for Louisiana in contrast to other states with comparable concentrations of Negro population reflect the low use of servants in that state, which finds expression in low proportions of Negro as well as white women employed as domestics. Four southern states match the northern ratios: Kentucky, Arkansas, Oklahoma, West Virginia. New Jersey takes on a southern coloration—as has been remarked before by students of Negro schooling.

While this paper cannot explore racial differentiation in occupations generally, one question cannot be evaded: Is the existence of caste differentiation in the servant role associated with a corresponding discrimination in job opportunities for Negro women at the upper end of the vocational scale? In the professions this is certainly not true, as the last two columns of Table 4 demonstrate. The ratio of the proportion of professionals among white women to that among Negro women in five northern states exceeded those in any southern state (except Louisiana) in 1940. Among the southern states each of these ratios for professional women is only a small fraction of the corresponding ratio for servants. Vocational opportunities for Negro women approach those of white women much more closely at the top than at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. Except in Delaware, Negro opportunities in professional work improved appreciably during the decade. The central function of the public school system as a channel of vertical mobility is underlined by these data, as is the dilemma posed for professional Negro women by proposals for desegregation.

In the clerical vocations the situation is quite different. Here discrimination greatly

exceeds that in the professions. And in this vocational category North and South are clearly separated. The 1940 southern white/Negro ratios averaged 35:1, the northern 12:1; the corresponding 1950 ratios are 13:1 and 6:1. Nonetheless, the gradient of Negro opportunities with variations in the proportions of Negroes in the population is much less marked than in the case of domestic service. Negro disadvantage in clerical work has diminished appreciably in

CHART IV
STATE PROFILES OF SERVANT USE



every state during the past decade as Negro women have gained proportionately more than white women in the clerical field. However, their numbers in such positions are still relatively few.

In both years Delaware showed the most discrimination against Negro women in clerical jobs. Among the northern states New Jersey again shows up as highly discriminatory, especially in 1940 when it matched Tennessee and North Carolina. Negro opportunities were greatest both relatively and absolutely in Illinois and Michigan a decade ago, but New York and Massachusetts have since caught up with Michigan. Taking the occupational pattern broadly, Illinois is at one pole among the northern states and New Jersey is at the

¹⁴ In Mississippi (and urban South Carolina) the proportion of all Negro women who are domestics declined more than the proportion of white women, contrary to the trends in the other states (Chart II). However, considering only percentages of employed women (Table 4), these states were no exceptions.

other. Except for Oklahoma and West Virginia, variations within the South in clerical employment of Negroes show little relation to the other factors used in this inquiry. The rapid rise of opportunities for Negro

the diagonal indicates that a state scored closer to the top in its urban than in its village use of servants, and conversely. In general, vertical positions have shifted less during the decade than horizontal ones;

TABLE 4
RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN POPULATION		RATIOS OF NON- WHITE TO WHITE PERCENTAGES OF SERVANTS AMONG WOMEN IN NON- FARM EMPLOY- MENT		RATIOS OF WHITE TO NONWHITE PER- CENTAGES AMONG WOMEN IN NON- FARM EMPLOYMENT			
					Clerical		Professional	
	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940
Miss.....	45	49	44	29	11	38	1.8	3.5
S.C.....	39	43	46	26	19	45	1.3	2.3
La.....	33	36	26	14	17	41	2.5	4.3
Ala.....	32	35	34	17	15	32	1.7	3.2
Ga.....	31	35	42	22	17	38	1.9	3.0
N.C.....	26	28	27	13	11	27	1.4	2.0
Ark.....	22	25	14	6	14	37	1.7	3.2
Va.....	22	25	17	8	11	32	1.9	2.8
Fla.....	21	27	17	11	15	30	2.3	3.9
Md.....	17	17	19	11	8	34	2.7	3.3
Tenn.....	16	17	19	9	12	26	2.3	3.5
Del.....	14	14	15	8	21	74	3.3	3.1
Ky.....	7	8	13	6	14	32	2.4	3.4
Okla.....	7	7	10	5	8	26	1.5	2.4
W.Va.....	6	6	8	4	10	19	1.5	1.8
Mo.....	8	7	11	5	7	15	1.7	2.0
Ill.....	7	5	6	4	4	6	2.5	2.8
Mich.....	7	4	7	4	4	7	2.7	4.7
N.J.....	7	6	15	9	9	26	3.7	5.6
Ohio.....	7	5	9	5	5	10	3.2	3.8
N.Y.....	6	4	8	6	4	12	2.7	4.1
Pa.....	6	5	11	6	5	13	3.3	5.3
Ind.....	4	4	8	5	6	10	2.4	2.3
Kan.....	4	4	8	4	8	13	2.7	3.0
Mass.....	2	1	7	6	4	9	2.6	4.0

clerical workers in Mississippi is noteworthy.

The servant-use patterns in the urban and village sectors of each state can be read off Chart I, but the state configurations are more easily grasped with the aid of Chart IV.¹⁵ It will be noticed that any point above

¹⁵ The figures on numbers of servants in relation to population were scaled as percentiles, with the highest southern state as 100 and the lowest (excluding Oklahoma and West Virginia) zero. For these

that is, the relations among the states in urban propensities for servant use have been more stable, reflecting the greater homogeneity in rate of change in frequency of servants in cities than in villages. The points on the chart for northern states show that they diverge from the southern pattern less in villages than in cities and that there has

two and the northern states the scale extends negatively.

been little change in these respects during the decade.

The states can be grouped on the basis of the pattern of Chart IV. Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina (and in 1950 Alabama) form a cluster at the upper extreme. Since servants declined less in rural South Carolina, today the three states are grouped as closely on the village as on the city scales. Alabama has shifted from the Florida, North Carolina, and Louisiana cluster toward the higher one.

Though the three states of this second cluster are close together, Florida and North Carolina scored higher in urban than in village areas, while in Louisiana the reverse was the case, especially in 1950. North Carolina has lagged relatively in both village and urban areas; but Florida and Louisiana had lower urban scale positions in 1950 than in 1940. Arkansas and Tennessee are the only states that have shifted markedly downward on the village scale; in each of these states the urban levels of servant use were relatively higher in both years than the village levels.

Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland (like the northern states) scaled much higher for village than for city servant use in 1950, as did Maryland in 1940 also; in the villages of all three of these states use of servants did not drop off as rapidly as in most of the other southern states (except South Carolina and Alabama). Servants were less commonly employed in urban Maryland than in urban Virginia or Delaware. Kentucky is at the zero point in both years. Oklahoma and West Virginia also changed little in relative servant use; both stood well below the definitely southern states and at about the same relative level in both cities and villages. These two states exceed the northern states in cities but are lower in villages—perhaps reflecting a southern tradition in cities while poverty and absence of a large Negro population limit servant use in villages.¹⁶

¹⁶ If it were not for the high servant use in the three village sectors of the states of New York, New

IV. CONCLUSION

A simple summing-up in Table 5, giving each state equal weight, shows the average numbers of servants per ten thousand population.¹⁷ These data speak for themselves. Servants of urban and village families have

TABLE 5

	1940	1950
South		
Urban.....	401	211
Village.....	230	118
Farm ^(a)	68	49
Farm ^(b)	93	72
Northeast		
Urban.....	150	78
Village.....	192	85
Farm.....	151	73
North Central		
Urban.....	149	79
Village.....	110	59
Farm.....	74	23
Mountain (Five States)		
Urban.....	87	66
Village.....	54	45
Farm.....	56	28
Pacific		
Urban.....	134	79
Village.....	83	46
Farm.....	77	40

Jersey, and Massachusetts, the village scale positions of the northern average would be -9(1940) and -11(1950).

¹⁷ The regional groupings follow the census with one exception. Three states (Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona) are omitted from the Mountain group. The Mountain States clustered in two levels, especially for cities; in 1940 the three named

diminished over most of the nation, and the South has shared in this loss. Though proportionate decreases were slight in the Mountain States included, their 1940 base was already low. Outside the South, the urban incidence of domestics varies little across the country today. The distinctive situation in village and farm areas of the northeastern states stands out, farm families in this region having more servants than those in the South. Equally striking is the lag in the decline of servants on southern farms.

These recent changes gain significance when viewed against the long-term background. The incidence of servants in the nation dropped from 20 to 15 per thousand population during and after the first World War, and this new lower level was stabilized for another twenty years. Then came another drop to 9 servants per thousand persons in 1950, a decline for the decade 1940-50 twice as large as that in the period 1910-20. The larger shrinkage in the later period is attributable in part to the greater participation of the South in the change.

Though the earlier data are crude and not fully comparable with more recent figures, it is striking that between 1910 and 1920 the percentage decline in women age sixteen or more who were servants was three times as large in the Northeast and North Central areas as in the South (27 and 9 per cent).¹⁸ In the last decade, by contrast, the northern percentage declines in numbers of women in domestic service were only 1.4 times the southern losses (40 against 28 per cent). It is doubtful that even a depression would bring

states averaged 164 servants, whereas the others in the region were all under 100. With this deletion each group except the South is quite homogeneous, the largest internal variation outside the South occurring in the farm areas of the northeast. The (a) entries for the South are computed against the total farm population; the (b) entries, against white farm population only.

¹⁸ Census Bureau, *Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870 to 1920* ("Census Monographs," 1920, Vol. IX [Washington, D.C., 1929]), p. 37, Table 25.

a return to the prewar levels of domestic service in any region, now that the South has come to share in these changes more fully.

Northern states with sizable Negro populations draw heavily from this group for domestic service. But none of these states has enough Negroes to rely preponderantly upon them for servants. In this respect the South, or that part of it in which Negroes are most concentrated, remains distinctive. The segregation of the servant role to Negroes has been strengthened by the lowering of the frequencies of servants, for white women have dropped out of the occupation faster than Negroes. Yet the Negro is not worse off than before. However racially segregated the servant occupation may be, alternative opportunities for Negro women (and their husbands) are affecting the nature of the servant role. Where other opportunities multiply, the subservience of maid to mistress is undermined.¹⁹

Both plutocratic and familistic racial relations are being displaced by more impersonal and equalitarian ones. There are many ramifications of these changes into the mistress-servant relationship. The effects include modes of education and acculturation of the less-privileged members of the community, on the one hand; and the structures of relations and interaction among the privileged, on the other. The changing servant pattern, permeating even into the strongholds of the old plantation South, is not merely an economic adjustment; it is also a phase of cultural revolution.

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¹⁹ It would be churlish to overlook the function of domestic service as an educational medium. Just as service in homes aided the assimilation of many white immigrants, Negroes too have been acculturated in white homes. Urban domestic service has many advantages over farm labor. Today there is increasingly a paradox between progress and lag; a trained Negro domestic is more likely to leave for other employment, while the cultural traits of the farm Negroes often deter mistresses from regarding them as adequate substitutes for the lost cook.

COMMENTS ON THE SCIENTIFIC FUNCTION OF THE CONCEPT OF COHESIVENESS¹

ROBERT S. ALBERT

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the conceptual questions that arise with the introduction and incorporation of a new concept within theory. It is pointed out that these questions, and the attainment of their answers, are not unique to small-group theory, as might be the impression gained from the Gross and Martin paper.

New concepts, like new children, require answers to three important questions before they can be certified into both the family and the wider social community in which they are to reside. These questions are: First, why admit them? Second, what to do with them once admitted? Third, what to name them so that we may refer to, control, and interact with them with a minimum of confusion and embarrassment, both operationally and theoretically? Substituting the words "theory" for "family" and "small-group theory" for "social community," the questions retain their analogous relevance and lose their pediatric overtone. We are left, however, with the problem of admitting a new concept into our professional vocabulary and of providing satisfactory answers to the three questions stated above.

It has been said, and truly, that a science has reached a high level of maturity when its followers can attack some small problem which they recognize as important without feeling compelled to revamp the whole fabric of that science. It is also possible to question whether, when a science does reach such a level, it may be mature to the point of senility, or not in close enough approximation to its subject for important problems to arise, and, in being met, for those problems to be reconceptualized. There is one other diagnostic sign by which to gauge the level of attainment in a science. For a science to be termed "mature," it must have developed beyond its "working

hypotheses" and must deal with functional relationships of an empirical nature by means of assumptions based upon highly abstract constructs, in which case one becomes involved in the interpretation of *structure*.² This issue has been brought forth by Lewin in relation to the legitimacy and group-qua-group dimensions.³ We recall the point at this time for the express purpose of placing before us a criterion by which to evaluate the place and function of the concept of cohesiveness within small-group theory.

The Gross and Martin article never once raised such a question.⁴ Rather, its purpose was directed toward exposition, which, while interesting, appeared to overlook the three immediate questions noted above. Gross and Martin seem to obscure rather than clarify the issue when they take the Michigan group of researchers to task for inadequacies in their operational definitions of cohesiveness.

Since they rely so heavily for their more telling points upon the disparity between the *nominal* and the *operational* definitions developed especially by Back and Schachter,⁵ it may help us to recall that nominal

² See H. Feigl, "Some Remarks on the Meaning of Scientific Explanation," *Psychological Review*, LV (1948), 58.

³ Kurt Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science*, ed. Dorwin Cartwright (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), esp. chap. ix.

⁴ Neal Gross and W. E. Martin, "On Group Cohesiveness," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (May, 1952), 546-64.

⁵ L. Festinger, K. Back, S. Schachter, H. H. Kelley, and J. Thibaut, *Theory and Experiment in Social Communication* (Ann Arbor: Research Center for Dynamics, University of Michigan, 1950), pp. 123.

¹ It is suggested that this article, which was written prior to knowledge of Argyle's article, be read as a companion piece to the methodologically oriented article by Michael Argyle, "Methods of Studying Small Social Groups," *British Journal of Psychology*, XLIII (1952), 269-79.

definitions, per se, are conventional agreements to use words in a particular manner as concerns the meanings they are to convey. That is, a *definiendum* (a synonymous word or group of words) is agreed to be used for other words already known and applied to certain referents. Actually, nothing new has been defined or implied, nor has any problem arisen here in the process. It appears that Gross and Martin mistake the nominal definition for a proposition. Whereas the former is an analytical statement and expresses a tautology without giving us any new information concerning matters of fact, the latter, if they are factual propositions, express to us a possible observation and can therefore be tested as to their truth or falsity. In such a case we speak of empirical (i.e., synthetic) propositions, and these are *real* definitions, not nominal ones. Real definitions, or synthetic propositions that can be tested, are the material of Festinger, Back, and Schachter's inquiry. As such, these propositions are open to an at present unsettled question which Gross and Martin fail to note; that is, whether or not such propositions are themselves incorrigible. This is to say, are they recording experience so accurately that they need no correction as experience continues?

The question raised by Gross and Martin as to the adequacy of the various operational definitions falls short of the mark on the above counts. What one can ask is that the operational definitions be relevant to the "right-side" of the real definition; that is, the *definiens*, which must be analyzed in terms of its own validity. There lies the crux of such a question as whether or not the operational definitions of cohesiveness explicate *and* manipulate (linguistically, to be sure, at this point) the more important variables and relationships: what to do with the new concept once it is with us; what to name it so that we may refer to and control and interact with it operationally, that is, questions two and three raised above. I wish to defer for the time being the first question asked concerning the existence of

the concept of cohesiveness in small-group theory.

Festinger defines cohesiveness as "the *resultant* of all the forces influencing the members to remain in the group. These forces may depend on the attractiveness or unattractiveness of either the prestige of the group, members of the group, or the activities in which the group engages."⁶ This definition begs an important question—that is, the constituent aspects of that general result—and assumes cohesiveness as a premise (in this case a particular kind of process among members of a group and the group *in toto* for the appearance of the results of that process). We still do not know what cohesiveness is but only that it is. How are we to identify it, manipulate it, and predict from its presence in groups? This we cannot do unless we are told more about that "*resultant*" per se. What does it allow the group to do? What changes occur in the actions and verbal (communicative) behavior of the group's members? How are we to know when a group has cohesiveness and when it lacks this membership behavior, group characteristic, or process, whichever it is? Something was implied, but what?

Admittedly, the second of the above questions is best worked out by Festinger, although the changes in the group's communicative process are actually related to intermember relationships that need not be explained by evocation of the concept of cohesiveness at all. This is readily seen in a quick review of four hypotheses Festinger postulates concerning informal social communication.⁷ Festinger appears to define cohesiveness⁸—if this can be considered a definition at all—from the point of view of the group as an organizational whole. What we have been given are characteristics of that whole. This distinction becomes clearer when we compare with it another definition of the concept. According to Back, it is "the strength of attraction which the group has for its members. This *property* of groups, the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. (Italics mine.)

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

attraction which it has *for* its members, or the forces which are exerted *on* the members to stay in the group, has been called cohesiveness."⁹ Cohesiveness, "the desire to belong to a group," is a function of the property of the group. While this qualification of the first definition is a welcomed specification, one wonders whether or not there is but one property of the group that is instrumental in creating this desire to belong. As it now stands, cohesiveness is too general to explain anything in particular and so general as to describe anything one may wish it to designate. It is obvious that much is lacking in the way of valid operational definitions. Nevertheless, Back's definition can be called a very good first-order approximation. He defines cohesiveness from the point of view of the individual member. While the origin of this force of attraction is within the group itself, its referent in the final analysis is the individual member. The Schachter definition,¹⁰ while suffering from the same defect of overgenerality as Festinger's, does add one more important function of cohesiveness by which we might recognize and manipulate group cohesiveness. This function is in the group's power to induce change in its members. This "change" is termed by Thibaut conformity to a group standard. Thibaut also contributes additional clarity to the concept in his hypothesizing that cohesiveness is a function of group activities, attractiveness, and, most important, prestige.¹¹ The first two factors we have met before. One might legitimately question whether or not activities and attractiveness are mutually independent, as is assumed in the previous definitions; for, while the former entail some purpose, it is the perception of those purposes and concomitant paths that makes up the attractiveness the group holds for individual members. Attractiveness per se is a nonexistent; it is an attribute or value attributed to something in relation to the intending subject and as such is either perceived (as a color or tone) or imputed (as an interpreta-

tion). As for the third factor in group cohesiveness, the group's prestige, two other independent factors are related to its efficacy, thereby being subject to explicit and controllable testing of variously deduced hypotheses. These two factors are (1) the status position of the particular group in question and (2) the relative success of a low-status group in achieving a higher status within the status hierarchy through the group's action.

This elaboration is a fortunate stroke in that it affords one a bridge between small groups and reference groups, the latter having larger and more comprehensive ramifications within the individual member's behavior. That there are role expectancies and perceptions concerned primarily with the larger group should not blind us to the fact that every member of a small group is also a member of a larger group; his performance (if he is a student-subject in an experiment or a councilman for a ward) will be influenced by that dual membership. Herein lies a partial answer to our second initial question of what to do with the concept once it is with us: we must relate it to other concepts in order more fully to derive deductions from their functional relationships and manipulatable variations. This, I believe, has not been done as yet with the concept of cohesiveness. Furthermore, one doubts whether it could have been performed any sooner, since time and experimentation are essential in explicating concepts and since there are no known substitutes for either. No science has ever progressed far using only knowledge *about* its subject matter, but it is acquaintance *with* the subject matter that constitutes the factualness and steady verification we term "science." Gross and Martin are justified only in complaining about the broadness of the definition of the concept of cohesiveness, not about the way it is being tested. The manner in which one can criticize *that* aspect is to set up more explicit statements derived from the definition (if there is already agreement with it in its present form) and to test the derivatives. If these are found wanting, then the concept is suspect, not

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21. (Italics mine.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

the theory *per se*. That is replaced, or at least amended. One gathers from their paper that Gross and Martin fail to make that replacement, but accept the definition and offer other tests of it. The point in question, therefore, concerns the differences between their results and those of the other experimenters.

This point brings us to consider the operational definitions used. Such definitions are no better than the ingenuity involved in setting them up. What is "honorable" concerning them is the stipulation that one must use particular instruments and procedures which are open to the observation of all. This requirement thereby clarifies much vague terminology and "loose" talk. Nevertheless, the operational definition follows from the conceptual definition, and, the more general and vague *that* is, the more probable are questions of procedure and adequacy of operational definitions. It cannot be assumed, as is often done, that the particular operations used exhaust all the possible ones. And thereby hangs a tale: all operational definitions are subject to being found inadequate; the degree of adequacy is agreed upon and not "proved." Although Gross and Martin have found different operations by which to test cohesiveness, before we can accept the concept itself we must find answers to some important tactical questions; viz., now that we have before us two different operational definitions, resulting in different empirical results, (1) is one of the setups wrong in its methodological design and therefore not testing the same thing as the other; (2) is the conceptual definition adequate to cover the results of the operational definition, since it may be that there are two different processes involved in the phenomenon which the two methods are examining; and (3) are both operational definitions wrong? This can only be determined by reference to the conceptual definition, which we have seen previously to be lacking in both completeness and explicitness. It is for this reason that one can always raise the question of how one

knows *what* is actually being tested and whether or not other processes and variables are also functioning in the experiments.

The question raised in the opening paragraph concerning the existence of a concept such as cohesiveness remains to be answered. It appears that, for cohesiveness to fulfil any need conceptually, it must relate to phenomena not covered by other concepts. This would indicate that we are sure of what body of behavior cohesiveness is to refer to (e.g., interaction of two or more persons or restriction to a specific type of behavioral organization). If cohesiveness is to refer to the affectional relationship between two persons in close psychological agreement, then we must throw out some of our present concepts which already refer to such a relationship. Since morale on the group level has been studied as individual phenomena (response, motivation, attitude, goal), it may be that cohesiveness is the intervening variable that relates these aspects. If so, it must be redefined so as to show, rather than merely assume, the relationship between the components in the individual's behavior. On the group level we have found studies concerning the group "tele," co-operation, confidence in group organization, morale as a disposition to act together toward a goal, and various results derived from a clear chain of communication.

Perhaps what is most needed at present is the determination conceptually of the constituent parts of the concept, the nature of the group to which it refers (surely not to all one-person-plus relationships), *and* the time perspective of this group's function and organization, as well as the particular kind of relationship called for within such a grouping of persons. Here we could vary the functional relationships between these parts of our definition and locate cohesiveness as an intervening variable with legitimate relations between antecedent and consequences. As yet we have not done this.

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BECOMING A MARIHUANA USER*

HOWARD S. BECKER

ABSTRACT

An individual will be able to use marihuana for pleasure only when he (1) learns to smoke it in a way that will produce real effects; (2) learns to recognize the effects and connect them with drug use; and (3) learns to enjoy the sensations he perceives. This proposition, based on an analysis of fifty interviews with marihuana users, calls into question theories which ascribe behavior to antecedent predispositions and suggests the utility of explaining behavior in terms of the emergence of motives and dispositions in the course of experience.

The use of marihuana is and has been the focus of a good deal of attention on the part of both scientists and laymen. One of the major problems students of the practice have addressed themselves to has been the identification of those individual psychological traits which differentiate marihuana users from nonusers and which are assumed to account for the use of the drug. That approach, common in the study of behavior categorized as deviant, is based on the premise that the presence of a given kind of behavior in an individual can best be explained as the result of some trait which predisposes or motivates him to engage in the behavior.¹

This study is likewise concerned with accounting for the presence or absence of marihuana use in an individual's behavior. It starts, however, from a different premise:

* Paper read at the meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society in Omaha, Nebraska, April 25, 1953. The research on which this paper is based was done while I was a member of the staff of the Chicago Narcotics Survey, a study done by the Chicago Area Project, Inc., under a grant from the National Mental Health Institute. My thanks to Solomon Kobrin, Harold Finestone, Henry McKay, and Anselm Strauss, who read and discussed with me earlier versions of this paper.

¹ See, as examples of this approach, the following: Eli Marcovitz and Henry J. Meyers, "The Marihuana Addict in the Army," *War Medicine*, VI (December, 1944), 382-91; Herbert S. Gaskill, "Marihuana, an Intoxicant," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CII (September, 1945), 202-4; Sol Charen and Luis Perelman, "Personality Studies of Marihuana Addicts," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CII (March, 1946), 674-82.

that the presence of a given kind of behavior is the result of a sequence of social experiences during which the person acquires a conception of the meaning of the behavior, and perceptions and judgments of objects and situations, all of which make the activity possible and desirable. Thus, the motivation or disposition to engage in the activity is built up in the course of learning to engage in it and does not antedate this learning process. For such a view it is not necessary to identify those "traits" which "cause" the behavior. Instead, the problem becomes one of describing the set of changes in the person's conception of the activity and of the experience it provides for him.²

This paper seeks to describe the sequence of changes in attitude and experience which lead to *the use of marihuana for pleasure*. Marihuana does not produce addiction, as do alcohol and the opiate drugs; there is no withdrawal sickness and no ineradicable craving for the drug.³ The most frequent pattern of use might be termed "recreational." The drug is used occasionally for the pleasure the user finds in it, a relatively casual kind of behavior in comparison with that connected with the use of addicting drugs. The term "use for pleasure" is meant to emphasize the noncompulsive and casual

² This approach stems from George Herbert Mead's discussion of objects in *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 277-80.

³ Cf. Roger Adams, "Marihuana," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, XVIII (November, 1942), 705-30.

character of the behavior. It is also meant to eliminate from consideration here those few cases in which marihuana is used for its prestige value only, as a symbol that one is a certain kind of person, with no pleasure at all being derived from its use.

The analysis presented here is conceived of as demonstrating the greater explanatory usefulness of the kind of theory outlined above as opposed to the predispositional theories now current. This may be seen in two ways: (1) predispositional theories cannot account for that group of users (whose existence is admitted)⁴ who do not exhibit the trait or traits considered to cause the behavior and (2) such theories cannot account for the great variability over time of a given individual's behavior with reference to the drug. The same person will at one stage be unable to use the drug for pleasure, at a later stage be able and willing to do so, and, still later, again be unable to use it in this way. These changes, difficult to explain from a predispositional or motivational theory, are readily understandable in terms of changes in the individual's conception of the drug as is the existence of "normal" users.

The study attempted to arrive at a general statement of the sequence of changes in individual attitude and experience which have always occurred when the individual has become willing and able to use marihuana for pleasure and which have not occurred or not been permanently maintained when this is not the case. This generalization is stated in universal terms in order that negative cases may be discovered and used to revise the explanatory hypothesis.⁵

Fifty interviews with marihuana users

⁴ Cf. Lawrence Kolb, "Marihuana," *Federal Prohibition*, II (July, 1938), 22-25; and Walter Bromberg, "Marihuana: A Psychiatric Study," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXIII (July 1, 1939), 11.

⁵ The method used is that described by Alfred R. Lindesmith in his *Opiate Addiction* (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1947), chap. i. I would like also to acknowledge the important role Lindesmith's work played in shaping my thinking about the genesis of marihuana use.

from a variety of social backgrounds and present positions in society constitute the data from which the generalization was constructed and against which it was tested.⁶ The interviews focused on the history of the person's experience with the drug, seeking major changes in his attitude toward it and in his actual use of it and the reasons for these changes. The final generalization is a statement of that sequence of changes in attitude which occurred in every case known to me in which the person came to use marihuana for pleasure. Until a negative case is found, it may be considered as an explanation of all cases of marihuana use for pleasure. In addition, changes from use to nonuse are shown to be related to similar changes in conception, and in each case it is possible to explain variations in the individual's behavior in these terms.

This paper covers only a portion of the natural history of an individual's use of marihuana,⁷ starting with the person having arrived at the point of willingness to try marihuana. He knows that others use it to "get high," but he does not know what this means in concrete terms. He is curious about the experience, ignorant of what it may turn out to be, and afraid that it may be more than he has bargained for. The steps outlined below, if he undergoes them all and maintains the attitudes developed in them, leave him willing and able to use the drug for pleasure when the opportunity presents itself.

I

The novice does not ordinarily get high the first time he smokes marihuana, and several attempts are usually necessary to induce this state. One explanation of this may be that the drug is not smoked "properly," that is, in a way that insures sufficient dosage to produce real symptoms of intoxication.

⁶ Most of the interviews were done by the author. I am grateful to Solomon Kobrin and Harold Finestone for allowing me to make use of interviews done by them.

⁷ I hope to discuss elsewhere other stages in this natural history.

tion: Most users agree that it cannot be smoked like tobacco if one is to get high:

Take in a lot of air, you know, and . . . I don't know how to describe it, you don't smoke it like a cigarette, you draw in a lot of air and get it deep down in your system and then keep it there. Keep it there as long as you can.

Without the use of some such technique⁸ the drug will produce no effects, and the user will be unable to get high:

The trouble with people like that [who are not able to get high] is that they're just not smoking it right, that's all there is to it. Either they're not holding it down long enough, or they're getting too much air and not enough smoke, or the other way around or something like that. A lot of people just don't smoke it right, so naturally nothing's gonna happen.

If nothing happens, it is manifestly impossible for the user to develop a conception of the drug as an object which can be used for pleasure, and use will therefore not continue. The first step in the sequence of events that must occur if the person is to become a user is that he must learn to use the proper smoking technique in order that his use of the drug will produce some effects in terms of which his conception of it can change.

Such a change is, as might be expected, a result of the individual's participation in groups in which marihuana is used. In them the individual learns the proper way to smoke the drug. This may occur through direct teaching:

I was smoking like I did an ordinary cigarette. He said, "No, don't do it like that." He said, "Suck it, you know, draw in and hold it in your lungs till you . . . for a period of time."

I said, "Is there any limit of time to hold it?"

He said, "No, just till you feel that you want to let it out, let it out." So I did that three or four times.

Many new users are ashamed to admit ignorance and, pretending to know already, must

learn through the more indirect means of observation and imitation:

I came on like I had turned on [smoked marihuana] many times before, you know. I didn't want to seem like a punk to this cat. See, like I didn't know the first thing about it—how to smoke it, or what was going to happen, or what. I just watched him like a hawk—I didn't take my eyes off him for a second, because I wanted to do everything just as he did it. I watched how he held it, how he smoked it, and everything. Then when he gave it to me I just came on cool, as though I knew exactly what the score was. I held it like he did and took a poke just the way he did.

No person continued marihuana use for pleasure without learning a technique that supplied sufficient dosage for the effects of the drug to appear. Only when this was learned was it possible for a conception of the drug as an object which could be used for pleasure to emerge. Without such a conception marihuana use was considered meaningless and did not continue.

II

Even after he learns the proper smoking technique, the new user may not get high and thus not form a conception of the drug as something which can be used for pleasure. A remark made by a user suggested the reason for this difficulty in getting high and pointed to the next necessary step on the road to being a user:

I was told during an interview, "As a matter of fact, I've seen a guy who was high out of his mind and didn't know it."

I expressed disbelief: "How can that be, man?"

The interviewee said, "Well, it's pretty strange, I'll grant you that, but I've seen it. This guy got on with me, claiming that he'd never got high, one of those guys, and he got completely stoned. And he kept insisting that he wasn't high. So I had to prove to him that he was."

What does this mean? It suggests that being high consists of two elements: the presence of symptoms caused by marihuana use and the recognition of these symptoms

⁸ A pharmacologist notes that this ritual is in fact an extremely efficient way of getting the drug into the blood stream (R. P. Walton, *Mcricuana: America's New Drug Problem* [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1938], p. 48).

and their connection by the user with his use of the drug. It is not enough, that is, that the effects be present; they alone do not automatically provide the experience of being high. The user must be able to point them out to himself and consciously connect them with his having smoked marihuana before he can have this experience. Otherwise, regardless of the actual effects produced, he considers that the drug has had no effect on him: "I figured it either had no effect on me or other people were exaggerating its effect on them, you know. I thought it was probably psychological, see." Such persons believe that the whole thing is an illusion and that the wish to be high leads the user to deceive himself into believing that something is happening when, in fact, nothing is. They do not continue marihuana use, feeling that "it does nothing" for them.

Typically, however, the novice has faith (developed from his observation of users who do get high) that the drug actually will produce some new experience and continues to experiment with it until it does. His failure to get high worries him, and he is likely to ask more experienced users or provoke comments from them about it. In such conversations he is made aware of specific details of his experience which he may not have noticed or may have noticed but failed to identify as symptoms of being high:

I didn't get high the first time. . . . I don't think I held it in long enough. I probably let it out, you know, you're a little afraid. The second time I wasn't sure, and he [smoking companion] told me, like I asked him for some of the symptoms or something, how would I know, you know. . . . So he told me to sit on a stool. I sat on—I think I sat on a bar stool—and he said, "Let your feet hang," and then when I got down my feet were real cold, you know.

And I started feeling it, you know. That was the first time. And then about a week after that, sometime pretty close to it, I really got on. That was the first time I got on a big laughing kick, you know. Then I really knew I was on.

One symptom of being high is an intense hunger. In the next case the novice becomes aware of this and gets high for the first time:

They were just laughing the hell out of me because like I was eating so much. I just scoffed [ate] so much food, and they were just laughing at me, you know. Sometimes I'd be looking at them, you know, wondering why they're laughing, you know, not knowing what I was doing. [Well, did they tell you why they were laughing eventually?] Yeah, yeah, I come back, "Hey, man, what's happening?" Like, you know, like I'd ask, "What's happening?" and all of a sudden I feel weird, you know. "Man, you're on, you know. You're on pot [high on marihuana]." I said, "No, am I?" Like I don't know what's happening.

The learning may occur in more indirect ways:

I heard little remarks that were made by other people. Somebody said, "My legs are rubbery," and I can't remember all the remarks that were made because I was very attentively listening for all these cues for what I was supposed to feel like.

The novice, then, eager to have this feeling, picks up from other users some concrete referents of the term "high" and applies these notions to his own experience. The new concepts make it possible for him to locate these symptoms among his own sensations and to point out to himself a "something different" in his experience that he connects with drug use. It is only when he can do this that he is high. In the next case, the contrast between two successive experiences of a user makes clear the crucial importance of the awareness of the symptoms in being high and re-emphasizes the important role of interaction with other users in acquiring the concepts that make this awareness possible:

[Did you get high the first time you turned on?] Yeah, sure. Although, come to think of it, I guess I really didn't. I mean, like that first time it was more or less of a mild drunk. I was happy, I guess, you know what I mean. But I didn't really know I was high, you know what I mean. It was only after the second time I got high that I realized I was high the first time. Then I knew that something different was happening.

[How did you know that?] How did I know? If what happened to me that night would of happened to you, you would've known, believe

me. We played the first tune for almost two hours—one tune! Imagine, man! We got on the stand and played this one tune; we started at nine o'clock. When we got finished I looked at my watch, it's a quarter to eleven. Almost two hours on one tune. And it didn't seem like anything.

I mean, you know, it does that to you. It's like you have much more time or something. Anyway, when I saw that, man, it was too much. I knew I must really be high or something if anything like that could happen. See, and then they explained to me that that's what it did to you, you had a different sense of time and everything. So I realized that that's what it was. I knew then. Like the first time, I probably felt that way, you know, but I didn't know what's happening.

It is only when the novice becomes able to get high in this sense that he will continue to use marihuana for pleasure. In every case in which use continued, the user had acquired the necessary concepts with which to express to himself the fact that he was experiencing new sensations caused by the drug. That is, for use to continue, it is necessary not only to use the drug so as to produce effects but also to learn to perceive these effects when they occur. In this way marihuana acquires meaning for the user as an object which can be used for pleasure.

With increasing experience the user develops a greater appreciation of the drug's effects; he continues to learn to get high. He examines succeeding experiences closely, looking for new effects, making sure the old ones are still there. Out of this there grows a stable set of categories for experiencing the drug's effects whose presence enables the user to get high with ease.

The ability to perceive the drug's effects must be maintained if use is to continue; if it is lost, marihuana use ceases. Two kinds of evidence support this statement. First, people who become heavy users of alcohol, barbiturates, or opiates do not continue to smoke marihuana, largely because they lose the ability to distinguish between its effects and those of the other drugs.⁹ They no

longer know whether the marihuana gets them high. Second, in those few cases in which an individual uses marihuana in such quantities that he is always high, he is apt to get this same feeling that the drug has no effect on him, since the essential element of a noticeable difference between feeling high and feeling normal is missing. In such a situation, use is likely to be given up completely, but temporarily, in order that the user may once again be able to perceive the difference.

III

One more step is necessary if the user who has now learned to get high is to continue use. He must learn to enjoy the effects he has just learned to experience. Marihuana-produced sensations are not automatically or necessarily pleasurable. The taste for such experience is a socially acquired one, not different in kind from acquired tastes for oysters or dry martinis. The user feels dizzy; thirsty; his scalp tingles; he misjudges time and distances; and so on. Are these things pleasurable? He isn't sure. If he is to continue marihuana use, he must decide that they are. Otherwise, getting high, while a real enough experience, will be an unpleasant one he would rather avoid.

The effects of the drug, when first perceived, may be physically unpleasant or at least ambiguous:

It started taking effect, and I didn't know what was happening, you know, what it was, and I was very sick. I walked around the room, walking around the room trying to get off, you know; it just scared me at first, you know. I wasn't used to that kind of feeling.

In addition, the novice's naïve interpretation of what is happening to him may further confuse and frighten him, particularly if he decides, as many do, that he is going insane:

tency of the drug. They find it very difficult to get 'high' while drinking whiskey and because of that smokers will not drink while using the 'weed' " (cf. New York City Mayor's Committee on Marihuana, *The Marihuana Problem in the City of New York* [Lancaster, Pa.: Jacques Cattell Press, 1944], p. 13).

⁹ "Smokers have repeatedly stated that the consumption of whiskey while smoking negates the po-

I felt I was insane, you know. Everything people done to me just wiggled me. I couldn't hold a conversation, and my mind would be wandering, and I was always thinking, oh, I don't know, weird things, like hearing music different. . . . I get the feeling that I can't talk to anyone. I'll goof completely.

Given these typically frightening and unpleasant first experiences, the beginner will not continue use unless he learns to redefine the sensations as pleasurable:

It was offered to me, and I tried it. I'll tell you one thing. I never did enjoy it at all. I mean it was just nothing that I could enjoy. [Well, did you get high when you turned on?] Oh, yeah, I got definite feelings from it. But I didn't enjoy them. I mean I got plenty of reactions, but they were mostly reactions of fear. [You were frightened?] Yes. I didn't enjoy it. I couldn't seem to relax with it, you know. If you can't relax with a thing, you can't enjoy it, I don't think.

In other cases the first experiences were also definitely unpleasant, but the person did become a marihuana user. This occurred, however, only after a later experience enabled him to redefine the sensations as pleasurable:

[This man's first experience was extremely unpleasant, involving distortion of spatial relationships and sounds, violent thirst, and panic produced by these symptoms.] After the first time I didn't turn on for about, I'd say, ten months to a year. . . . It wasn't a moral thing; it was because I'd gotten so frightened, bein' so high. An' I didn't want to go through that again, I mean, my reaction was, "Well, if this is what they call bein' high, I don't dig [like] it." . . . So I didn't turn on for a year almost, accounta that. . . .

Well, my friends started, an' consequently I started again. But I didn't have any more, I didn't have that same initial reaction, after I started turning on again.

[In interaction with his friends he became able to find pleasure in the effects of the drug and eventually became a regular user.]

In no case will use continue without such a redefinition of the effects as enjoyable.

This redefinition occurs, typically, in interaction with more experienced users who,

in a number of ways, teach the novice to find pleasure in this experience which is at first so frightening.¹⁰ They may reassure him as to the temporary character of the unpleasant sensations and minimize their seriousness, at the same time calling attention to the more enjoyable aspects. An experienced user describes how he handles newcomers to marihuana use:

Well, they get pretty high sometimes. The average person isn't ready for that, and it is a little frightening to them sometimes. I mean, they've been high on lush [alcohol], and they get higher that way than they've ever been before, and they don't know what's happening to them. Because they think they're going to keep going up, up, up till they lose their minds or begin doing weird things or something. You have to like reassure them, explain to them that they're not really flipping or anything, that they're gonna be all right. You have to just talk them out of being afraid. Keep talking to them, reassuring, telling them it's all right. And come on with your own story, you know: "The same thing happened to me. You'll get to like that after awhile." Keep coming on like that; pretty soon you talk them out of being scared. And besides they see you doing it and nothing horrible is happening to you, so that gives them more confidence.

The more experienced user may also teach the novice to regulate the amount he smokes more carefully, so as to avoid any severely uncomfortable symptoms while retaining the pleasant ones. Finally, he teaches the new user that he can "get to like it after awhile." He teaches him to regard those ambiguous experiences formerly defined as unpleasant as enjoyable. The older user in the following incident is a person whose tastes have shifted in this way, and his remarks have the effect of helping others to make a similar redefinition:

A new user had her first experience of the effects of marihuana and became frightened and hysterical. She "felt like she was half in and half out of the room" and experienced a number of alarming physical symptoms. One of the more experienced users present said, "She's dragged because she's high like that. I'd give anything to

¹⁰ Charen and Perelman, *op. cit.*, p. 679.

get that high myself. I haven't been that high in years."

In short, what was once frightening and distasteful becomes, after a taste for it is built up, pleasant, desired, and sought after. Enjoyment is introduced by the favorable definition of the experience that one acquires from others. Without this, use will not continue, for marihuana will not be for the user an object he can use for pleasure.

In addition to being a necessary step in becoming a user, this represents an important condition for continued use. It is quite common for experienced users suddenly to have an unpleasant or frightening experience, which they cannot define as pleasurable, either because they have used a larger amount of marihuana than usual or because it turns out to be a higher-quality marihuana than they expected. The user has sensations which go beyond any conception he has of what being high is and is in much the same situation as the novice, uncomfortable and frightened. He may blame it on an overdose and simply be more careful in the future. But he may make this the occasion for a rethinking of his attitude toward the drug and decide that it no longer can give him pleasure. When this occurs and is not followed by a redefinition of the drug as capable of producing pleasure, use will cease.

The likelihood of such a redefinition occurring depends on the degree of the individual's participation with other users. Where this participation is intensive, the individual is quickly talked out of his feeling against marihuana use. In the next case, on the other hand, the experience was very disturbing, and the aftermath of the incident cut the person's participation with other users to almost zero. Use stopped for three years and began again only when a combination of circumstances, important among which was a resumption of ties with users, made possible a redefinition of the nature of the drug:

It was too much, like I only made about four pokes, and I couldn't even get it out of my mouth, I was so high, and I got real flipped. In

the basement, you know, I just couldn't stay in there anymore. My heart was pounding real hard, you know, and I was going out of my mind; I thought I was losing my mind completely. So I cut out of this basement, and this other guy, he's out of his mind, told me, "Don't, don't leave me, man. Stay here." And I couldn't.

I walked outside, and it was five below zero, and I thought I was dying, and I had my coat open; I was sweating, I was perspiring. My whole insides were all . . . , and I walked about two blocks away, and I fainted behind a bush. I don't know how long I laid there. I woke up, and I was feeling the worst, I can't describe it at all, so I made it to a bowling alley, man, and I was trying to act normal, I was trying to shoot pool, you know, trying to act real normal, and I couldn't lay and I couldn't stand up and I couldn't sit down, and I went up and laid down where some guys that spot pins lay down, and that didn't help me, and I went down to a doctor's office. I was going to go in there and tell the doctor to put me out of my misery . . . because my heart was pounding so hard, you know. . . . So then all week end I started flipping, seeing things there and going through hell, you know, all kinds of abnormal things. . . . I just quit for a long time then.

[He went to a doctor who defined the symptoms for him as those of a nervous breakdown caused by "nerves" and "worries." Although he was no longer using marihuana, he had some recurrences of the symptoms which led him to suspect that "it was all his nerves."] So I just stopped worrying, you know; so it was about thirty-six months later I started making it again. I'd just take a few pokes, you know. [He first resumed use in the company of the same user-friend with whom he had been involved in the original incident.]

A person, then, cannot begin to use marihuana for pleasure, or continue its use for pleasure, unless he learns to define its effects as enjoyable, unless it becomes and remains an object which he conceives of as capable of producing pleasure.

IV

In summary, an individual will be able to use marihuana for pleasure only when he goes through a process of learning to conceive of it as an object which can be used in

this way. No one becomes a user without (1) learning to smoke the drug in a way which will produce real effects; (2) learning to recognize the effects and connect them with drug use (learning, in other words, to get high); and (3) learning to enjoy the sensations he perceives. In the course of this process he develops a disposition or motivation to use marihuana which was not and could not have been present when he began use, for it involves and depends on conceptions of the drug which could only grow out of the kind of actual experience detailed above. On completion of this process he is willing and able to use marihuana for pleasure.

¶ He has learned, in short, to answer "Yes" to the question: "Is it fun?" The direction his further use of the drug takes depends on his being able to continue to answer "Yes" to this question and, in addition, on his being able to answer "Yes" to other questions which arise as he becomes aware of the implications of the fact that the society as a whole disapproves of the practice: "Is it expedient?" "Is it moral?"¹¹ Once he has acquired the ability to get enjoyment out of the drug, use will continue to be possible for him. Considerations of morality and expediency, occasioned by the reactions of society, may interfere and inhibit use, but use continues to be a possibility in terms of his conception of the drug. The act becomes impossible only when the ability to enjoy the experience of being high is lost, through a change in the user's conception of the drug occasioned by certain kinds of experience with it.

In comparing this theory with those which ascribe marihuana use to motives or predispositions rooted deep in individual be-

havior, the evidence makes it clear that marihuana use for pleasure can occur only when the process described above is undergone and cannot occur without it. This is apparently so without reference to the nature of the individual's personal makeup or psychic problems. Such theories assume that people have stable modes of response which predetermine the way they will act in relation to any particular situation or object and that, when they come in contact with the given object or situation, they act in the way in which their makeup predisposes them.

This analysis of the genesis of marihuana use shows that the individuals who come in contact with a given object may respond to it at first in a great variety of ways. If a stable form of new behavior toward the object is to emerge, a transformation of meanings must occur, in which the person develops a new conception of the nature of the object.¹² This happens in a series of communicative acts in which others point out new aspects of his experience to him, present him with new interpretations of events, and help him achieve a new conceptual organization of his world, without which the new behavior is not possible. Persons who do not achieve the proper kind of conceptualization are unable to engage in the given behavior and turn off in the direction of some other relationship to the object or activity.

This suggests that behavior of any kind might fruitfully be studied developmentally, in terms of changes in meanings and concepts, their organization and reorganization, and the way they channel behavior, making some acts possible while excluding others.

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¹¹ Another paper will discuss the series of developments in attitude that occurs as the individual begins to take account of these matters and adjust his use to them.

¹² Cf. Anselm Strauss, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (June, 1952), 275-86.

A GUTTMAN SCALE FOR MEASURING WOMEN'S NEIGHBORLINESS

PAUL WALLIN

ABSTRACT

Twelve items yielded a highly satisfactory scale for the measurement of the neighborliness of women under sixty. Evidence for the unidimensionality of the items of the scale was present in questionnaire data obtained from two samples of women, one drawn from a small suburban community and the other from a residential area of a large city. Although it is not assumed that the women studied were representative of their respective universes, there is no apparent reason to believe that the items which scaled for them would fail to do so for most women comparable to them, if not for all adult women residents of large or small urban communities.

This article describes a Guttman scale for the measurement of women's neighborliness.¹ The scale consists of a series of items which were found to be unidimensional when tested with samples of responses from women in a small town and a large city. Persons interested in the study of relationships and activities deriving from residential proximity can utilize the scale for investigating factors accounting for individual differences in neighborliness. The scale also could be used for testing hypotheses as to intracommunity and intercommunity differences in neighborliness.

Apart from its value as a tool in a particular field of research, the scale is of interest as an addition to the few available examples of the application of the Guttman method to nonattitudinal data. Students of the method will also be interested in some problems encountered in the development of the scale.

SCALE ITEMS AND RESPONSES

The data for the scale were questionnaire responses of two groups of women seen at home. The scale questions were preceded by the following definitions of "neighborhood" and "neighbor":

In the questions which you are now going to answer the word *neighborhood* means all homes within one block in any direction from the block where you live. *Neighbor* means any person living that distance from you.

¹ For reasons indicated later the scale is applicable only to women under the age of sixty.

This instruction was placed prominently on the questionnaire and was repeated orally to each subject by the interviewer. Nonetheless, it was the impression of a number of the interviewers that subjects for the most part utilized a more restricted definition of neighborhood and neighbor, conceiving as neighbors persons who lived on either the same or opposite sides of the single block on which they themselves resided.²

The scale questions are given below in the order in which they appear in the final scale pattern. The responses to each of the questions which are indicative of greater neighborliness are designated by the letters GN; responses indicative of lesser neighborliness are designated LN. The scale items can be simply scored for any sample by counting each GN answer as 1 and each LN reply as 0. The possible range of scores is 13 to 0.

1. How many of your best friends who live in your neighborhood did you get to know since you or they moved into the neighborhood? Two or more (GN); one or none (LN).
2. Do you and any of your neighbors go to movies, picnics, or other things like that together? Often or sometimes (GN); rarely or never (LN).
3. Do you and your neighbors entertain one another? Often or sometimes (GN); rarely or never (LN).

² The response categories to the neighborliness items were such that probably answers to only one of the questions (see Question 8 below) might have differed with the use of the spatially more inclusive definition.

4. If you were holding a party or tea for an out-of-town visitor, how many of your neighbors would you invite? Two or more (GN); one or none (LN).
5. How many of your neighbors' homes have you ever been in? Four or more (GN); three or less (LN).
6. How many of your neighbors have ever talked to you about their problems when they were worried or asked you for advice or help? One or more (GN); none (LN).
7. Do you and your neighbors exchange or borrow things from one another such as books, magazines, dishes, tools, recipes, preserves, or garden vegetables? Often, sometimes, or rarely (GN); never (LN).
8. About how many of the people in your neighborhood would you recognize by sight if you saw them in a large crowd? About half or more (GN); a few or none (LN).
9. With how many of your neighbors do you have a friendly talk fairly frequently? Two or more (GN); one or none (LN).
10. About how many of the people in your neighborhood do you say "Hello" or "Good morning" to when you meet on the street? Six or more (GN); five or less (LN).
11. How many of the names of the families in your neighborhood do you know? Four or more (2); one to three (1); none (0).³
12. How often do you have a talk with any of your neighbors? Often or sometimes (GN); rarely or never (LN).

HOW THE DATA WERE COLLECTED

The questions comprising the final scale along with two others were originally formulated for a study by Bolton of factors associated with individual differences in women's neighborliness in Palo Alto, California.⁴ In 1947, less than a year prior to the study, a census of the community revealed a population of slightly under 23,000. Palo Alto is thirty-three miles from San Francisco. It is partly a "college town" and partly a residential community for persons commuting to San Francisco.

³ Responses to this question ended as a trichotomy in the scale. They can be scored as shown in the parentheses following the response categories.

⁴ Charles D. Bolton, "Factors Associated with Neighborliness in a Suburban Community" (A.M. thesis, Stanford University Library, 1948).

Shortly after the completion of Bolton's project, the opportunity presented itself to the writer to carry out an identical investigation in a single-dwelling residential area of San Francisco⁵ whose population was roughly comparable to that of Palo Alto in its socioeconomic characteristics, as indicated by 1940 census tract data.⁶

The questionnaire used in the two studies contained items on neighborliness and other items pertaining to the age, marital status, education, length of residence, etc., of the respondent. The items assumed to be descriptive of interaction between neighbors were selected (a) from suggestions of students in the writer's course in urban sociology in which the concept of neighborliness was discussed at some length; (b) from questions utilized in a neighborhood study by Bernard;⁷ and (c) from suggestions made by members of the sociology staff.

In both studies the questionnaire was administered by men and women students who were carefully briefed on the procedure they were to follow. Each student was responsible for approximately twenty interviews at selected households.

The data for Palo Alto were collected in the spring of 1948. The sample of households was drawn from a directory of residences compiled in 1946. This excluded from the sample women living in newly constructed dwellings on the outskirts of the city. The very small proportion of Negroes and Orientals in the city was also omitted from the sample.

Initially, 565 households were selected for study from the section of the directory which listed residents by name in alphabetical order. This was roughly a one-in-twelve

⁵ Census Tract 06.

⁶ The second study was intended (a) to determine whether neighborliness behavior was more manifest in a suburban community than in an urban residential area and (b) to see whether the same factors were associated with individual differences in extent of neighborliness in both localities.

⁷ Jessie Bernard, "An Instrument for the Measurement of Neighborhood, with Experimental Application" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis, 1935).

sample. Interviewers met with refusals in 43 households. In an additional 41 cases interviews were not obtained for a variety of reasons, the most common being that the residents were either not at home or were unwilling to show themselves when called upon by the interviewers. The study ended with 481 completed interviews.

The original sample for the San Francisco project was drawn from a listing by address of all homes in the census tract selected for study. The sampling ratio was one in four. Because of the large proportion of refusals and because of the large percentage of homes in which the family was away on vacation,⁸ the 252 women from whom data were secured cannot be regarded as a representative sample of the women in the tract.

The San Francisco and Palo Alto samples were quite similar. Both were comprised predominantly of housewives of Protestant faith with high-school or college education, about half of the Palo Alto group and a third of the San Franciscans being in the latter category. Their ages ranged from twenty to sixty or over, with the smallest percentage in the two samples falling in the twenty to twenty-nine interval. All but a small proportion of the married women had at least one child. In both areas only a minority of the women were living in rented homes. The length of residence in their respective cities was considerably greater for the San Francisco women than for the Palo Alto group.

SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORLINESS ITEMS

The neighborliness items were tested for unidimensionality by means of the Cornell technique.⁹ The data from the two samples

⁸ This resulted from the fact that the interviewing was done in the last week of July and the first weeks of August. This schedule was unfortunately unavoidable because the interviewers were Summer Quarter students whose participation in the research was part of their course work.

⁹ Louis Guttman, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, VII (1947), 247-79.

were treated separately¹⁰ for a hundred cases randomly drawn from each.

The responses of the San Francisco women were examined first. Fourteen items were analyzed. Thirteen formed a scale with a coefficient of reproducibility¹¹ of .917 and satisfied the various other conditions of scalability. The remaining item¹² produced two nonscale types and was therefore dropped from the scale.

The thirteen items were then tested for unidimensionality with the Palo Alto data. Here again a scale was obtained, the coefficient of reproducibility being 0.91. Two items, however, had nonscale types. They were: (a) "If you were holding a party or tea for an out-of-town visitor, how many of your neighbors would you invite?" and (b) "With how many of your neighbors do you sometimes go shopping?" It was thought that the nonscale types—particularly those associated with the second of the items—might be reflecting restrictions on movement resulting from infirmities of advanced age. This assumption was checked by an age comparison of the women making up the nonscale types and those occupying adjacent positions on the scale. The number of cases in the comparison was small, but it indicated that a slightly greater proportion of the women in the nonscale types were in the "sixty or over" age group. Moreover, in the total sample, and for all items, the women in this age category had an average of 1.50 errors as compared with 1.07 for women under sixty. This analysis argued strongly for the limitation of the neighborliness items to women below the age of sixty.

When the older women were excluded

¹⁰ The scalogram analysis was done by Richard J. Hill. I am indebted to him for this and other assistance in the research.

¹¹ For a detailed treatment of this and other concepts of scalogram analysis see Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), Vol. IV.

¹² The item was: "How many of your neighbors do you help out by taking care of their lawn, garden, pets or keeping their keys for them when they are out of town?"

from the sample of a hundred and random substitutions made for them, a nonscale type persisted in association with the item relating to shopping with neighbors but did not appear in connection with the item on inviting neighbors to a party or tea for an out-of-town visitor. The former item was consequently deleted from the scale. This left a twelve-item scale with eleven dichotomies and one trichotomy. The coefficient of reproducibility of the scale was .920. The San Francisco data on these twelve items with the sample reconstituted to exclude women over fifty-nine formed a scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .924.

The conclusion that the final twelve neighborliness items form a Guttman scale

for women under sixty is based on (1) the manifest content of the items; (2) the magnitude of the coefficient of reproducibility; (3) the relatively large number of items—including one trichotomy—for which the reproducibility obtains; (4) the fact that on a number of items the response frequencies are distributed rather evenly over the categories and that only a few have skewed response distributions; (5) the randomness of the scale errors; (6) the finding that the foregoing conditions held for two independent samples; and (7) the observation that the ordering of items was identical for both samples.

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CHANGES IN INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: A NOTE

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

La société nous apparaît comme une masse hétérogène,
hiérarchiquement organisée.—PARETO.

ABSTRACT

Neither the distribution of population in social space nor the distribution of income in a nation can, as a rule, be adequately represented by a single index. International differences in per capita income have increased since 1800. Within some nations income inequality is now less than formerly, and the share going to property has declined. In the United States upper-income groups now receive a smaller share. Should capital formation decline, per capita income may rise less rapidly than before. Interpersonal differences in nonproperty income are produced in part by differences in occupational and industrial affiliation, regional and community situation, and personal attributes. The modifiability of income distribution is limited.

This paper has to do with recent trends in income distribution and with some of the relations obtaining between income distribution and other distributions reflecting socioeconomic stratification.

I. ECONOMIC AND NONECONOMIC DISTRIBUTIONS IN SOCIAL SPACE

The relation between economic and noneconomic distributions may be stated formally in aggregate or in nonaggregate terms. For example, let D_e and D_n represent the distribution of a population in economic and noneconomic social space, respectively. Let d be a summary index of income distribution and R_e and R_n , respectively, the residual determinants of D_e and D_n . Then $D_e = f(D_n, d, R_e)$ and $D_n = f(D_e, R_n)$. Furthermore, if P_e and P_n , respectively, represent an individual's positions in economic and noneconomic space, and if y represents his position on index d , then $P_e = f(P_n, y, R_e)$ and $P_n = f(P_e, R_n)$. Such representations provide an aggregate picture.

Aggregate representations are usually objectionable on the empirical ground that sufficient data for their construction are not available and on the theoretical ground that positions on diverse distribution curves cannot, in the absence of arbitrary assumptions, be added and converted into a single

position. Suppose that within a given society there are found n distinct categories of roles and that to every individual there is assigned (through competition, ascription, or otherwise) a role position in terms of each of many but (of necessity) not all of these n categories. Let each category be defined by a superscript 1, 2, . . . , n , and let the relative rank (defined in ordinal or cardinal terms) of each specific subcategory within a category be represented by a subscript. Then, if individual I has been assigned a role from subcategory 7 in category 3, his position may be symbolized as I_3^7 . Since this same individual has also been assigned roles from particular subcategories in many additional categories, say, categories 18-94 inclusive, his *total* social position in the society is a resultant of his respective positions in the many (in our example, 78) categories in which his assigned roles are found. Yet, even if we had similar information respecting each individual in a society, we still could not nonarbitrarily assign a relative *total* status or rank to each individual in this society; for there exists no nonarbitrary statistical method by which each individual's relative *total* position can be derived from the specific relative positions of the various subcategories whence he has been assigned roles.

It is possible, however, to map roughly an

individual's relative *total* position in a society. For example, we may construct a cylinder and then draw on its outer surface as many parallel lines perpendicular to the base as there are distinct categories of roles within our society. We may then indicate, on each perpendicular representing a category of roles, the *estimated* relative rank of each of the included subcategories (with the relative magnitude of a rank moving upward along the perpendicular from a negligible value at the base to a maximum value at the terminus of the perpendicular). We may then draw a line that connects, for each individual found within a society, every point marking the position of a subcategory whence he has been assigned a role. This line will be broken, of course, since each individual, having been assigned roles only from some categories, cannot in effect be allotted a position on every perpendicular, but only on some. Even so, this broken line may be said to define an individual's relative *total* position in his society's social space. It may also be said that, if these lines usually join points of similar (dissimilar) relative magnitude on perpendiculars representing both economic and noneconomic role categories, then positions in these particular economic and noneconomic categories are correlated significantly and positively (negatively). Accordingly, had we sufficient data to specify the positions of a sufficient sample of individuals on a sufficient number of role-category perpendiculars, we could ascertain the degree of correlation obtaining between distribution of income and distribution of *total* or other positions in social space. Although we cannot describe with any degree of completeness the relationships existing between income distribution and other distributions, we can, as is indicated later, measure roughly the separate influence of each of the main factors which now affect income distribution.

It should be noted that, while incomes may be arrayed in order of magnitude, a single measure will rarely suffice to summarize a given distribution completely in terms of a relatively simple description of

the functional relationship obtaining between size of income and number of income recipients. For income distributions do not conform to a rational law (such as Pareto's index has been described as expressing), according to which they are subject to intrapersonal and extrapersonal forces that prevent their varying much in time or space. Since the summary measures (e.g., Pareto's, Gini's) do vary significantly in time and space, they may be viewed as being in essence empirically descriptive. Moreover, they are likely to be descriptive only of a certain range of incomes (e.g., the bottom portion of the income range rarely corresponds to the requirements of the Pareto formula). Summary measures have their uses, of course, and, as will be shown, income distributions are modifiable only within limits.¹

II. INCOME-DISTRIBUTION TRENDS: IMMEDIATE SOURCES OF INTERPERSONAL INCOME DIFFERENCES

While both pre- and posttax income disparity has decreased in recent years in the Western world, international income disparity has increased in the last one hundred and fifty years, largely as a result of disparity in capital accumulation and technological progress. (What has happened to "welfare" disparity is not precisely determinable, since income data, even when they are complete, are not translatable into

¹ Formulas such as Pareto's, though relatively insensitive, can represent distributions (e.g., of incomes) in which the deviation from the mean may be 175 times that of a biometric frequency. If growth hormones were distributed as are incomes, one would expect giants 241 feet tall. See, e.g., H. T. Davis, *The Analysis of Economic Time Series* (Bloomington, 1941), p. 440. See also papers and bibliography in the American Economics Association, *Readings in the Theory of Income Distribution* (Philadelphia, 1946); R. Gibrat, *Les Inégalités économiques* (Paris, 1931); G. J. Stigler, *The Theory of Price* (New York, 1952), chap. xv; G. Garvey's essay in National Bureau of Economic Research, *Studies in Income and Wealth*, Vol. XV (New York, 1952); and D. G. Champernowne, "A Model of Income Distribution," *Economic Journal*, LXIII (1953), 318-52.

terms that readily permit intertemporal or intergroup comparisons of "welfare.") Whereas, prior to 1800, per capita income may have been four or five times as high in the most as in the least productive country, in the late 1940's it was reported as being something like forty to fifty-five times as high in the highest as in the lowest income country. (In parts of the United States, T. W. Schultz's studies suggest, income disparity has increased, the living index for the highest Iowa county in 1945 being thirty-nine times that for the lowest Kentucky county.) Even after statistical biases which greatly exaggerate international income disparity have been removed, the disparity remaining appears to be considerably in excess of that obtaining one hundred and fifty years ago. Whether the disparity trend of the past century and a half will be reversed depends primarily on whether, in the future, capital accumulation and technological progress proceed more rapidly in the countries now laggard than in the countries now advanced.²

For purposes of the discussion of trends in the Western world a distinction will be made between (1) circumstances affecting functional income distribution and the dispersion of incomes derived from property and (2) circumstances affecting the distribution of wage, salary, and other nonproperty income. Modifications produced in the functional income structure and in the distribution of income among persons (or families) by income taxation and variations in the fulness of employment will be noted.

1. Property income—that is, entrepreneurial income, interest, dividends, rents, and royalties—is more unevenly distributed than is wage and salary income, for the assets whence flows property income are more susceptible of cumulation and hence more subject to dispersion than are the

assets (i.e., personal skills, attributes, etc.) whence flows nonproperty income. Accordingly, a decrease in the fraction of the national income going to property, coupled with an increase in the wage-salary fraction, tends to be accompanied by a decrease in income inequality. A decrease in income inequality tends to be consequential also upon a decrease in property-ownership inequality, because of the increase in the relative number of property owners and the (probable) associated increase in the elasticity of the supply of labor.³

The evidence suggests that the fraction of the before-tax national income going to property has declined somewhat in Britain and France, perhaps in Canada and Australia, and possibly elsewhere. In the United States, since 1929, the employee-compensation share of the before-tax national income has risen one-ninth from 58.1 to around 65

² See, e.g., Colin Clark, *Conditions of Economic Progress* (2d ed.; London, 1951), and files of *Review of Economic Progress*; Simon Kuznets, *Economic Change* (New York, 1952); M. K. Bennett, "Disparities in Consumption Levels," *American Economic Review*, XLI (1951), 632-49.

³ Our discussion of (1) is based upon Simon Kuznets, *National Income: A Summary of Findings* (New York, 1946); *Shares of Upper Income Groups in Income and Savings* (New York, 1953); and "The Proportion of Capital Formation to National Product," *American Economic Review, Proceedings*, XLII (2) (1952), 506-26; G. H. Moore, "Secular Changes in the Distribution of Income," *American Economic Review, Proceedings*, XLII (2) (1952), 527-44; S. F. Goldsmith, "Statistical Information on the Distribution of Income by Size in the United States," *American Economic Review, Proceedings*, XL (2) (1950), 320-41; M. A. Copeland, "Determinants of Distribution of Income," *American Economic Review*, XXXVII (1947), 56-75; G. Rosen, "The Distribution of Incomes and Savings," *American Economic Review*, XL (1950), 896-98; F. A. Hanna et al., *Analysis of Wisconsin Income* (New York, 1948); *Analyses of Minnesota Incomes, 1938-39* (Minneapolis, 1944); U.S. Department of Commerce, *National Income and Product of the United States, 1929-1950* (Washington, 1951), and *Regional Trends in the United States Economy* (Washington, 1951); E. F. Denison, "Distribution of National Income," *Survey of Current Business*, June, 1952, pp. 16-23; F. H. Haha, "The Share of Wages in the National Income," *Oxford Economic Papers*, III (1951), 147-57; E. H. Phelps Brown (with S. V. Hopkins), "The Course of Wages in Five Countries," *Oxford Economic Papers*, II (1950), 247-54; Clark, *op. cit.*; Erich Preiser, "Property and Powers in the Theory of Distribution," *International Economic Papers*, II (1952), 206-20.

per cent, while the property share, represented by the balance, has declined about one-sixth. This outcome appears likely to last and to be essentially independent of significant but transitory share fluctuations associated with the trade cycle. The increase in the employee share, Denison finds, "is entirely due to structural changes in the economy," the distribution "of income within comparable parts of the economy [being] about equally favorable to labor in 1929 and 1950." For example, the fraction (0.8) of the national income originating with ordinary business enterprises in 1950 was only $1/39$ greater than in 1929, and the percentage of this fraction going to wage and salary receivers was only $1/50$ greater. Meanwhile, however, in the remaining one-fifth of the economy, the employee-compensation share rose from 45 to 70 per cent, an increase attributable to a more than three-fifths decline in the rent and interest fraction of the national income and to an increase in the government-employee-compensation share of from 5.9 to 9.8 per cent. Because of the differential impact of taxes on income—in particular, the relatively heavy tax on corporate earnings—the employee-compensation share of after-tax private income is appreciably greater (nearly $1/20$ in 1948) than the corresponding share of the before-tax income. The share passing to unincorporated farm enterprises is likewise augmented, while that received by corporations is diminished. The resulting decrease in income inequality is further accentuated as the ratio of property owners to the population is increased and/or as the ownership of property becomes more equally distributed.

If the decline in property income as defined reflects a decline in the proportion of the national income imputable to the stock of income-producing wealth used jointly with the labor force to produce that national income, then the pre-1914 distributive pattern has been modified. For, contrary to the expectation of some of the nineteenth-century classical economists, this proportion underwent relatively little noncyclical change prior to World War I and, in some

instances perhaps, prior to the 1930's. The constancy of this proportion was variously attributed to supposed facts such as the following: that the elasticity of substitution of capital for labor was and is unitary; that the "degree of monopoly" had tended to decline enough to offset increases in the ratio of raw-material prices to wage costs; that relative labor shortages stimulate labor-saving inventions while relative capital shortages stimulate capital-saving inventions; and that changes in the capital-labor ratio have always been appropriately balanced by the extent and character of technical progress and the associated discovery of suitable substitutes for agricultural land. Now this constancy is being questioned. For recently, in the United States, in Britain, in France, and perhaps elsewhere, the proportion of the national income distributed to the possessors of income-producing wealth and presumably imputable thereto has declined, with the result that the yield rate of capital, which in some countries has long been falling, has begun to decline more rapidly.

This trend is bound to level off in time, however, even though, having decreasing income inequality associated with it, it finds strong political support in democratic countries. For both the decline in the yield rate of capital and the diminution in the portion of the national income whence savings (= investment) largely flow must eventually decelerate the rate of increase in the capital-labor ratio and so in time make average income lower than it would have been had the capital share not declined. This tendency, Kuznets infers from the decline of net capital formation in the twentieth century will be greatly accentuated by the relative increase of the urban, the metropolitan, and the employee segments of the population, each of which is relatively disinclined to save. Presumably, the capital share cannot fall much below 15 per cent, even in a collectivist state, for if income-producing wealth approximates four times the national income, a 15 per cent share for capital would imply a capital return of but 3.75 per cent

and probably a much lower annual capital-growth rate. As yet, however, in the United States, the fraction of the nation's income properly imputable to capital—that is, interest, rent, corporate profits, and a part of entrepreneurial income—probably remains in the neighborhood of one-fourth.

2. The distribution of nonproperty income among persons is affected by (a) their industrial and occupational affiliations, (b) the size of the community within which they live and earn income, (c) the region within which the community is situated, and (d) their personal attributes (e.g., education and training, age, race, sex) other than genetic makeup which is touched upon later. For these reasons alone, considerable income inequality is inevitable, some of it to compensate for nonmonetary differences in situations. The distribution of nonproperty income among families is affected by these factors and by variation in the number of earners per family; for example, in the 1940's wage-earners per family increased more in middle- than in low- or high-income families. Distribution patterns are affected both by the system of taxation in effect and by the extent to which employment is "full."⁴

⁴ This subsection is based primarily upon E. H. Phelps Brown and P. E. Habt, "The Share of Wages in National Income," *Economic Journal*, LXII (1952), 253-77; H. A. Turner, "Trade Unions, Differentials and the Levelling of Wages," reprinted from *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies* (September, 1952); Harry Ober, "Occupational Wage Differentials, 1907-1947," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLVII (1948), 127-34; K. G. J. Knowles and D. J. Robertson, "Differences between the Wages of Skilled and Unskilled Workers, 1880-1950," *Bulletin of Oxford Institute of Statistics*, XIII (1951), 109-27, and "Earnings in Engineering, 1926-1948," *ibid.*, pp. 179-200; J. T. Dunlop, *Wage Determination under Trade Unions* (New York, 1944); S. Lebergott, "Wage Structures," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXIX (1947), 274-85; F. A. Hanna, "Contribution of Manufacturing Wages to Regional Differences in Per Capita Income," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXIII (1951), 18-28; P. W. Bell, "Cyclical Variations and Trends in Occupational Wage Differentials in American Industry since 1914," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXIII (1951), 329-36; S. H. Slichter, "Notes on the Structure of

a) The distribution of income is conditioned by the industrial and the occupational composition of the population and changes as they change. In the United States in 1929 and in 1951 minimum average annual earnings per full-time employee, grouped into ten industrial categories, were found in agriculture, forestry, and fishing, namely, \$455 and \$1,489; the maximum in 1929, \$2,090, was found in finance, insurance, and real estate; and the maximum in 1951, \$4,044, in transportation. Average hourly and weekly earnings are nearly three

Wages," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXII (1950), 80-91; F. Meyers, "Notes on Changes in the Distribution of Manufacturing Wage Earners by Straight Time Hourly Earnings, 1941-48," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXII (1950), 352-55; K. M. McCaffree, "The Earnings Differential between White Collar and Manual Occupations," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXV (1953), 20-30; H. P. Miller, "Factors Related to Recent Changes in Income Distribution in the United States," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXIII (1951), 214-19, and "Changes in Income Distribution in the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLVI (1951), 438-41; *Studies in Income and Wealth*, Vols. XIII-XV; Moore, *op. cit.*; Clark, *op. cit.*; U.S. Department of Labor, "Wage Movements" series; J. Backman, "Hourly Wage Dispersion," *American Economic Review*, XXXVII (1947), 918-25; E. F. Denison, "Income in Selected Professions," *Survey of Current Business*, July-October, 1943; W. Weinfeld, "Income of Lawyers, 1929-48," *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1949; M. Friedman and S. Kuznets, *Income from Independent Professional Practice* (New York, 1945); K. G. Hagstroem, "Income Distribution in Different Countries," *Skandinaviska Banken, Quarterly Review*, XXXI (1950), 67-70; A. M. Cartter, *The Redistribution of Income in Post-war Britain* (New Haven, 1953); G. Z. Fijalkowski-Bereday, "The Equalizing Effects of the Death Duties," *Oxford Economic Papers*, II (1950), 176-96; E. C. Rhodes, "The Distribution of Incomes and the Burden of Estate Duties in the United Kingdom," *Economica*, XVIII (1951), 270-77; "The Inequality of Incomes in the United Kingdom," *ibid.*, XIX (1952), 168-75; and "Distribution of Incomes in the United Kingdom in 1938 and 1947," *ibid.*, XVIII (1951), 146-58; Joint Committee on the Economic Report, *Report No. 1843*, June 16, 1950; *Report No. 210*, April 2, 1951; *Report No. 1295*, March 12, 1952; and *Report of the Subcommittee on Low-Income Families*, November 9, 1950; Council of Economic Advisers, *Report to the President*, July, 1951.

times as high in very-high-wage as in very-low-wage industries. In general, Clark reports, real product per man-hour tends to be lowest in primary industry, highest in tertiary industry, and intermediate in secondary or manufacturing industry.

Wage and salary income has tended to become more evenly distributed both because the relative number of persons engaged in relatively well-paying nonagricultural occupations has increased and because the relative spread between the earnings of skilled and unskilled occupations has narrowed appreciably in the United States and in Britain, where also the number of grades of skill has been reduced, along with skill differentials and interindustry differences in the pattern of skill differentials. Although the structure of industry earnings tends to be comparatively similar from one industrial country to another and from one American region to another, and while the hierarchy of earnings rates has persisted for a half-century or more, "the margin between top and bottom rates [has] tended to narrow," low rates tending to increase relatively more than high rates, Lebergott reports. There is disagreement, however, concerning the extent to which American wage rates became less dispersed in the interwar period and the extent to which the narrowing of the wage spread is primarily a post-1941 phenomenon attributable in considerable degree to the fulness of employment experienced since that year. Whether this tendency of the earnings structure toward greater equality will persist depends upon a number of circumstances, among them the level of employment, the extent to which union bargaining power (which operates to reduce differentials) is evenly spread among industries, the degree to which war industries flourish, changes in the relative number of workers under incentive-wage systems, the degree of movement of population from the farms or from abroad, the differential impact of technological change, and the strength of barriers to labor mobility. Noneconomic stratification may also exercise some influence.

b) Because individual and family in-

comes are affected both by size of community and by regional locus of community, the degree of income inequality responds to changes in the spatial distribution of the population, family income apparently declining consistently as one moves from very large urban communities through smaller cities and towns to farms. The effects of migratory movements are somewhat mixed. On the one hand, migrants tend to move from lower- to higher-income areas, thereby reducing inequality; on the other hand, migrants tend to move from areas where income inequality is less pronounced to areas where it is more pronounced. The effect of a stabilization of the spatial distribution of the population would therefore depend upon whether migratory movements (which may be conditioned by noneconomic stratification) had operated to increase or decrease inequality and upon whether they had removed most of the population presently occupying poverty-ridden rural folk-society communities.

c) While a considerable part of observed regional differences in per capita income is attributable to marked interregional differences in racial, occupational, industrial, rural-urban, and community-size composition, a residuum of regional income difference is attributable to peculiarly regional differences. For instance, southern wage-earners, farm operators, farm laborers, and nonfarm Negro families have smaller incomes than do their non-southern counterparts. These observed regional differences are diminishing, however, in part because interregional differences in relevant forms of socioeconomic composition are diminishing and in part because differentiating conditions peculiar to certain regions are diminishing (e.g., one writer concludes that today southern and non-southern nonfarm whites living in communities of similar size receive incomes of about the same size, whereas in 1935 their incomes may have differed by 10 per cent).

d) Intergroup earnings differentials reflect differences in steadiness of employment, education, city size, race (color), sex composition, age composition, and miscel-

laneous conditions. Furthermore, inter-individual differences in earning power having been established, they may tend to be perpetuated and even accentuated through nepotism, greater access to education and training, cumulating property income, and increasing investment and managerial skill. This tendency is more marked, Parsons has observed, in the presence of a solidary kinship system. However, Kuznets, reasoning after the manner of G. Mosca, states that, when a society is dynamic, the capacity of a family to advance itself in the income hierarchy is both limited and prone to eventual decline. It is through association with a rising industry that a fortune is initially made, and it is through association with a "succession of rising industries" that an initially attained position is maintained and improved in the face of the upward movement of others associated with rising industries. Yet such a continuing association is virtually unachievable. More generally, income differentiation will be somewhat reduced as differences in access to education and training are reduced, as the relative magnitude of estates and inheritances diminishes, and as racial, sexual, and related barriers to relatively remunerative employments are weakened through increases in labor scarcity or otherwise.⁵

Available statistical data indicate that over-all income inequality in the United States has been diminishing since the late 1920's and that this equalizing tendency is being accentuated by increases in taxes and by their progressive character, together with the manner in which the government is distributing tax revenue. This diminution has been accompanied by a change in the composition of the lowest fifth of the income-receiving units. Whereas, in 1939, this group included many unemployed or underemployed heads of "normal" families whose absolute poverty was due largely to temporary causes, around 1950 it comprised "broken" families, retired persons, housewives, and others, many of them victims of

inflation, whose absolute poverty was due largely to permanent causes.

In the United Kingdom income distribution has become more equal in recent years, and this tendency has been accentuated by the system of taxes in effect. A similar trend is observable in Sweden, Canada, Finland, France, Australia, and New Zealand among others. In these, as well as in other, countries posttax income usually is distributed more evenly than pretax income. Data presented by both Clark and the United Nations suggest that income is distributed less unevenly in developed than in the densely populated underdeveloped countries. If this is so, it is inferable that income inequality will diminish in such countries as they undergo economic and industrial development and the social and related changes therewith correlated. Comparative income equality is apparently a luxury that high-income countries are more willing to introduce than are low-income countries. (Pareto observed that income inequality tends to diminish only when average income is rising.)

Kuznets' findings respecting post-1913 changes in the shares of upper-income groups in the United States bear out much of what has been said. The percentage income shares going to the top 5 per cent of the population (whose per capita income in 1919-38 was about eight times that of the remaining 95 per cent) have declined roughly two-fifths since the late 1920's, with the bulk of the decline taking place after 1939, and with the size of the share tending to fall (rise) slightly in periods of cyclical expansion (contraction). Because the income composition of the top 5 per cent group is heterogeneous, property and entrepreneurial income being much more significant for the top 1 or 2 per cent than for the next 2 or 3 per cent, the shares of these several component groups have behaved somewhat differently, and inequality within the top 5 or 7 per cent has become less pronounced than it was in the 1920's, particularly when taxes are taken into account. The decline in inequality within this group has been somewhat less, however, than that between this

⁵ See T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill., 1951), pp. 160-61; G. Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (New York, 1939), pp. 65 ff.

group and the rest of the population, at least since 1939. Among the circumstances responsible for the decline in the share of the top 5 or 7 per cent may be included the reduction of unemployment and the great increase in farm and wage income; the decline in the relative importance of property income occasioned by rent and interest declines and perhaps also by a relatively less frequent undertaking of risky ventures which, when successful, yield high returns; the lag of relatively high per worker rates of employee compensation behind the upward-moving average rates, together with the decline in the relative numerical importance of the membership of high-compensation groups; the differential impact of inflation, fiscal policy, and price controls; and, with respect to the distribution of aftertax income, the differential impact of increases in income taxes.

How these trends in turn will affect future income distribution is not clear. Even if, as is quite unlikely, greater savings on the part of lower-income groups should offset the diminution in the relative amount of savings supplied by higher-income groups, the rate at which capital is formed and made to contribute to income growth will be modified. For, whereas in the past upper-income groups have invested relatively large amounts of capital in relatively risky but potentially productive ventures, lower-income groups have favored interest-bearing assets and the purchase of equities in small business units. Should the latter disposition of savings be strengthened, both the rate of income growth and the comparative bargaining power of lower-income groups will be diminished.

III. PERSONAL VERSUS STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

In this section⁶ we shall discuss two quite different ultimate determinants of income distribution: (1) the *structural* arrangement

⁶ In this part we make use of the following studies, among others: A. D. Roy, "Some Thoughts on the Distribution of Earnings," *Oxford Economic*

of the economic positions to which members of a labor force may aspire and be assigned—that is, the structural arrangement or pattern of relevant roles into which the labor force must fit—and (2) the distribution throughout populations of *personal* inherited and/or acquired income-earning capacities. The impact of these two determinants may be accentuated, of course, by the distribution of the ownership of income-yielding wealth and by the character and the distribution of the tastes and values found in a population. Each may increase (e.g., by prolonging life or by increasing the inheritability of earning power) the tendency toward inequality by accentuating the asymmetry with which capacities are distributed or by modifying the esteem and hence the relative economic value attached to exceptional capacities and skills.⁷

Papers, III (1951), 135–46, and "The Distribution of Earnings and of Individual Output," *Economic Journal*, LX (1950), 489–505; J. Tinbergen, "Some Remarks on the Distribution of Labour Incomes," *International Economic Papers*, I (1951), 195–207; A. L. Bowley, "The Action of Economic Forces in Producing Frequency Distributions of Income, Prices, and Other Phenomena: A Suggestion for Study," *Econometrica*, I (1933), 358–72; H. Staehle, "Ability, Wages, and Income," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXV (1943), 77–87; C. H. Boissevain, "Distribution of Abilities Depending upon Two or More Independent Factors," *Metron*, XIII (1939), 49–58; Cyril Burt, "Ability and Income," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIII (1943), 83–98; Parsons, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 114–32, 244 ff., 424 ff., and *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), pp. 178 ff.; Milton Friedman, "Choice, Chance, and the Personal Distribution of Income," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXI (1953), 277–90.

⁷ J. L. Moreno and H. H. Jennings find, in most groups, a "socio-dynamic effect" similar to the band-wagon effect which accentuates, disproportionately to their merits and capacities, the esteem in which outstanding individuals are held. "Once certain individuals become highly over-chosen, . . . they begin to draw the choices of many members of the community less and less as individuals and more and more as symbols" (see "Statistics of Social Configurations," *Sociometry*, I [1937–38], 348, 359–62). However, as Roy observes, the influence of desires is conditioned by the skills and techniques available, and the earnings pattern is essentially independent of the "subjective feelings of consumers and entrepreneurs."

1. The economic structure within which members of a labor force must distribute themselves is essentially pyramidal and hierarchical in form, much as are all human organizations, with the relative "value" attaching to positions within this pyramidal structure varying according to a position's nearness to the structure's summit. (Illustrative is the army organization chart, of which we have examples running back at least to the time of Cyrus [cf. Xenophon *Cyropaedia* ii. 1. 23].) Let us suppose further that the members of a labor force, though of equal ability and equally capable of filling tolerably all the roles associated with all the positions available, must be fitted into such a pyramidal economic structure of employments; that the concrete form of this structure is not in any way shaped by the actual distribution of abilities and capacities through the population; and that role fulfillment is independent of reward received.

Under these circumstances, the income produced, its amount supposedly independent of its distribution, will be unevenly distributed, subject to the restriction that no more income can be distributed than is produced and that the smallest incomes must at least suffice for the purchase of material requirements deemed essential to life. The unevenness with which income may be distributed will be conditioned by the nature and the symbolic meaning of the rewards in use. For since rewards may assume the form of income or of something substitutable, within limits, for income, the degree of income inequality may vary inversely with the extent to which the upper portion of the hierarchy of rewards correlated with the hierarchy of positions is variously transformable into either income or nonincome terms. Presumably, considerable transformability of such a nature would be found in a society of the sort here contemplated, since the allocation of positions in such a society would be dominated by ascription rather than by achievement. Within totalitarian countries bent upon developing their economies, and even within democracies seeking a similar goal, one encounters concerted

efforts to substitute other rewards in the place of income and thereby to make possible higher rates of capital formation. (Since the capacity of such a reward system to produce effects seems bound to diminish in time, its effectiveness in the short run will greatly exceed its effectiveness in the longer run.)

The form and nature of a structure of economic positions may be a function of the territorial and population expanse under the dominance of this structure. For, as the magnitude of this expanse increases, the opportunity for extreme exploitation of possible income sources tends to increase in even greater measure, with the result that the size of the top-level incomes tends to increase disproportionately. As a result, the deviation of the topmost incomes from the average increases, though indexes of inequality such as Pareto's may remain relatively unaffected. Suppose now that we represent by successively larger triangles the structure of opportunities found in urban communities of ten thousand, one million, and ten million. Then, presumably, the ratio of the altitude of the triangle to its base (which may be used as a rough indicator of inequality in opportunity) will rise with the magnitude of the community. For, since larger communities tend in some measure to dominate surrounding smaller communities economically, the index of a community's aggregate of opportunity tends, on this ground alone, to rise faster than its population, with the result that income dispersion tends to increase *ceteris paribus*. Herein also may lie a partial explanation of the positive relationship supposedly obtaining between community size and level of per capita income. One could, on the basis of what is already known of the distribution of population and economic activities in space,⁸ probably contrive a model in terms of which much observed income inequality could be explained.

2. Let us now suppose that income-earn-

⁸ See references in B. F. Haley (ed.), *Survey of Contemporary Economics* (Homewood, Ill., 1952), pp. 117 ff.

ing capacity is unevenly distributed because abilities are unevenly distributed and that this unevenness is not offset by the manner in which the demand for these abilities is distributed. As Tinbergen suggests, income distribution will become stable when a stable equilibrium is established between the distribution of abilities and the employment opportunities open to these abilities.⁹ In a society marked by considerable ability inequality and by high specificity of tasks requiring to be performed, the allocation of positions and hence of income will be dominated by achievement rather than by ascription; and this will make for marked inequality, if ability inequality is marked and the possible division of labor is great. In such a differentiated, achievement-ridden, and presumably dynamic society, moreover, it will be less possible than in a simpler and nondynamic society (where ascription rules) to reduce income inequality by substituting nonincome rewards for income in the upper reaches of the reward range. For the instrumental importance of money increases as abilities and tasks become differentiated, and greater need is felt for a common denominator of the significance of differences in ability and situation. In consequence, as Parsons suggests, differences in money income become both an overriding measure and a symbolic index of differences in achievement, with the result that other measures of position in social space tend to be depreciated. This tendency may be accentuated, moreover, by increases in anonymity associated with such increases in spatial mobility as accompany the rise of

achievement dominance. Income inequality will be intensified also by increases in emphasis upon the augmentation of effort and output, since (within limits) output responds positively to increases in inequality and to the redistributions of workers among occupations therewith associated. Such a society will not (nor can any society) be wholly free of role-and-income ascription, some of which will decrease and some of which will increase income inequality; and the initial *net* effect may be somewhat intensified if, as is usually the case, reinforcing tendencies are present. The structure of positions that exists at any time will intensify income inequality if it increases the scarcity of the services of relatively rare abilities; it will tend to diminish inequality if it entails a partial divorce of remuneration from achievement.

Let us now consider the impact of ability inequality upon income distribution.

a) Suppose that income-earning power depends upon but one income-earning capacity—say, the capacity to produce some given homogeneous good—and that the curve representing the distribution of this capacity in the population is normal or Gaussian. Then, assuming no other distribution-affecting forces to be in operation, the distribution of income will be normal. While a roughly normal income distribution is sometimes encountered in a small sector of an economy, it presumably is not the concomitant of a normally distributed single capacity.

b) Now suppose, as before, that only one homogeneous good is produced but that its production depends not upon just one but upon a number of independent output-affecting capacities, the distribution of each of which is normal. The distribution of income that results will not be normal; it will depend upon the number of capacities involved and the measure in which each contributes to the output result. Suppose, with C. H. Boissevain, that "the classmark for the ability of an individual" is given not by the sum but by "the product of the classmarks for each of the separate factors."

⁹ Marked differences between the average wage rates of industries with many employees are probably due to barriers to interindustrial mobility arising out of imperfection of competition and tending to be perpetuated. One would expect to find about the same distribution of abilities in large population groups and not greatly different overall ability requirements in industries employing large numbers. One might conceive of a "natural" wage pattern for particular industries that would come into being under purely competitive conditions and use this as a standard with which to compare actual wage patterns which are in part the product of departures from pure competition.

Then, as the number of normally and independently distributed factors governing output (or income) increases, the number of individuals in the modal class increases, the "modal class is shifted to the lower class-marks," and the distribution's index of inequality increases, with reward in the upper-income classes being "proportional to the skill and to the scarcity of such skill." In general, "the distribution of abilities and skills, depending upon more than one factor, apparently follows a simple exponential law, of the type $y = a_1 + a_2 e^{-x}$, where y is the frequency of a skill of the class x ."

This argument is supported by Burt, who states that, even though the distribution of "general intelligence" in a population followed the "normal" curve, it would not ensue that the distribution of output of work would follow the same curve; and he notes that, whereas "ability" as measured by tests and examinations is normally distributed among students of psychology, their scientific output in later life tends to yield *J*-shaped distributions. Burt tentatively accounts for the fact that distributions of income, scientific output, etc., tend to be *J*-shaped and correspond roughly to Pareto's formula, by making output or income depend upon two or more independent factors, each of which may be normally distributed, but among which a multiplicative rather than an additive relationship is found. Concerning Pareto's curve, $N = A/x^a$ (where N represents the number of individuals with x income or higher, and A and a are constants, with a estimated at about 1.5 by Pareto), Burt suggests that, whereas, in the absence of artificial circumstances a would probably take a value of 1, in their presence it tends to take a value of around 2. Societal arrangements operate, therefore, to diminish inequality. They might do this, Champernowne's analysis suggests, by making the prospects of given proportionate changes of income suitably dependent upon, instead of independent of (as Pareto's law implies), size of initial income.

A. D. Roy accounts similarly for the

distribution of earnings. A worker's relative output depends upon three or more independent variates (e.g., speed, accuracy, hours of work), each of which is distributed through the population either normally or, if the variate in question is itself a derivative of other normally distributed variates, more or less asymmetrically according as their number is larger or smaller. In the former case the distribution of output is asymmetrical, with the mode near the lowest performance class; in the latter case, it approximates "far more closely to the log-normal distribution."

The distribution of the product of independently distributed variates [which govern output] tends to log-normality as the number of such variates increases, provided that the logarithms of the variates have probability distributions which fulfill the not very restrictive conditions of the Central Limit Theorem. . . . The output of an individual depends on a great number of different factors which may conveniently be considered to act in a multiplicative rather than in an additive way. . . . There is no reason to place multiplication lower in the scale than addition. All this means is that any one factor, such as health, exercises its effect proportionately, and work-people with the same degree of ill health tend to have their output reduced in the same ratio rather than by the same absolute amount. Similarly, women's output will tend to be a certain fraction of the output of men of similar skill, age, education and so on.

If the underlying factors are suitably correlated, asymmetry is increased and there is an increase in the relative number of individuals with very high outputs.

c) If there are produced not one but a number of different goods, and consequently there are a number of occupations, the distribution of output will be modified. If there is no interoccupational mobility of labor, the distribution of income in the community will reflect the distribution of productivity within the various occupations and the terms on which the various occupational groups exchange parts of their output for parts of the outputs of others. If, however, labor is interoccupationally mobile and

the individual's earnings prospect is the same in each occupation, two circumstances will determine what earnings distribution results: "the proportions of the labor force required in each occupation and the association existing between any individual's performance" in the various occupations. Only if "a high degree of association exists between any individual's possible outputs" in the economy's numerically important occupations will a "log-normal distribution of output of any given commodity," such as develops when output depends upon a number of factors, "give rise to a log-normal distribution of earnings for all occupations together."

Friedman emphasizes the complexity of the link between interpersonal differences and wealth and income differences. The degree of inequality found in a society reflects the tastes and preferences of its members. In general, inequality tends to be relatively great (small) when a society's members like (are averse to) risk.

IV. THE MODIFIABILITY OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION¹⁰

It is not likely that income inequality can continue to be significantly reduced. (1) The hierarchical nature of society makes a considerable amount of inequality necessary; and this is intensified as a population becomes concentrated in space and/or its economy increases in size and dominance over others. (2) There is a limit to the extent to which the so-called "property-income" share can be converted into wages and salaries. (3) The inequality with which the

productive capacities and worker outputs are distributed sets a limit to the diminution of income inequality. (4) The maximization of effort in an achievement-oriented society calls for considerable inequality. (5) Correctness of factor allocation is incompatible with marked wage and salary equalization. If this conclusion is correct, and it is borne out by what has happened in the business economy, the extent to which changes in the distribution of individuals in economic space can modify, or be modified by, their distribution in noneconomic space in advanced industrial countries is quite limited.

Stratification, economic and otherwise, has its origin in scarcity. Worth, being an implicate of scarcity, presupposes an order of merit in terms of which men differ with respect to their rights and duties. Scarcity makes necessary the allocation of that which is scarce, and this in turn gives rise to mechanisms that gradate the claims and the obligations of men. These mechanisms range from the price system and the employment structure to noneconomic allocation systems. Because scarcity, economic and otherwise, is everywhere, here and (according to eschatologists) hereafter, economic as well as noneconomic, stratification always characterizes societies, and so does economic inequality, the concomitant of stratification.

Probably not more than 70-75 per cent of the national income can be distributed in the form of consumable goods and services to the labor force and its younger dependents. Capital formation and the equitable support of older dependents together require something like 20 per cent. Five or more per cent of what is called "national income" (e.g., some military and similar expenditures) has no counterpart in the form of consumables or wealth increment. Death and income taxation may further reduce inequality in wealth ownership, but it probably can contribute little to the further equalization of the distribution of consumable goods and services.

Because considerable motivation must be provided, marked income inequality is unavoidable. Adequate motivation can be pro-

¹⁰ In this section I have drawn upon George Morgan, "Human Equality," *Ethics*, LIII (1943), 115 ff.; D. F. Aberle *et al.*, "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society," *Ethics*, LX (1950), 105 ff.; K. Davis and W. E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945), 242 ff.; P. K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1950), 533 ff.; A. Bergson, *The Structure of Soviet Wages* (Cambridge, 1946); Parsons, *op. cit.*; C. A. Anderson *et al.*, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy*, LX (1952), 218-39.

vided only if rewards are based predominantly upon productivity, which varies greatly with individuals; and these rewards must largely assume the form of money, since other types of reward are of very limited applicability. Presumably, motivation can be retained while income inequality is reduced only if this reduction is achieved through diffusion of training and inventions which reduce inequality in income-producing capacity; whereas inequality in access to opportunity, itself largely the product of stratification, may be appreciably reduced. But mere manipulation of wage and salary scales, for the purpose of equalizing incomes, is almost certain to affect adversely the quantity and the composition of output.

Correct allocation of workers among employments requires that the wide disparity characteristic of their productive powers be reflected in the prices governing their alloca-

tion and use. But, given such pricing, it is very unlikely, even though administratively possible, that wage-and-salary inequality can be brought significantly below labor-price inequality.

In sum, the income-equalizing influence of taxation is limited. It has reduced the relative spread between the upper range of incomes (where inequality of property ownership has been dominant) and the lower range. It has also made for some narrowing of the range of posttax incomes available to human agents. But its further effectiveness is likely to be limited, since it must be achieved increasingly at the expense of relatively large numbers of persons of comparative skill. It follows that but limited changes remain to be produced in noneconomic stratification by diminutions in income inequality.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ROSE'S "GENERALIZATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES"

August 27, 1953

To the Editor:

Arnold Rose, in his recent article on "Generalizations in the Social Sciences" (*American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIX, No. 1), draws attention to the fact that scientists have not yet settled the argument as to the relative merits of the deterministic versus the probabilistic views of causality. His footnote on the subject (p. 51, n. 5) indicates that natural scientists from Galileo through Einstein have tended to believe that ultimate causal laws operate without exception, but he does not mention that many modern physicists have abandoned such a position. The opposing idea—that causal laws should be stated in terms of the probability with which they have been observed to hold—is based upon two logical considerations:

1. Since causal relationships are never observed to hold in 100 per cent of the cases to which they might be applied, such laws have empirical meaning only as inferences from statistics of the occurrence and non-

occurrence of the relationship. The generalization that "when situation A develops, then B will follow" can be established scientifically only by indicating in what proportion of all the times A has been observed to occur B has been observed to follow.

2. If relationships are found which do hold in 100 per cent of the observed cases, or if all exceptions can be explained as random errors of observation or the predictable operation of extraneous factors, they can be stated in terms of perfect probability. There does not, however, seem to be any compelling reason to assume that relationships which are reliably found to hold with a probability less than 100 per cent cannot be formulated as useful scientific laws.

An interesting discussion of the above points by Hans Reichenbach is to be found in Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell (eds.), *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951), pp. 121-28.

BRUCE M. PRINGLE

Southern Methodist University

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alabama.—Solon T. Kimball has resigned as head of the department of sociology and anthropology, to join the department of social foundations at Teachers College, Columbia University, this fall. He and Marion Pearsall have this summer completed the report of the Talladega study, a research sponsored by the Health Information Foundation.

Henry L. Andrews has been appointed acting head of the department for 1953-54.

Thomas R. Ford has accepted a position with the Human Resources Research Institute at Maxwell Field as of September. During the past year he has directed a study of nursing functions, assisted by Diane Durham Stephenson, under a grant provided by the American Nurses' Association.

A. T. Hansen was awarded a university research grant to continue the preparation of a monograph on Yucatan.

American Studies Association.—To define the position and significance of the intellectual in contemporary life, the American Studies Association is planning a two-day conference on "The Role of the Intellectual in a Democratic Society," to be held in the Library of Congress on November 27 and 28. The four sessions will explore the role of the intellectual as he has developed in history, aided in the growth of democratic concepts, flourished in the tradition of American freedom, and contributed to spiritual, humanistic, and scientific values. Comments and inquiries are invited by the chairman, Edward N. Waters, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

Boston University.—William O. Brown, formerly chief of the Division of African Affairs in the State Department, has been appointed professor of sociology in charge of the new African Studies Program. Prior to

assuming his active duties in September, Dr. Brown spent several months in Europe and Africa surveying the resources for African studies.

Assistant Professor T. Scott Miyakawa has been granted leave of absence for the year to accept a Fulbright research appointment in industrial sociology in Japan.

John T. Greene has been appointed assistant professor of sociology to teach courses in marriage. He replaces Herbert D. Lamson, who, after six years of effective service, has been obliged by ill health to resign.

Georg K. Sturup, director of the Danish institute for psychopathic offenders at Herstedvester and Kastanianberg, Denmark, and adviser to the Danish Ministry of Justice, has joined the staff of the department on a Fulbright appointment for the first semester. Dr. Sturup will give a course on the abnormal offender within the framework of the department's offering in criminology.

University of California.—Reinhard Bendix has been awarded a Fulbright research grant for 1953-54 to continue his study on "Managerial Ideologies in Industry" in Germany. Bendix, in collaboration with Seymour M. Lipset, of Columbia University, has edited a *Reader in Social Stratification*.

Wolfram Eberhard's book, *Types of Turkish Folk Tales*, written in collaboration with P. N. Boratav, of the University of Ankara, has recently been published in German by the German Academy of Sciences at Mainz. Dr. Eberhard has also published an article, "Types of Settlement in South-eastern Turkey," in *Sociologus* (Berlin), giving the results of his research made with the help of a Guggenheim grant.

Margaret T. Hodgen has received a Guggenheim fellowship to work on a study of the

history of the social studies in the seventeenth century, which she is carrying on at the Huntington Library.

Philip Selznick will serve as chairman of the section on "The Sociology of Law and Political Organization" at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society.

William Kornhauser, formerly instructor at Columbia University, joins the department as instructor in the field of political sociology. Duncan MacRae, for the last two years with the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University, has been appointed assistant professor in charge of statistical instruction.

William Petersen, of Columbia University, has been appointed acting assistant professor for the 1953-54 academic year.

Donald Foley, formerly at Syracuse University, has been appointed lecturer and will give one-third of his time to the department of sociology and social institutions and two-thirds to the department of city and regional planning.

Central University of Venezuela.—The university, located in Caracas, Venezuela, announces the signing of a ten-year "intellectual collaboration" agreement with the University of Wisconsin, designed to help in the expansion and modernization of the various divisions of the Venezuelan university system. The agreement stipulates that the University of Wisconsin will make available a specified number of senior faculty members on an annual basis and junior members on a permanent basis, and when qualified personnel are not available in Wisconsin, it will attempt to arrange to procure them from other institutions. The long-range nature of the program permits the planning of staff needs three years in advance, thus giving time for designated professors to prepare themselves linguistically. Instruction in Venezuela is, of course, in Spanish.

A joint committee of the two universities will be in charge of its administration, with Dr. Emilio Spósito Jiménez, secretary of the

Central University, as chairman. Associate Graduate Dean Homer J. Herriott is chairman of the Wisconsin group, and Dr. George W. Hill will function as co-ordinator of the program.

Although the program envisages collaboration in all the disciplines, the most pressing needs in the first year's operations are expected to be in the social sciences, agricultural sciences, education, and medical and other applied sciences. The program also provides for the joint employment of some of the visitors in consultative and research capacities with ministerial agencies of the government. The scholarship program by which Venezuelan students are sent to study at foreign universities will likewise be expanded. The committee will assist in the placement of the students in universities which offer outstanding curriculums in their proposed fields of concentration.

Dr. James Silverberg, from the University of Wisconsin, joined the department of sociology and cultural anthropology of the Central University in September, 1953. Additional staff for the department, as well as for the department of economics, are being recruited under the foregoing plan for the academic years 1954, 1955, and 1956.

University of Chicago.—Three \$4,000 postdoctoral fellowships in statistics are offered for 1954-55. The purpose of these fellowships, which are open to holders of the Doctor's degree or its equivalent in research accomplishment, is to acquaint established research workers in the biological, physical, and social sciences with the role of modern statistical analysis in the planning of experiments and other investigative programs and in the analysis of empirical data. The development of the field of statistics has been so rapid that most current research falls far short of attainable standards, and these fellowships (which represent the fourth year of a five-year program supported by the Rockefeller Foundation) are intended to help reduce this lag by giving statistical training to scientists whose primary interests are in

substantive fields rather than in statistics itself. The closing date for applications is February 15, 1954; instructions for applying may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

College of the Holy Names.—Dr. Allen Spitzer has been appointed research professor of sociology and will study social research at the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The 1954 annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society will be held April 3-4 at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City.

Sections of contributed papers will be presented on Saturday morning. Such papers are invited both from graduate students and from other members. While results of current research will be emphasized, papers may also be submitted in the areas of general theory or of social action. They should not exceed 2,400 words, but supplementary materials may be distributed. Substantial preliminary outlines must be received by December 18; completed papers will be accepted until January 9. These should be addressed to Professor William J. Goode, Co-chairman, Committee on Contributed Papers, Department of Sociology, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Other program suggestions should be addressed to Dr. Ira de A. Reid, President, Eastern Sociological Society, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Annual dues of \$2.00 and inquiries about membership or the meetings should be sent to Vincent H. Whitney, Secretary-Treasurer, Eastern Sociological Society, Department of Sociology, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island.

First International Congress on Group Psychotherapy.—The International Committee of Group Psychotherapy invites individuals and groups interested in group psychotherapy to participate in the congress, to be held August 12-14, 1954, at Toronto. The membership of the sponsoring

committees includes representatives of all varieties of group psychotherapy. Among the sponsoring organizations are the American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama and the American Sociometric Association. The aim of the congress is the development and integration of the entire field. For further information write to J. L. Moreno, M.D., Director, Organizing Committee, Room 327, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Florida State University.—Dr. DeHart Krans, who has been in charge of the acute treatment service at the Veterans Administration hospital at Perry Point, Maryland, joins the staff as professor of social psychiatry.

David L. Levine, who received his doctorate in social work in June at the University of Minnesota, joined the staff in August. Part of his time will be given to the Human Relations Institute for courses in human growth and development.

Dorothy D. Hayes comes to the university for the second semester of 1953-54 as professor of social welfare. She will complete her doctorate in social work at Minnesota during the first semester.

Earl Lomon Koos, former head of the department of sociology at the University of Rochester, is another new staff member. His major responsibilities will be in the area of marriage and family living, in which he will conduct doctoral seminars and direct doctoral dissertations. His book on *Marriage* is just off the press.

William F. Ogburn will be visiting professor of sociology in the fall semester of 1953-54 and will offer a graduate seminar in "Social Trends."

Robert McGinnis, a candidate for the doctorate at Northwestern University, has been appointed acting assistant professor of sociology.

The University of Kansas.—E. Jackson Baur, associate professor of sociology and anthropology, has been granted sabbatical leave for the coming academic year in order

to study the board members of welfare agencies under a research grant from Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri. He has spent the last four summers on the staff of Community Studies, developing statistical indicators of community well-being. Last year he prepared a report on "Preventing Intergroup Tensions" for the Kansas City Commission on Human Relations.

Hilden Gibson, professor of sociology and human relations, awarded a faculty fellowship from the Ford Foundation, will devote most of next year to a study of the operation of the general education program at Colgate University. He will also make a brief survey of the work being done in human relations at Michigan, Cornell, Harvard, and New York universities.

Carroll D. Clark, chairman of the department, was visiting professor at Washington University during the summer session.

Carlyle S. Smith, assistant professor of anthropology, continued archeological field studies in the Fort Randall section of South Dakota throughout the summer.

Charles K. Warriner has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor of sociology and human relations. He will devote half of his time next year to a Kansas City, Missouri, research project dealing with hospitals and their organization conceived as social systems.

Marston M. McCluggage, professor of sociology and human relations, will serve as acting chairman of the department of human relations during the year 1953-54.

The Bureau of Business Research has published a monograph, *Social and Cultural Features of Southwestern Kansas*, by E. Gordon Ericksen, assistant professor of sociology. It is the tenth in a series devoted primarily to the economic development of that area.

Miami University; Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.—Warren S. Thompson, director of the Foundation since 1922, retired on July 1. During the next several months he will be engaged in a study of the growth and changes in Cali-

fornia's population, sponsored by the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles.

P. K. Whelpton resigned on July 1 as director of the Population Division of the United Nations. He returns, as director, to the Scripps Foundation, from which he has been on leave of absence.

Donald Bogue has been promoted from demographer to associate director of the Foundation.

Michigan State College.—Olen Leonard has been granted an extension of his leave for one year to permit him to continue, in Havana, Cuba, as director of Technical Cooperation of the Northern Zone of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences. Michigan State College has recently signed an agreement with the institute to have two staff members engage in research in Latin America.

Allan Beegle has received a Fulbright award for research in Finland next year. He will study a small village community in collaboration with the University of Helsinki. W. W. Schroeder, formerly a graduate student here and more recently a student at the University of Chicago, will substitute for him.

J. F. Thaden will be on sabbatical leave next year to do research and writing in educational sociology.

The Social Research Service, in co-operation with the School of Continuing Education, is making a study of the social aspects of disaster. Research data are being collected at Flint, Michigan, where a tornado caused serious loss of life and heavy property damage this June. The National Research Council, through the National Opinion Research Center's disaster studies specialists, is providing assistance. The committee in charge of the project consists of W. H. Form and Charles Westie (co-chairman) and Gregory Stone.

The department of sociology and anthropology, through its Social Research Service, is making a pilot study of one school community, in order to learn what citizens know

about their schools, how they secured their information, and their attitudes toward schools. Designated as the Michigan Communications Study, the project is sponsored by the Midwest Administration Center, the University of Chicago, and Michigan State College. Following the pilot study, a series of studies will be made to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the various methods of communications. Wilbur Brookover and Leo A. Hask are co-chairmen of the Social Research Service project committee; the latter is in charge of the pilot study. Other members of the committee are Charles P. Loomis, Sigmund Noscow, J. F. Thaden, and Joel Smith.

Readings in Latin American Organization and Institutions is the title of a new book by Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis. Also in publication is a monograph, *Turrialba Social Systems and the Introduction of Change*, by C. P. Loomis and J. O. Morales, edited by Roy A. Clifford and Olen Leonard.

The Social Research Service study of adult education in rural areas, sponsored by the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation, has been completed. A book entitled *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* reports the findings of this research and will be published by Michigan State College Press this fall.

Expected by October 1 is the report in book form of the project sponsored by the Farm Foundation, "The Community Organizational Aspects of Health Care in the United States," written by Paul A. Miller in collaboration with other project committee members of the Social Research Service.

Charles P. Loomis, head of the department, taught in the 1953 summer session at the University of Wisconsin.

Robert A. Hicks, a graduate student in sociology and anthropology, has received a Fulbright research grant for the academic year 1953-54 to do research in urban ecology in the city of Baghdad, Iraq. He will be affiliated as a research fellow with the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghdad.

Thomas L. Blair and Manuel Alers-Montalvo, candidates for the Ph.D. degree in the

department of sociology and anthropology, are recipients of \$2,500 opportunity fellowships awards from the John Hay Whitney Foundation for the year 1953-54.

University of Missouri.—C. Terence Pihlblad, in Oslo on a Fulbright research grant, is being replaced for the year by Harry V. Ball, most recently of the University of Hawaii.

The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences has been awarded a grant by the American Nurses Association to study the work of the general-duty nurse in non-metropolitan Missouri hospitals. Robert Habenstein and Edwin Christ, of the department of sociology and anthropology, will conduct the study, under the direction of Charles E. Lively, director of the institute and chairman of the department of rural sociology.

New instructors in the department of sociology and anthropology include Josephine M. Holik and Morris Sunshine.

Wayne Wheeler is now teaching at Bethany College; William Winstead has accepted a position with Christian College; and Herbert J. Miles is at Carson-Newman College.

C. E. Lively spent the month of February in Puerto Rico, where he was consultant to the Agricultural Experiment Station located at Rio Piedras. While there, he laid the plans for a proposed study of the economic and social significance of disabling illness among agricultural workers in selected type-of-farming areas.

The department announces the publication of two new bulletins: *The Relationship of Certain Factors to County Agent Success* by Ivan Nye (AES Research Bull. 498) and *What Has Happened to the Country Doctor?* by John H. Lane, Jr. (AES Bull. 594).

During the summers of 1952 and 1953, field work was completed in 141 rural townships, as a part of the study of the rural church as a social institution. This is under the supervision of Lawrence M.

Hepple and is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

John H. Lane, Jr., has resigned to accept the position of field secretary with the Texas Mental Health Association.

John B. Mitchell, instructor in rural sociology, has accepted a position as rural sociologist at Rhode Island State College, Kingston, Rhode Island.

Charles M. Coughenour, who received the Ph.D. degree in rural sociology in July, has joined the department staff as assistant professor for the year 1953-54.

Edward H. Hassinger has joined the staff of the department as research instructor. He has recently been doing graduate work at the University of Minnesota.

University of New Hampshire.—Dr. Charles W. Coulter, head of the department of sociology, 1934-49, and since 1949 professor of sociology, became emeritus June 30. He has accepted an appointment with the American Economic Foundation for the coming year and has been asked to continue as a member of the State Prison Board and State Board of Parole. Dr. and Mrs. Coulter plan to spend some time in foreign travel before their return to New Hampshire.

Arthur E. Prell, who is completing his doctoral dissertation in criminology at the University of Minnesota, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

A. Melville Nielson, assistant professor of sociology, was one of three lecturers appointed from all the social science fields to participate in the senior synthesis seminar of the College of Liberal Arts.

Owen B. Durgin, instructor in sociology, has completed, for the State Division of Alcoholism, a research report on "The Police Court Drunk" in New Hampshire.

Northwestern University.—Raymond W. Mack, formerly of the University of Mississippi, joined the department in September, 1953, as assistant professor. Wendell Bell, now at Stanford University, has been appointed associate professor, to begin his work in Evanston in September, 1954. The

two men will further develop work in the fields of urban sociology, stratification, and demography.

Robert F. Winch has received a two-year renewal of his grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to enable him to bring to a close his extensive research project, "A Study of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection," an initial report on which he gave at the Berkeley meetings. Winch's book, with Robert McGinnis, *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family*, appeared last May.

Douglas More will continue with Winch on the latter's research project and also will teach part-time in the department. In June, More published jointly with R. J. Havighurst, "Developmental Tasks as the Emotional and Social Goals of Education," in *Supplement to the Report of the Mid-century Committee on Outcome in Elementary Education* (Educational Testing Service).

Thomas Ktsanes, who completed his doctorate in August, joined the department of sociology at Tulane University in September. Robert McGinnis has been appointed assistant professor at Florida State College. Raymond Murphy will teach at Northern Illinois State Teachers College as a substitute for Donald Roos, now on leave to complete his work for the Ph.D. in this department. Arnold S. Feldman has been reappointed for 1953-54 to the staff of the Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico.

Princeton University.—The sociology section of the department of economics and social institutions now functions with a separate curriculum, on both the undergraduate and the graduate level. A full graduate program leading to the Ph.D. in sociology is available. The staff of the department includes Professors Frank Notestein, Frederick Stephan, and Wilbert Moore; Associate Professors Gerald Breese, Marion Levy, Jr., and Melvin Tumin; Assistant Professors Morroe Berger and Lloyd Fallers; and Instructor Gresham Sykes. Inquiries regarding graduate work should be addressed to Pro-

fessor Frederick Stephan, Chairman, Sociology Section, Department of Economics and Social Institutions. Inquiries regarding fellowships in the Office of Population Research should be directed to Professor Frank Notestein, Director.

Wilbert Moore was visiting professor in the department of social relations at Harvard University during the summer session. Under the auspices of the Organizational Behavior Project, of which Professor Moore is director, a study directed by Dr. Eliot Mishler is being made of the factors which differentiate the degree and quality of commitment by staff members of a mental hospital as they relate to the cure and care of patients. For the same project, Gresham Sykes has been directing a study of the factors which differentiate the degree and quality of participation by parents in parent-teacher associations.

Marion J. Levy, Jr., under the terms of a Social Science Research Council grant, conducted a summer seminar centering around his recently published *Structure of Society*.

Melvin Tumin has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of the relations between occupational and social morale among a sample of the occupational hierarchy in Trenton, New Jersey. He has also been appointed director of the study of social stratification in Puerto Rico's Social Science Research Center.

Professor Notestein recently delivered a series of four lectures on population problems to the War College.

Professor Breese is directing two studies in urbanization. One, supported by the United States Housing and Home Finance Corporation, is investigating the impact of the location of the United States Steel plant at Morrisville in the Delaware Valley area. The other, supported by the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development, is an analysis of Socio-economic Region No. 2 in New Jersey.

Morroe Berger, formerly of Columbia University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology, specializing in Middle Eastern materials. Under the terms of a spe-

cial grant, he has departed for the Middle East, where he will conduct a study among the higher civil servants in Egypt.

Dr. Lloyd Fallers, of the department of anthropology of the University of Chicago, has been appointed visiting assistant professor for the year 1953-54.

Dr. Eliot Mishler has been appointed research associate of the Office of Population Research.

University of Rhode Island.—Guy Brown, head of the department of sociology, is taking sabbatical leave during the year 1953-54; he is spending the year at Winter Park, Florida, where he plans to complete a writing project. Duties as acting head of the department are assumed by Associate Professor Irving A. Spaulding, who is currently engaged in resident teaching and in research with the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Robert G. Brown joined the teaching staff in July, as instructor. During the preceding year, he was a member of the research staff of the Rhode Island Governor's Commission to Study Problems of the Aged.

New to the staff as of September is John B. Mitchell, who, as instructor, assumes responsibilities as a resident teacher and as specialist in rural sociology of the Agricultural Extension Service.

Social Science Research Council.—The following categories of awards, for which persons eligible must be permanent residents of North America, are to be offered in 1954: research training fellowships, for predoctoral students who have completed all degree requirements except thesis and for postdoctoral students preferably not over thirty-five years old; grants-in-aid of research, for mature social scientists not candidates for degrees; faculty research fellowships, for young faculty members who have already made significant research contributions; undergraduate research stipends for students about to complete the third year of study toward the Bachelor's degree.

Funds for area research training fellow-

ships and travel grants are exhausted for the present, but programs of study or research relating to foreign areas may be presented by applicants for research training fellowships or grants-in-aid of research.

January 4, 1954, is the closing date for all types of applications.

University of Southern California.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Dr. Erle F. Young on June 1, 1953, in Modesto, California. Professor of sociology since 1924, he had retired from active teaching in February.

Erle F. Young will be remembered by sociologists, faculty associates, and students as a great teacher and friend. His broad intellectual interests were reflected in the many scholarly organizations of which he was a member and by his alertness to new problems for investigation. At the time of his death he was working on a two-volume book on the history of social work. He was author of *The Case Worker's Desk Manual*, *The New Social Worker's Dictionary*, and of many articles for various sociological journals. The people of the community in which he lived held him in great esteem and have expressed their friendship and neighborliness through the establishment of an Erle Fisk Young Memorial Scholarship Fund at Modesto Junior College. The fund will be utilized for the awarding of scholarships to America's future farmers. Farming was an occupation which Dr. Young, from both a practical and a scientific angle, rated as being of prime importance.

Roger Yoshino, who has been studying in Japan under a Ford Foundation grant, returns this fall to the University of Southern California, where he has been appointed lec-

turer in the Asiatic studies department. Mr. Yoshino studied the social changes which have occurred in the village of Suye-Mura since the close of World War II. Bruce M. Pringle has been appointed assistant professor of sociology at Southern Methodist University for the fall of 1953. Tom Hoult joins the staff of the sociology department at Wayne University. Nick Massaro has been appointed to the staff of Long Beach City College. Vernon A. Snowbarger, a graduate student in the department on leave from Bethany-Peniel College, has been appointed part-time instructor in the department of sociology at Occidental College.

Harvey J. Locke has written an article on "The Family" for the Americana annual of the *Encyclopedia Americana. An Outline of Introductory Sociology*, by Edward C. McDonagh and Thomas E. Lasswell, was published in September.

Eight graduate students received the Ph.D. degree from the department of sociology at the June commencement, making a total of sixty-four to date.

Swarthmore College.—The Jane Addams Papers in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection comprise records of Miss Addams' background and activities during practically her entire lifetime. They include her correspondence, books, pamphlets, and speeches. There are also collections of family records, pictures, clippings, reference material, and books from her library. These occupy one hundred and fifteen document cases on seventy-five linear feet of shelf space. A check list of the papers has been completed and may be had on request to the Curator, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

BOOK REVIEWS

ERRATUM

In Otis Dudley Duncan's review of T. E. Smith's *Population Growth in Malaya: A Survey of Recent Trends*, which appeared in the September issue, the words *per cent*, following the figures 1.7 and 2.6, should be deleted. They were erroneously inserted, without the reviewer's knowledge.

The Second Sex. By SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR.
Translated and edited by H. M. PARSHLEY.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. Pp.
xxx+732. \$10.00.

Woman, says Simone de Beauvoir, "living marginally to the masculine world . . . sees it not in its universal form but from her special point of view." Indeed, rather than for the profundity, scholarship, or insight into the feminine psyche seen in it by other reviewers, this book seems to us to recommend itself as the special point of view of a gifted French-woman, who is a novelist as well as an exponent of Existentialist philosophy. It should interest especially those concerned with human nature and social institutions. To students of marriage and the family it offers insight into a different culture as well as acquaintance with the extreme feminist personality type.

To enter the world of Simone de Beauvoir is to come into a world in large degree vanished from the American scene: a world in which little girls, in contrast to their brothers, dress uncomfortably and are forbidden to climb trees; in which coeducation, economic independence for women, and the dissemination of scientific methods of birth control are far from commonplace; and in which father and husband dominate the household while leaving its labors exclusively to wife and mother. We miss an account of comfortable bourgeois French home life in which *maman* plays an important part. Instead we find materials drawn from clinical reports or quotations relative to the marital difficulties of the wives of such uncomfortable geniuses as Leo Tolstoi

or D. H. Lawrence. The emotional experiences of Marie Bashkirtsev and of Isadora Duncan are perhaps even more remote from the life of the ordinary woman. But all are skilfully combined to create a fascinating, if not quite convincing, picture of "*Woman's Life Today*."

We have begun by speaking of Book II, which is closest to what we ourselves know and can judge. Book I, entitled "*Facts and Myths*," lays the theoretical foundation for an understanding of woman's low estate as imposed by man throughout recorded history. Man, the myth-maker, has built up a conception of woman as powerful, dangerous, mysterious, poetic, and desirable, but at the same time has always injured woman in failing to recognize her likeness with himself. (One chapter on biology recognizes certain biological differences between the sexes but minimizes them except in so far as man's greater physical strength permits him to dominate.) Though it is admitted that gains have been made by women toward equality with men, women at best are conceived of as "equal but different" rather than "equal and the same," the only just evaluation.

To accept the rationale of *The Second Sex*, one must accept the values implicit throughout the text. The author mentions at one point "the loftiest human attitudes: heroism, revolt, disinterestedness, imagination, creation"; but she does not elaborate these concepts. With greater enthusiasm she writes the words "danger," "risking life," "adventure," "masculine values," "violence," as "the authentic proof of each one's loyalty to himself, to his passions, to his own will," "liberty reaching out toward other liberties." The questions For what does one risk one's life? How choose among conflicting masculine values? What are the goals of liberty and what are the limitations upon their realization? are not answered. To take action, and even to risk one's life, may be comparatively easy. But to live rationally and with full humanity is difficult. We may compare this romantic Existentialism with Sartre's discussion of the forlorn-

ness, anguish, and even despair of man, who must make his choices not only for himself but for all mankind.

The simple fact is that Simone de Beauvoir is not interested in common humanity, male or female, but in gifted woman kept from full expression by man-made limitations. The remedy, not a new one, she tells us, is to do away with the ties that bind, marriage which "kills love" and "mutilates woman," the family, whose intimate relationships are harmful and whose younger members are better off "under the direction of adults whose bonds with . . . [them] would be impersonal and pure." Sex relations between equals rather than between dominating and dominated will be encouraged, however, since "in sexuality will always be materialized the tension, the anguish, the joy, the frustration, and the triumph of existence." This sexuality may take various forms. It is, for the most part, in the relations between woman and woman or mother and child rather than between woman and man that the natural warmth of human affections as distinguished from sexual needs are recognized. But Lesbianism (though not male homosexuality) is found to be natural and, as an attitude "at once motivated and freely adopted," quite defensible.

In spite of all this, many young women in America will assert that, having attained most of that economic and political freedom for which the early feminists struggled, they are now freely choosing to become wives and mothers. In fact, able and often continuing to hold outside jobs after marriage, they are marrying earlier and producing larger families than a generation ago. Are they then to be denied the freedom to act in this way? The conclusions of the sociologist that, however limiting to freedom, it is only through the intimate relations of the family that full humanity develops, may give a rational support to such impulses. Simone de Beauvoir herself at one point recognizes the potentialities of family living for human happiness when she confesses, for French culture at least:

There have been times . . . when such felicity [of the family] was also man's ideal, when he was attached above all to his home, to his family, and when even the children chose to be characterized by their parents, their traditions, and their past. At such times she who ruled the home, who pre-

sided at the dinner table, was recognized as supreme; and she still plays this resplendent role among certain landed proprietors and wealthy peasants who here and there perpetuate the patriarchal civilization.

Contrary to statements made elsewhere, the lines just quoted imply that woman's position in society relative to man's cannot be measured by any externally developed scale of freedom, but only by the actual relation of power and responsibility she holds toward the institutions and values important to the culture in which she functions. Thus, we may add, in so far as the role of wife and mother was in the past neither minor nor petty, as in traditional China, for example, women confined to the home, physically and economically dependent, nevertheless often developed into wise, mature, and able individuals. The same thing may, we believe, be seen in women of India today.

Women, like men, respond to the real as contrasted with the theoretical expectations of those about them. In America, women have ideally always had a high position. In recent years they have attained a large degree of personal freedom, the opportunity to compete with men on something like equal terms outside the home and within it, perhaps more than their share of dominance. Yet in a very real sense women are still excluded from full participation in the important affairs of men. At the same time, modern industrial civilization, which demands not variety but interchangeable parts, has tended to break down the structure of woman's kingdom, the private world of family. As a result, we have a situation in which many women have attained every independence but the most important one of all, that of the mind. Under such conditions, not only individual women are debased, but the whole society.

Today the turning back to the home by both men and women and its revaluation as a retreat from a painfully impersonal outside world may help to restore women's confidence in themselves as women, a confidence to some degree undermined by the feminist dogma itself. Yet the extravagances of feminism have their place in working against complacency and a helpless acceptance of time-honored limitations. At best, the family circle can offer only a partial refuge in a collapsing and chaotic world. To preserve and

constantly to re-create that reasonable pattern of life in which human values flourish, all, first or second sex, must emerge, all struggle, all "transcend."

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Des Plaines, Illinois

An Introduction to Social Science. By ARTHUR NAFTALIN, BENJAMIN N. NELSON, MURFORD Q. SIBLEY, and DONALD C. CALHOUN, with the assistance of ANDREAS G. PAPAN-DREOU. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953. Pp. xvii+372+xxx.

Collections of readings seem recently to have become part of the standard equipment for teaching in the social sciences. In this book of readings the editors present a volume for the introductory social science course in a general education program, developed from their teaching experience at the University of Minnesota. It stands as an editorial accomplishment that will not easily be surpassed.

The volume is divided into three books, representing three integrating themes. Book I is "Personality: The Human Individual and the Patterns of Culture"; Book II is "Work: Division of Labor, Co-operation, and Conflict in Modern Society"; and Book III is "Community: Group and Person in the Modern World." Each book is introduced by an excellent essay written by the editors.

The more than 130 selections are remarkably well chosen. Consistent with the editors' belief that "the social sciences are most fruitfully pursued when their close connection not only with one another, but also with the humanities, is recognized" (p. vi), a judiciously selected group of readings from the latter are inserted among the larger group of selections from social science. These are integrated in such a way as to add considerably to the volume. Though the majority of contributions are from contemporary social science, the giants of the recent past are well represented: Marx, Freud, Henry George, Toennies, Cooley, William James, Michaels, Weber, Mosca, Veblen, and others.

Furthermore, the selections are drawn substantially from the basic literature. There is no attempt here to make extensive use of timely (but soon dated), popularly written articles from mass-circulation magazines. The

student is introduced to the best that social science has to offer.

The problem of values has been handled commendably. The editors distinguish between current social *issues* (housing, race, employment) and *integrating themes or problems*; they attempt to deal with the latter, thus limiting their selections to those they regard as relevant to the "basic, enduring, and recurring" problems. At the same time, explicit emphasis is placed on the analysis of values as an integral part of general education. The volume opens with a selection by Paul Tillich on "The Crisis of Personality" and concludes with Max Weber on "The Morality of Politics and the Politics of Morality." In between, one finds, among many others, Marx on ideology, the "authoritarian personality," David Lynch on monopoly, Burnham on the managerial revolution, and a discussion of contrasting economic systems in Great Britain, Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, and the United States. The editors seek to clarify for the student the major value issues of industrial society.

A minor criticism from this reviewer is that the varied issues now grouped under the label of "mass communication" are given too slight a treatment. But this is not to detract from the excellent work of the editors, whose sensitive and discriminating judgment has produced a superior book of readings.

Two thorough indexes (name and subject) and nineteen excellent selected and annotated bibliographies, placed after relevant parts of the three books, add considerably to the merit of the volume.

JAMES B. MCKEE

Oberlin College

The Scope and Method of Sociology: A Meta-sociological Treatise. By PAUL HANLY FURFEY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xii+556. \$5.00.

This seems to me to be an excellent book, though it may be too difficult for some students who ought to include in their training a course such as might be based on it. It presupposes a grounding in formal logic, mathematics, and cognate subjects, which even graduate students in sociology frequently lack.

"Metasociology," indicated by Furfey as the essential subject of the book, is defined by him as follows:

a new term introduced by the present writer [analogous to] compounds formed with the same prefix in recent works on general logic and the logic of science. . . . Metasociology "transcends" sociology in the sense that it performs a function beyond the scope of sociology by laying down the rules for the latter science, just as metamathematics does for mathematics. . . . [Its] tasks are three: (1) It must yield criteria for distinguishing scientific knowledge from nonscientific knowledge in the area in which sociology operates. . . . (2) It must yield criteria for distinguishing what is relevant to sociology from what is not, thus defining the field of sociology. . . . (3) It must furnish practical procedural rules for applying these criteria in practical sociological research [pp. 8-9, adapted as indicated].

In view of the fact that this is in some respects, and particularly in the comprehensive and systematic way in which the author seeks to fulfil the purposes indicated above, a pioneer venture, it is remarkably successful. Space limits preclude the detailed examination of his analysis; various readers, naturally, will be critical of one or another feature of his reasoning. Though, as might have been expected from a Roman Catholic author, this book draws rather heavily on the literature of Thomist and scholastic thought, it is notably free from bias or specific religious presuppositions.

Furfey achieves an effective transition from his "metasociological" criteria for scientific validity and sociological relevance to particular research techniques—statistical, case study, ethnographic, and so on.

The book seems to be well documented and adequately indexed. It has no bibliography other than that supplied in the numerous footnotes.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Wandlungen der deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart. By HELMUT SCHELSKY. Dortmund: Ardey Verlag GMBH, 1953. Pp. 357. D.M. 12.

The observation of family conditions in Germany is made, in this book, the basis for general reflections on contemporary social trends, the family being viewed as an instrument of social change. In contrast to the conventional frame of reference, which considers the fam-

ily as adjusting passively to social change initiated elsewhere in society, this sociologist places family life at the very core of contemporary social change.

The empirical part of the investigation is based upon less than 200 family histories collected by research assistants and students of the author, professor of sociology at the University of Hamburg. Details of the method would have been of considerable interest to the American reader. The author limits himself, however, to a brief reference to the fact that many different questionnaires, schedules, and interviewing methods were employed (p. 45). Considering the limited use made of empirical materials, primarily for purposes of documentation and illustration of a systematic argument that develops in loose contact with the empirical investigation, details of method are indeed of little real consequence. Specific methods of research were obviously used only to provide the writers of family monographs with variegated insights regarding the individual case. In the present publication, only quotations from these monographs are used, to illustrate a sociological argument interesting in itself. In assessing these methods, we are reminded of the dialectic relationship between empirical materials and research conclusions in Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. It remains an open question whether the theoretical framework was derived from the empirical materials or whether a preconceived framework guided a one-sided selection from empirical materials, which, if given in their entirety, might just as well have supported a different theory.

In contemporary Germany the author is concerned with problems of family living brought about by various experiences of loss of status (*Deklassierung*) among refugees and D.P.'s, in the families of former Nazis, in bombed-out families, and in those whose breadwinners suffered from war imprisonment and incapacitating wounds. These varied experiences tend to impinge upon the family situation in more or less the same manner, culminating in loss of status, and are so widespread that they seem to have affected the scene of family living in general, particularly inasmuch as they run parallel with universally shared experiences of social uprooting and economic want.

The former authoritarian position of the father in the German family is being undermined. The mother moves into the foreground as family head, guiding the necessary adjustments to a shrinking standard of living, even accepting at times the role of the breadwinner, functioning as the main negotiator between the family and official relief institutions, and facilitating the readjustment of family attitudes to changes in relative social status.

Most interesting to the sociologist of the family is the conclusion that family life in general is strengthened, not weakened, through the impact of widespread social reorganization and temporary disorganization. This finding does not come as a complete surprise, in view of our knowledge about the poor whites in South Africa, the persistence of the family clan in the "hill-billy" environment in southern United States, and the Negro family in the North. Still, the family stronghold has often been undermined to such an extent as to cause widespread family disorganization in terms of divorce and delinquency, and some American observers have anticipated, indeed, much more severe repercussions in the German juvenile world as the consequence of postwar readjustments than those which actually have occurred.

The present publication argues, with the help of ample illustrative materials, that the modern German family unit has actually been strengthened through the disasters of war, revolution, bombing, and imprisonment. Undesirable effects, however, are observable in the great apathy toward citizen participation and interest in general social events. The author stresses, as the reaction to disaster and social uprooting, the turning of the individual to the family for the satisfaction of most of his needs, and the abandonment of attempts to shape the destiny of the larger society.

We are intrigued by, but cannot help remaining skeptical about, attempts to interpret these developments as only more violent expressions of trends observed in other countries. The author sees both upward and downward social mobility as phenomena of increasing numerical importance and as the background for a new middle-class culture, the structure of which can no longer be understood in terms of permanent social stratification. Without definitive identification with

some stratum of the larger community, the middle-class individual withdraws into his family experiences and loses contact with the economic and governmental institutions outside the family. Social change, under the circumstances, ceases to be an object of individual or small-group initiative. Survival and upward social mobility remain the primary purposes of family living, since the pursuit of "culture" as the "finer things in life" no longer finds a place in a family preoccupied with elementary activities.

In terms of Warner's classification, we are confronted with a postulate, somewhat reinforced by empirical documentation, that the modern family is increasingly drawn into the orbit of middle-class status struggles and is inclined—under the impact of dire need and uprooting disaster—to excel in lower-class patterns of survival. The gloomy perspective directed by the author at family life in the United States cannot be accepted by the well-informed American reader. The most interesting challenge arising for the sociologist of the family from this publication is that of viewing the family, not as engaged in processes of passive adjustment to technological innovation, but as a factor which contributes on its own to modern social change.

SVEND RIEMER

*University of California
at Los Angeles*

Psychiatry and the Law. By MANFRED S. GUTTMACHER, M.D., and HENRY WEIHOFEN.
New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1952.
Pp. viii+476. \$7.50.

Over the past generation, several volumes have appeared dealing with some of the relationships between law and psychiatry. For the most part, they have been the work of psychiatrists and have centered on mental disorders found among homicidal offenders, commonly followed by critical attacks upon the legal rules relating to responsibility. The present volume is uniquely different in a number of respects. Its excellence ensues from a distinguished authorship, for this is the product of collaboration between the chief medical officer of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore (one of the six trial courts in the United States with psychiatric clinics attached), who is an authority of wide experience in the fields of legal psychiatry, and a professor

of law who is commonly considered to be the outstanding expert on the relationship of mental disorder to the law. Since each of these men has broad as well as specialized competence, their collaboration has been peculiarly fruitful. *Psychiatry and the Law* avoids the vituperation and the narrow dogmatism that are too often encountered both in the writings of psychiatrists about law and of lawyers about the role of psychiatry. It reveals the understanding which comes from deep acquaintance with the problems and the needs which must be met by the combined efforts of law and of legal psychiatry. The authors do not merely tread again the familiar paths of disputation concerning the McMaghten and irresistible-impulse tests, though the issues there involved are discussed with balanced judgment as they relate to legal and social objectives.

This volume presents in lucid fashion the basic psychiatric materials on the neuroses, psychopathies, and psychoses, as well as on normal personality in relation to deviant behavior, with illuminating illustrations from the medical author's files. It also surveys the statutory and case law relating to emotional deviations and their relevance to legal liability under both the criminal and the civil law, including the recent legislation dealing with "sexual psychopathy" and the defective delinquent. Materials covering some of these matters may be found elsewhere in scattered sources, though rarely presented with such nonjudgmental balance. In addition, the reader will find here a thoughtful exposition of the philosophical substructure of the criminal law and of correctional treatment, and a search for reasonable policies by which we may come to meet more adequately the needs for community protection and for effective treatment of the criminal. In particular, the authors seek the elusive methods by which what is sound in contemporary positivistic criminology may be more cogently implemented in our legal system. It is in this area that the literature has been peculiarly weak, tending to reflect either, on the one hand, the traditional legal dogma of moral responsibility or, increasingly, on the other hand, an ill-considered and intemperate rejection of all that has been built through the years to protect the diverse social and individual interests involved in legal-correctional processes. This volume poses more squarely than others have done the conflicting issues involved and looks tentatively toward solutions.

In a concluding section on "The New Direction," the authors point out that under the premises of criminological positivism, the old dogma of moral guilt and responsibility has little meaning. They suggest the idea, popular in many quarters, that sentencing should be performed by behavioral experts rather than by law-trained judges or, as a compromise, that court sentencing should be to broad-range indeterminate terms under which experts could exercise the broadest discretion. The result: "*If analysis of the convict's personality indicates that he cannot safely be released, he may have to spend the rest of his life under legal supervision of some kind, even though the only crime he has actually committed was a minor one*" (pp. 444-45; reviewer's italics). Unfortunately, the authors do not expatiate upon the hazards, of which they are fully aware, that are implicit in this approach to sentencing and treatment, though they do express the need to avoid the dangers of administrative absolutism. The critical student of social control finds the sort of formulation quoted above the strongest possible argument against clinical sentencing, for, essentially, the function of the criminal law and correction is not simply to "cure" criminals of their problems or even to improve their emotional adjustments, except in so far as a reasonable amount of therapeutic effort may reduce criminality. Effective correctional treatment in the broadest sense may often increase rather than diminish problems of personal adjustment. In addition to—and often more important than—therapy are the state's purposes to deter the individual criminal, to avoid excessive and unnecessary deprivations of liberty, to employ with careful economy the very limited treatment-correctional resources, and to maintain a sufficient general deterrence of crime. There is grave danger of ascribing an unjustified precedence or an exclusive emphasis to one or another of these objectives. Indeed, the recent sexual-psychopath laws, which, the authors point out, "embrace the positivistic viewpoint openly and wholeheartedly," are peculiarly atrocious and largely unenforceable by reason of their inordinate, unsupported reliance upon indeterminate commitments "until cured" of individuals whose offenses are often minor.

The well-seasoned criminal-court judge is concerned—and most properly so—with how long the offender should be detained in unproductive confinement, how much of our rehabilitative resources should be applied to his treat-

ment, and how seriously he threatens the community. If the offender be merely, for example, a schizoid vagrant, a paranoid disturber of the peace, a defective family deserter, a passive homosexual, or an erotically inadequate exhibitionist, the reasonable judge is little inclined to submit him to indeterminate, theoretically therapeutic correction. And if the offender be a well-adjusted murderer or a recidivistic armed robber, however normal in his sociological and psychiatric etiology, the court will soundly sentence him to a long term, even though real "treatment" may be unnecessary in the first instance and impossible in the second.

Contemporary writing creates a very strong impression that some impatient advocates of applied behavior sciences, their humane objectives notwithstanding, are much less concerned about the values of human freedom, personal rights, or public protection than are many of our judges and correctional authorities. Some of the former (this does not include the authors of the present volume) display a massive tolerance for policy permitting the permanent segregation of human beings whose threat to society is small or even quite unproved. We cannot afford to be irresponsible or crassly empirical about what we do in the name of science, as many of our legislatures have been in recent years, when the issues both of individual liberty and of public security are involved. The reviewer submits that there is a need for redefinition of positivistic criminology and its policy implications that calls for the continued collaboration of lawyers, psychiatrists, and other behavior scientists. It is his firm opinion that a narrowly clinical correction is an impossible ideal in the twentieth century. More important, from the point of view of effective social control, it is not even a desirable ideal!

PAUL W. TAPPAN

New York University

Crime in Modern Society. By MABEL A. ELLIOT.
New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. Pp. xvi+
874. \$6.00.

This book in its gross features is similar to other textbooks on criminology written by American sociologists during the last thirty years. Approximately the first half is about crime and criminals, while the second half is concerned with crime treatment and prevention. The major theme, familiar to readers of the Elliot and Merrill book on social problems, is

that crime is a function of social disorganization. This broad hypothesis, though plausible, is sure to be challenged as circular, because of the frequent, if not exclusive, use of crime as the criterion of social disorganization.

The contents, roughly in order of numerical importance, consist of (1) facts and figures about contemporary American crime; (2) fragments of social history; and (3) sociological reflections, hunches, and insights. For the teacher who desires a large number of factual items on which to build a sociological interpretation of crime, this book is likely to have considerable appeal. It contains, for example, brief life-histories, fifty-three tables, excerpts from the Code of Hammurabi, detailed information on methods of discipline in state prisons, and so on. On the other hand, this book would not do for one seeking a consistently and exclusively sociological explanation of crime, not only because much of the discussion is focused on practical rather than on sociological matters but also because psychological data and interpretations are introduced ad libitum.

An attempt is made to restrict the coverage to adult offenses, but this limitation is practically impossible to maintain. For example, Monachesi's comparison of delinquent and non-delinquent children on average MMPI scores, the Gluecks's studies of juvenile delinquents, and the studies of Healy and Bronner and others are presented in considerable detail. The difficulty in excluding material on juvenile offenders is not so much that the restriction is arbitrary but rather that so much modern criminological research is concerned with youthful offenders.

A distinguishing feature is the relatively heavy emphasis on the female offender—three chapters being devoted solely to this topic. Facts about the woman offender are organized in opposition to the thesis developed by Pollack that women are just as criminal as men but more deceptive. Quite naturally, the author ascribes sex differences in criminality, which she believes are substantial, to differences in sex roles and culture setting. There is little doubt as to the theoretical importance of sex differences in criminality, since such differences, reliably measured, bear on the sociological view that lawful ways are the product of social conditions rather than of biological traits. Possibly, greater attention to this problem in standard textbooks will foster the type of research needed to solve it.

Its simple style of writing and the wealth of illustrations recommend the book. The undergraduate will doubtless appreciate plain talk in a general area that often appears committed to the policy of expressing very simple ideas in very technical language. Teachers of criminology will, of course, welcome a new degree of freedom in selecting a textbook.

Dr. Elliot's comment (p. 39) that "Sutherland decided to give the 'criminal' corporations the benefit of anonymity in his report and referred to each one by number instead of name" deserves a little elaboration. Though Sutherland believed, and quite properly, that the validity of his findings was not affected by the use of numbers instead of names, his decision to employ numbers was made after he had been advised that calling corporations "criminal" was libelous. This episode illustrates very well the strong taboo, or what amounts to one, on the word "criminal" for upper-class persons who violate business laws and the punishment in store for anyone who ignores this taboo.

KARL F. SCHUESSLER

Indiana University

Criminology: A Book of Readings. By CLYDE B. VEDDER, SAMUEL KOENIG, and ROBERT E. CLARK. New York: Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. xxi+714. \$4.50.

In view of the trend toward the production of books of "readings" in various sociological subjects, the publication of this or a similar volume of readings for students of criminology was inevitable.

Criminology: A Book of Readings contains eighty-six different writings, arranged in four sections, with from three to seven "chapters" in each section. Section 1, "Criminology, Crime, and the Criminal," is given about 18 per cent of the total space; Section 2, "Factors in Criminality," is given about 22 per cent; Section 3, "Types of Criminality," 27 per cent; Section 4, "Treatment of the Criminal," 32 per cent. This is not typical of textbooks in criminology, where about one-half to two-thirds of the total space is devoted to discussion of police, courts, prisons, etc., the subject matter covered in the fourth section of the present volume.

Only eleven of the eighty-six selections are from books, and almost all of the seventy-five journal articles are reproduced in their entirety, with the exception of footnotes. The place of

original publication of the seventy-five articles is somewhat surprising. Twenty-two (29 per cent) of the journal articles were published originally in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, twelve (16 per cent) in *Federal Probation*, twelve (16 per cent) in four special issues of the *Annals*, nine (12 per cent) in the *American Sociological Review*, and seven (9 per cent) in the *American Journal of Sociology* or in other sociology journals. The remaining thirteen items were taken from popular magazines or from scattered "penology" journals. No journal in psychiatry or psychology is represented. Fifty-five per cent of the journal articles are authored by sociologists and 12 per cent by psychiatrists, leading one to expect a heavier distribution of materials from the sociology and psychiatry journals. It does not seem reasonable that this statistical bias, toward the *Journal of Criminal Law*, *Federal Probation*, and the *Annals* and away from sociological, psychiatric, and psychological journals, is a function of the publication habits of criminologists, but this might be the case.

The most striking thing about the eighty-six items is their nonempirical character. Only about 20 per cent of the items can be considered firsthand research reports, and the data used in about a fourth of these reports can be classed as "thin." The remaining 80 per cent of the items is made up of essays, opinions, arguments, and rather casual descriptions. Various hypotheses as to the reasons for this bias may be entertained. First, the proportions may be an accurate reflection of the state of criminology. Second, they may be a product of the biases of the various journal editors—possibly the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* prefers nonempirical articles, so that the editors of the readings unwittingly induced the proportions by relying heavily upon selections from that journal. Third, the proportions may have been induced by a deliberate unrepresentative sampling by the editors of the volume. Probably the last hypothesis is correct. In some instances it is obvious that where the editors had a choice between an item reporting research results and one presenting an argument or an opinion, they chose the latter. The excerpt from Healy and Bronner's *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, for example, gives the reader only an inkling of the nature of Healy and Bronner's empirical research, reported in their volume.

Of course, the relatively slight emphasis on firsthand research reports is not necessarily a

defect. Some teachers might prefer that their students read these authoritative discussions rather than research reports, on the ground that empirical materials can be presented in class or by means of a standard textbook.

In this connection, *Criminology: A Book of Readings* seems to have been edited with a view to its use as a supplement to a criminology text rather than as a substitute for such a text. There are three lines of evidence for this. First, as mentioned above, the amount of space devoted to various topics is not typical of textbooks; perhaps the editors have attempted to offset or balance the traditional textbook emphasis on "penology." Second, the book contains a table suggesting systems for correlating the selections with the chapters in eight standard textbooks. Significantly, the point of reference is the textbook, not the book of readings; i.e., the chapter numbers of the textbooks are arranged serially, and the "readings," taken from various places in the volume, are matched up with the chapter numbers. Third, and most important, the absence of "connective tissue" between the materials reproduced seems to indicate an editorial preference that the volume not be used alone. Each item is preceded by a short, three- or four-sentence, introduction, but there is no effort to relate the items to each other. In view of this dearth of editorial comment, one wonders, in fact, why a bevy of editors, from three different universities, was necessary.

The book contains no materials on parole prediction. This is curious, for one of the editors is a parole-prediction specialist.

DONALD R. CRESSEY

University of California
Los Angeles

The Primitive World and Its Transformations.
By ROBERT REDFIELD. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953. Pp. xiii+185.
\$3.50.

This book, embodying a series of lectures delivered at Cornell University, is primarily concerned with the development of, and changes in, human society. Redfield, reflecting about the broad panorama of human history, offers a number of enlightening and informative interpretations of some of the events which have transpired. A list of the chapter headings will suggest the scope of the work: "Human Society before the Urban Revolution," "Later His-

stories of Folk Societies," "Civilization and the Moral Order," "Primitive World View and Civilization," "Man Makes Himself," and "The Transformation of Ethical Judgment."

A few of the points made by Redfield deserve comment. In this book he makes more explicit than formerly the fact that significant distinctions exist between folk and peasant societies. Such an emphasis is a definite step forward. The reviewer believes that the differences between peasant communities and those of the folk (primitives or preliterates) have not always been fully appreciated by those researchers who have taken Redfield's concept of the "folk society" as a guide for their research among peasant groups. Unlike the structurally self-contained folk community, the peasant social order is an integral part of a much broader social structure. The peasant community should not, therefore, be viewed simply as an ongoing, self-sufficient social system; its interrelationships with the extra-community organization must also be examined. Thus more detailed studies seem to be required concerning the effects upon the peasantry of control exerted by the state or by such an extra-community structure as the religious institution.

Redfield does seem to set the stage for a partial critique of his folk-urban continuum. He writes: "Civilization may be thought of as the antithesis of the folk society" (p. 22). He notes that civilization includes, among other traits, cities, writing, public works, and the state. Furthermore, the peasant social order is part of civilization. Is not, then, a comparison of a folk society with an urban community in effect a comparison of a self-sufficient society (the folk society) with a mere segment of a broader society (the city)? Such a procedure gives rise to problems in the logic of scientific analysis.

In an extremely interesting chapter, Redfield attempts to formulate what he terms a "common world view" of the folk. His position is that among the folk there is a "mutual involvement of God and nature" and also that folk orders, in contrast to civilized societies, are non-reflective. The reviewer is in general agreement with Redfield's approach and recognizes the need for generalizations which are applicable to numerous societies. He has, however, some reservations concerning Redfield's strong emphasis upon literate groups in "civilized" societies being reflective. Although Redfield acknowledges the existence of a sacred literate group, he seems to overlook the fact that so-

cieties have existed in which entire literate groups were essentially nonreflective, as, for instance, certain periods in the histories of such societies as those in India, the Middle East, or Europe.

Possibly the most challenging section of the book is that dealing with ethics, particularly in its relationship to problems being faced by anthropologists. For example, Redfield expresses doubts concerning certain aspects of the "extreme" relativism of Herskovits. Some will argue that he is going over "old ground." However, every scientific discipline must raise questions about its ends and first principles or run the risk of assuming the form of ritualistic behavior. Redfield is to be commended for his concern with these matters, and it is hoped that he will pursue still further the problems he has raised.

Sociologists should profit from reading this book. Although intentionally not in the form of a tightly knit systematic theory, these essays indeed offer worth-while analyses of a number of significant problems. And, happily, Redfield's style makes for very pleasant reading.

GIDEON SJOBERG

University of Texas

Freedom and Authority in Our Time. Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, R. M. MACIVER, and RICHARD P. McKEON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xvi+767. \$6.00.

The twelfth symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, held in New York in September, 1951, was devoted to a discussion of "freedom and authority." The papers presented at that time are now published in this volume, together with the commentaries which followed some of them at the symposium. In all, there are fifty-eight papers, the last of which is by David Iino, concerning the state of freedom in Japan, included by the editors although it was not presented at the symposium.

Most of the participants will be familiar to readers of this *Journal*, although there are only two or three sociologists and about the same number of anthropologists. The majority are philosophers, followed closely by educators, religious leaders, and men of affairs. Most have participated in previous symposia sponsored by the conference.

The papers are organized under six main

rubrics: freedom and authority in practical life; freedom and governmental authority, national and international; freedom and legal authority; freedom and authority as cultural and social phenomena; postulates of theories of freedom and authority; and, finally, definition of freedom and authority.

As might be expected from such diverse participants, the unity is more apparent than real. The papers cover a wide range of topics and fields of interest. For example, there is a discussion of the structure of Moslem government, especially as expressed in the classical period of Islamic political science (1058-1328), by Gustave von Grunebaum. Susanne K. Langer details her program for outlawing war and establishing an effective world court. The attempts by lay authorities to impose various types of censorship in painting and motion pictures are reviewed by William G. Constable, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Karl Deutsch translates some of the problems of freedom and authority in social groups into the language of cybernetics. Many of the remaining papers discuss the concepts of freedom and authority in specific metaphysical or religious perspectives.

The two concepts, freedom and authority, are themselves variously defined (as well as undefined) by the many participants, and apparently no effort was made to achieve a common universe of discourse, before, during, or after the conference. Likewise, the level of analysis and discussion is uneven in depth and quality. It surprised this reviewer to find so little of the theory and empirical findings of sociology in so many of the papers and comments. All too frequently, the analysis resembled the following: "And I always agree with those who held that Pitt did not handle the French Revolution intelligently, and so produced Napoleon" (p. 199).

Because of this variety and unevenness, it is difficult to recommend any of these papers to a representative group of sociologists. Yet a specific reader may find much of interest, and for him the Index may prove to be more useful than the Table of Contents. (Even here, it was noted that, although Durkheim is cited by at least one participant, the name does not appear in the Index at all.) Incidentally, most of the papers are rather light on bibliography, particularly contemporary sources of empirical work.

The papers by Adolph Sturmfels, Rupert Vance, Philipp Frank, and Eli Ginzberg are of more than passing professional interest.

Sturmthal traces the evolution of European and American trade-union goals and suggests that, at the moment at least, the European frontal assault on private property has not resulted in as much "worker's control" of the plant as has the American concentration on wages, hours, and working conditions—even though American unions, unlike European, are not desirous of obtaining direct control.

In a brief paper, Frank distinguishes between attacks, by those in authority, against the philosophical interpretations of scientific theories and their search for technical results which are the by-product of those theories. The latter research is relatively free in most circumstances; e.g., although the Nazis attacked Einstein's theory, their technical explorations of the atom were based on it.

Ginzberg points out that a more meaningful consideration of the relationship between work and freedom must use a broad societal framework rather than delimit the inquiry to conditions within the factory. This is certainly as relevant a criticism of some of today's studies as it is of the early Western Electric researches. In the same vein, Rupert Vance suggests the futility of considering the freedom of the abstract individual as such. Yet his contention that we avoid a monopoly of power for any one institution through the "support of a pluralist society of voluntary associations which citizens freely join and as freely abandon" is at least question-begging in the absence of other external criteria for "freely."

A final word should be said about the commentaries which are frequently appended to the main papers. However useful they may have been at the symposium, they usually emerge in the book as too brief and too polite to be very helpful. All too frequently, the comments are a variant of the following, which is quoted in full:

This is an arresting paper. It represents an excellent piece of analysis, and brings home to us a very serious situation. My only criticism of it is that it stops too soon. Like an absorbing play, even though it be a tragedy, we are startled when we find it over [p. 11].

NORMAN KAPLAN

Cornell University

Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family. By ROBERT F. WINCH and ROBERT MCGINNIS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953. Pp. xiii+578. \$4.00.

This is the second book of readings in marriage and the family to have appeared in recent months. (The first came out in 1952 under the editorship of Judson T. and Mary G. Landis.) Though both books are anthologies and the two are aimed at the same market, only nine articles are duplicated in the two volumes. Those given this honor of double selection are "The Family in a Changing Society," by Ernest W. Burgess; "The Family Cycle," by Paul C. Glick; "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," by Mirra Komarovsky; "The Rating and Dating Complex," by Willard Waller; "Courtship in a Group of Minnesota Students," by Clifford Kirkpatrick and Theodore Caplow; "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," by Lewis M. Terman *et al.*; "Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage," by Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.; "Social Class and Social Mobility Factors Related to Marital Adjustment," by Julius Roth and Robert F. Peck; and "Differentials in Divorce by Duration of Marriage and Size of Family," by Paul H. Jacobson.

There are fifty-five separate articles in this volume, coming from the pens of fifty different contributors. The orientation is heavily sociological, as shown by the fact that nearly half the selections (twenty-three articles) are from the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *American Sociological Review* alone. Fourteen of the selections are from books, generally of the monographic and "not-so-accessible" variety. Eight selections are from miscellaneous professional journals not mentioned above, two from a popular magazine, one from a Bureau of the Census publication, and one from a newspaper. Finally, six selections are original with this printing, including contributions from both the editors. In addition to regular articles, there are brief discussions introducing each of the nineteen chapters and serving to link the whole thing together. The organization of the book is "rather similar to, although not identical with, Winch's *The Modern Family*" (p. v).

The most crucial process in compiling any book of readings is that of selection. Winch and McGinnis started out with a clearly defined orientation—that of constructing systematic knowledge by means of the scientific method—and selected their materials accordingly. The introductory chapter is by the editors themselves and it provides clear and uncomplicated discussion of the scientific method as applied to family research. Many of the subsequent articles serve to illustrate this method, in addition to

their subject-matter contents. Thus, the reader is kept close to facts and is given a greater appreciation of the problems of research. This is, perhaps, the chief strength of this excellent book.

Undoubtedly the book is intended for collateral reading rather than as a textbook, and for such a purpose it will be extremely useful. Valuable materials from numerous sources have been brought together under one cover, which should save time for both teacher and student. It is probable that no teacher will want to assign every article, but he will have enough to choose from and will be able to adapt his choices to just about any textbook or course outline in the marriage and family field.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

Purdue University

The American Family. By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953. Pp. xiv+658. \$5.00.

The American Family, says Dr. Cavan, "is a successor to, rather than a revision of," her earlier book *The Family*, published in 1942. The book is divided into four parts, the first of which is entitled "The Present Status of the American Family." In the first chapter the author raises, but does not attempt to answer, nine issues relating to marriage and the family. Examples are "Should marriage be a permanent or temporal [sic!] relationship?" "Should young people have a free hand in selecting a mate?" and "What constitutes an adequate number of children?" The fact that these nine issues appear intermittently throughout the text suggests that an appropriate subtitle would be "A Presentation of Family Problems." This view seems corroborated by the impression that the author has in mind at least an outline of the kind of family she wishes to see develop and, further, that this new family would be a rationalized expression of the author's view of middle-class morality. "The new form of the family must be flexible and adaptable to continued change, with norms based on principles rather than fixed rules of behavior" (p. 29). In the remainder of Part I, the author looks back at the self-sufficient rural family and notes the effects on the contemporary urban family of technology, migration, and urbanism.

Part II, "Social Configurations of the Ameri-

can Family," presents rich descriptive materials on subcultural variation associated with differences in social class and membership in ethnic groups. Although there has been no publication reporting the application of Warner's six-class system to metropolitan cities, the author asserts that "six class levels . . . are typical of large, long-established cities, whereas two or three are more characteristic of small villages" (p. 120).

Part III, "The Cycle of Family Life," starts with the adolescent, goes through dating, courtship, and marriage, and emerges with a chapter on "The Later Years of Married Life." Part IV consists of a single chapter on "Integration of Society and Family."

The author's general approach is traceable to Burgess and Ogburn. The "institution-to-companionship" theme seems implicit in the historical development. The concept of cultural lag is evident in her treatment of the nine issues which "have resulted from the unequal rates of change of the family and other institutions" (p. v).

On the positive side of the ledger, the author's style is simple and lucid, the coverage of topics is excellent, many relevant studies are cited, and the format of the book is attractive. Pictographs are used liberally, and especially praiseworthy is the author's practice of accompanying each table, graph, and chart with a paragraph which contains not only the citation but also an interpretative summary highlighting its meaning.

As is usually the case, the negative side of simple lucidity is oversimplification and unqualified generalization. For example, data from the reviewer's research casts doubt on the unqualified statement that "now, young women look for personal satisfaction and pleasure in sex, similar to that long experienced by men" (p. 16). It is the reviewer's judgment that the topic is far too complicated to be accurately summarized in such a statement. Later, however, the author seems to reverse her position, as she reports that the double standard of Victorian morality is still operative: "Whereas the [adolescent] boy may tend toward sex relations, the girl is held back by the strict teaching she has had and by her fears and feelings of guilt" (p. 291). Neither of the statements just quoted is qualified with respect to social class, ethnic or religious membership, or any of the other sources of subcultural variation. Mrs. Cavan is certainly aware of subcultural variation, for this is the principal topic of Part II. Such lack

of qualification, however, may lead the unwary reader to conclude that subcultural variation has little psychological importance.

In summary, it is the reviewer's estimate that this is a lucidly written and attractively prepared text, with a touch of middle-class moralizing, and that it shows the assets and liabilities inherent in these characteristics.

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

The Stepchild. By WILLIAM CARLSON SMITH.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
Pp. x+314. \$6.00.

This book is a survey of evidence on the adjustment of the stepchild, written in the early welfarist tradition which stresses exposition of a problem, abundant illustration of the problem's forms, and frequent expression of indignation over the problem. W. C. Smith has performed a comprehensive task in bringing together already published cases on the stepchild and in ferreting out a large number of hitherto unpublished cases from the files of welfare agencies. The method used is illustrative, except for a review of statistics from several sources on the number of stepchildren in the population and the relation of stepchild status to juvenile delinquency. Central in the book is the thesis that many of the problems of the stepparent-stepchild relationship go back to the predominant stereotype of the cruel stepmother, as conveyed in the Cinderella-type story.

The first half of the book is descriptive, including chapters with sample references to the stepchild in folklore, drama, biography, etc., and chapters devoted to showing that the stepmother is not always bad, the stepfather is not always good, and the like. Most useful of these chapters is the cross-cultural exploration of the step-relationship, in which some modest efforts are made to generalize about family structure and cultural milieu as determinants of the role assigned the stepmother or stepfather.

The second half of the book is a study of the relationship between such factors as age, status, preparation of the child for the parent's remarriage, provision of emotional security and affection, and the kind of adjustment the stepchild will make.

Failure to make use of methodological advances of the last thirty years limits the value

of the author's generalizations. In using case materials, the author is satisfied to accept the subject's own interpretation of how any given fact influenced his personality, while the explanation may often be merely the culturally sanctioned interpretation. Case excerpts used to substantiate the influence of a particular factor often show clearly the operation of two or more factors which the author does not attempt to disentangle. The basic frame of reference which guided the establishment of categories for the cases and the choice of hypotheses is primarily valiative rather than analytic. The form of many generalizations is the indefinite either-or statement. For example, we are told that the stepmother coming into the home can often possess the objectivity of an outsider but that often it is difficult for her to be objective, and we are offered no systematic clues as to which we might expect in a particular case.

This book must be evaluated primarily in terms of its function as an informative rather than a definitive work. It is interesting reading, probably more than half of the text consisting of summaries of case reports. It should be useful for student reading in undergraduate courses and as a source in which the thoughtful investigator might find hints of further hypotheses. While the cases are presented in a rather sketchy manner, the book will be useful for its compilation of a large number and variety of cases involving stepchildren.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California
Los Angeles

Readings in Social Psychology. Edited by GUY E. SWANSON, THEODORE M. NEWCOMB, and EUGENE L. HARTLEY. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952. Pp. xix+680. \$5.00.

The first edition of these readings was offered in 1947 as a collection of "reports of research in social psychology and of the methods by which its conclusions are reached." This is a revised edition of the original, containing many new readings, again purporting to "portray the empirical foundations upon which social psychology rests."

Although "representativeness" was not claimed, these readings do seem to be representative of the dominant tenor in social psychology. This is due in part, no doubt, to the judiciousness of the cochairmen of the editorial

committee, but as well to the thirty-five other members of the editorial committee and to the almost three hundred and fifty instructors who answered a questionnaire about their experience with the original edition. Indeed, the readings seem to have been selected on the popular basis of the preferences of a large number of social scientists.

This collection can be wholeheartedly recommended to the instructor and student, since it provides a compelling example of what must be outgrown before social psychology can become a genuine discipline rather than a bag of tricks. Read in the context of a relevant series of lectures, with an eye to something more than "method," it should prove a valuable experience to the student, familiarizing him with the best of recent, popular work and warning him of pitfalls.

There are a number of pitfalls gaping along the course of these readings. Some relatively minor ones are the obscurantism of jargon (forgivable as an incipient occupational disease); the enthusiastic self-indulgence of rendering into mathematical formulas or representation, propositions that are not manipulated mathematically; and statistical criteria of significance so widely varied that it is difficult to compare one study with another without introducing wishful judgment.

The most impressive thing about these papers taken collectively is, despite all talk of "interaction," the extent to which the "attitude" is the basic unit of analysis. The majority of the papers use that word to describe what they are studying. In few, however, is the word used consistently—it appears interchangeably with words like "opinion," "norm," "evaluation," "judgment," "perception," "value," and even "motivation." If ubiquity be taken for significance, "attitude" is the basic concept of social psychology, but if variety of usage be taken for contradiction, "attitude" is the most confused concept of social psychology. No matter how fine the manipulative techniques, lack of a clear notion of what is being manipulated is bound to confuse results.

What is badly needed in social psychology is use, in more than a mathematically or technically sophisticated way, of the admirable methodological sophistication developed over the past years. There should be awareness of the varied theoretical assumptions of research methods so that methods may be compatible at least with one's assumptions about what is

being studied. There should be awareness of the elusive role of analogy in much artificial design. There should be awareness of the problem of the substantive meaning of "associations" and "correlations" manifested in more critical attention to excuses of indeterminacy and the like. Careful reading of this excellent collection should do much to encourage the development of awareness that will considerably advance the state of social psychology.

ELIOT FREDSON

University of Illinois

Social Psychology: An Interdisciplinary Approach. By HUBERT BONNER. New York: American Book Co., 1953. Pp. 439. \$4.25.

This book attempts to show that social psychology is a truly interdisciplinary science. Drawing widely and well from recent and significant contributions to the behavioral sciences, the author makes his point effectively. Efforts to integrate psychology, sociology, and social anthropology no longer make news, but efforts to integrate relatively divergent schools of thought within and between these disciplines should arouse considerable interest.

Part I gives the student a glimpse of the development of social psychology and a concise introduction to the methods and techniques of this behavioral science. It is here, too, that Bonner clearly states his theoretical framework and outlines his basic assumptions: "This framework aims to account for human behavior . . . as the resultant of the dynamic interrelations of . . . the biological heritage, social interaction, and cultural conditioning" (p. 37).

Part II deals with social interaction and its function in "self"-development as well as with the relations of motives and attitudes to behavior. Bonner draws heavily upon Mead and Piaget but rejects the theory of levels. Thus we learn that the significant difference between monkey thought and human thought is that human beings think more. Yet, once having passed beyond the problems arising from the acceptance of biological continuity, the author correctly appraises the importance of language for human behavior.

The attempt to tie in the discussion on "self" (Cooley's and Mead's) with an over-all description of personality development (largely and uncritically Kardnerian) is less than integrative.

Perhaps Bonner felt that he had exhausted the possibilities of more traditional social psychology, for he finds it necessary to "utilize the insights of psychoanalytic theory to aid us." Hence we are soon confronted with "basic" needs and drives being channeled via the "basic" disciplines—oral, anal, etc., with early frustrations playing a key role in later adult personality. Great store is set by "self," among other things, as something constantly beset with threats to its integrity. The psychoanalytic mechanisms may help in adjustment; but, if they do not, fixation or regression may occur.

Motives are seen as either "transformations" of organic needs or as independent of them. Stress is placed upon the process of channeling the motivational "push," yet recognition is given to the reciprocal influence between individual needs and cultural provisions for their satisfaction. Whereas the chapter on motives is essentially culture-determinist, the one on attitudes is symbolic interactionist. Since attitudes are "fundamentally cognitive," they can more easily be related to conscious meaning than can the conative, organic-linked motives. Attitudes are related to roles, group definitions, and their function in interaction is well covered.

Part III is a slightly modified Kardnerian view of culture and society. Institutional life is seen as based "to some degree" upon three integrative systems—rational systems, belief systems, and social ideologies. These provide man with relatively stable means for self-orientation and with difficulties, as well, where contradictory prescriptions for behavior are evident. But society offers convenient "rationalizations" for the infringement upon norms and is permissive enough to allow for a reduction of tensions necessarily built up by the repressive demands it makes upon its members.

This is followed by a discussion of "basic" personality and its relation to "basic" discipline and social organization. We learn that the Japanese are "anal-sadistic." The male's contempt for his wife, his suicidal propensities, and his cruelty in war can be traced to childhood frustrations. The German is also "anal-sadistic," primarily as a result of his early acquired obsession with cleanliness and order. Moreover, because of the rigid and suppressive character of education in Germany, growing up is not as enjoyable as it normally is: "Germans, as everyone knows who has carefully observed them, are seldom happy after the fifth or sixth year" (p. 277). The German, too, is cruel in war. Of

course, the American has fought intelligently and heroically in the last two wars.

Parts IV and V deal with group formations, behavior, and conflicts. Here, biological heritage is found to be relatively unimportant. Thus, the behavior of groups is "described on the background of social interaction and social change." Frustration-aggression theory is made use of, although Bonner is rightfully cautious. Crowds, mass behavior, and social movements are handled well, the discussion following Blumer and Cantril closely. In the final chapter a case is made for a "close correlation between social and individual disturbances."

The entire volume reads easily. Each chapter is a concise whole and a neat continuity is maintained. Moreover, each is brought to a close with a statement that summarizes the essential points made and suggests important implications for theory. Perhaps Bonner's difficulties with integration stem from his acceptance of multiple causation and his failure to utilize the methodological concept of the closed system.

LEONARD SCHATZMAN

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

Societies around the World, Vol. I: *The Eskimo, the Navajo, the Baganda*; Vol. II: *The Chinese Peasant, the Cotton South, the English Midlands*. Edited by LYNN T. SMITH *et al.* New York: Dryden Press, 1953. Pp. xii+528; xi+608. \$5.90 each volume.

These volumes constitute another attempt to utilize the approach of several disciplines, in order, in the editors' words, "to convince you [the student] of the importance of knowing more about society so that you will eagerly continue the study of human behavior." The volumes under review have been utilized in various versions for a period of seven years before appearing in their present format.

The emphasis of the two volumes is upon understanding each of the six societies as a "going concern." An attempt is made to show how the various component parts of a society are interrelated in terms of structure and operation. The six selected societies are arranged in order of their complexity, from the simpler organization of the Eskimo to the industrialized social organization of the English Midlands. However, there is no attempt made to discuss explicitly

the criteria of simplicity-complexity, nor is any rationale offered as to why these particular six societies were selected.

An introductory chapter of twenty-seven pages in Volume I is designed to orient the student to the study of societies as "dynamic wholes." Included in this chapter is a topical outline of the major areas used to describe each of the six societies: the people—their physical features and language; the habitat; maintenance institutions; social organization and process; and sociocultural change. These general descriptive categories provide the framework for the presentation of the materials on the societies.

In the introductory chapter of Volume I an effort is made to discuss briefly some of the major concepts employed. Some instructors, however, will feel the need to supplement this discussion with additional readings in other sources. The basic approach of the book is a series of case studies, and thus description is stressed more than analysis. This feature will undoubtedly make the volumes appealing to many undergraduate readers.

In general, the selections have appeared previously in other publications, but a few original articles have been written especially for these volumes. The selections on the Navajo, for example (the editors for some reason employ the spelling not generally used in sociological and anthropological literature), include portions from the writing of most of the outstanding authorities on these people. Footnotes and references which appeared in the original publications have been eliminated, with a few exceptions, with the idea, presumably, of making the selections more palatable for the undergraduate reader.

The authorship of the selections is extremely varied, representing the fields involved in the interdisciplinary approach: historians, geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, economists, and also a number of non-social scientists. As is often the case in social science anthologies, some of the most insightful and best-written selections from a literary standpoint are by those who do not bear the label of "social scientist." One example of an extremely perceptive and well-written selection is "The Adolescent and the School" (in the section on the English Midlands, in Vol. II) by the English poet, playwright, and essayist Stephen Spender. Another brilliant piece of descriptive writing is by the English author J. B. Priestly.

The volumes are illustrated with a number of appropriate photographs, and a map is offered for each society, to place it geographically. The printing is attractive, and each volume is equipped with the same Index, covering the contents of the two volumes. There are suggestions for additional readings on the three societies included in Volume I but, strangely enough, none for the three more complex societies covered in Volume II. Suggested readings on other societies would have made the volumes even more useful as a sourcebook of comparative sociology.

Some instructors may find the interdisciplinary approach of *Societies around the World* a useful point of departure for an introductory sociology course. The editors do not, however, intend the volumes to be an introductory sociology text per se; nor are they an introductory text to any other specialized discipline. In fact, Volume II concludes with a brief chapter by the senior editor indicating how seven social sciences (cultural anthropology, geography, history, etc.) deal with the topic of social change, the central theme of Volume II. The variety of readings and the comparative nature of the works make them adaptable for other sociology courses, such as comparative sociology or social organization or social change.

For those who plan a survey-type course in which the central focus is to be the study of a society or societies, these volumes will serve as stimulating and readable texts. There will be sociologists, however, who will strongly disapprove of the "journalistic" tone of a number of the selections. One might also point out that the student will obtain little awareness and appreciation of any of the newer developments in empirical social science techniques and methodology from reading these volumes. Articles employing statistical materials, for example, are, as one might expect, considering the societies discussed, very limited.

GORDON F. STREIB

Cornell University

The People Elect a President. By ANGUS CAMPBELL and ROBERT L. KAHN. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1952. Pp. 73.

The Survey Research Center here reports on a highly workman-like job, centering around the

presidential election of 1948. The technique is that of reinterviews after the election with a national sample of those who had been interviewed prior to the event. Since not all the information obtained was included in both surveys, materials of two kinds actually result. There is, first, an analysis of individual shifts from voting intention to actual vote, and the data permit this kind of analysis within various demographic subgroups of the population. More subjective information, however, like evaluations of the candidates and stands on domestic and foreign-policy issues entering into the campaign were obtained for only one or the other time period. These are utilized only for *post hoc* correlational analysis of vote with attitude, although the materials might have added further hints had they been analyzed from the standpoint of correlating change in vote with final attitudes (even though the full comparison of change in vote with change in attitude could not have been made within the confines of the data).

The findings themselves are in no way astounding: in the 1948 election, voting decisions were made relatively late, and the pre-election polls went wrong, at least in part, by misguessing the actual vote of the late deciders; in the polls, Democrats got disproportionate support from the young, the less educated, the economically disadvantaged, workers, Negroes, Catholics, and large city dwellers, but only the last two of the foregoing groups could be counted on to turn out to vote; people tended to hold views on domestic issues which were consonant with those of their candidate, with foreign-policy issues appearing less relevant; and people tended to hold very different images of the personalities of Dewey and Truman, although the effect of these images on actual voting is not determinable.

Why is it that the product of so many of our most sophisticated researchers (and the present report is only one case in point) should be so unoriginal and unexciting? The question of the failure of the 1948 pre-election polls has already been thoroughly documented in the report of the Social Science Research Council Committee on Analysis of Pre-election Polls and Forecasts ("Social Science Research Council Bulletins," No. 69 [1949]), and it is, in fact, rather singular that the present report, financed in part by this same committee, makes no reference to the preceding publication. Similarly, demographic correlates of voting behavior have been described,

with exactly the same conclusions reached here, in a large number of previous studies. The authors are meticulous in qualifying their results—e.g., "It should be said, therefore, that some of these [demographic] factors are so interdependent that we can only conjecture about the way in which they affect political preference . . . how far it is occupation or income rather than type of community or race or religion that influences political choice" (p. 20), but no attempt is made to substitute adaptations of partial-correlation techniques to control some of these factors, for which their small sample size does not permit more refined breakdowns. As for the treatment of the data on attitudinal elements in voting behavior, we can only remark, with the sage, that "of the running of correlations, there is no end." The forthcoming Elmira panel study (to which, once again, the present report makes no reference, even though partial results have already appeared) bids fair to tell us a great deal more about the dynamics of decision—how people make up their minds, whether they adopt the policies of their candidates or adopt the candidate of their policies, how mass media, associations, group affiliations, and cross-pressures influence the decision process, and so on.

In fairness to the present researchers, it should be pointed out that this was not originally planned as an election study; rather, the forecasting failure of the 1948 polls made it expedient to reinterview, with other purposes in mind, a sample originally surveyed. Furthermore, the study, so far as it goes, is executed in careful, meticulous, competent, workman-like style. There is here nothing stupid, nothing actually incorrect, nothing hasty, nothing overgeneralized. The difficulty is, simply, that such a high degree of research sophistication is put to such pedestrian and unimaginative use, giving us form with very little content, practically a virtuoso performance of technique for technique's sake. In our passion for burnishing our tools, we are all always in danger of losing sight of our goals and ending with a highly proficient research sterility.

SHIRLEY A. STAR

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

Introduction to Sociology. Edited by J. H. S. BOSSARD, W. A. LUNDEN, L. V. BALLARD,

and L. FOSTER. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1952. Pp. vi+666.

This college text produced by several editors and thirty authors, with Bossard as the general editor, is a singular work in that more than a score of relatively unknown names share the credit. However, the opportunity to disturb creatively the reputation of a field of publication was lost.

In Part I, sociology is said to be the study of norms, statistical and behavioral. But the framework for discussion of key concepts is based on an alleged connection between needs and societal survival. Generally, this connection is made by "functions" performed for society by institutions, etc. Needs are responsible for rural communities, institutions, and social class systems. Stratification (discussed in the section on social processes) is inevitable because of the requirements of kinship systems and functional needs of personality. Class systems integrate personality because they protect individuals from "ruinous social competition" and "limit social participation" (pp. 316-17). It is all one, however, since the hierarchization of opportunities reflects personality needs. For example, in the case of enlisted men who resent exclusive officers' clubs: "They are glad, however, of the chance to relax and be by themselves in their own clubs, free from the constricting presence of officers" (p. 317). Why?

This shrewd boy-scout conception of social phenomena is accompanied by a treatment of concepts obscuring analytical distinctions. Race, a classification on the basis of common inheritable physical characteristics, is also "a particularly important group concept" (p. 150). There are rarely societies, usually Society. *An* institution is a category of behavior universal in time and space, sometimes clothed in flesh. The discussion of economic institutions contains an interesting bit of Americana; the "institutions of Capitalism," i.e., profit motive, entrepreneurial freedom, etc., "are current in any type of economic system, whether it be Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, or any other system. The difference is in the attitude" (p. 354). The profit motive provides all economic motivation, from the bartering of spearheads to the occasion on which "Willie Jones barbers his harmonica for Johnnie Smith's fishing pole" (p. 358). The profit motive is operative allegedly because of satisfactions resulting from trade, but a probable additional reason for its pervasive power is intimated by the use, as a subtitle

for the caption "The Profit Motive," of "A Dynamic."

Owing to the form in which this study is offered to the student, competent informative chapters and infrequent critical insights suffer with the whole. The unorthodox instructor might use some readable chapters in the social problems section for discussion of substantive problems and much of the rest of the text for discussion of an approach to the study of society through servility to Society.

The book will probably be used fairly widely.

PHIL BUELL

Indiana University

"The Focussed Interview: A Manual." By ROBERT K. MERTON, MARJORIE FISKE, and PATRICIA KENDALL. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1952. Pp. xxv+202. \$3.00. (Mimeographed.)

The "focussed interview" is a technique developed during World War II in connection with work being done for the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the War Department, and the "Manual" is the result of that experience. The present edition represents no changes since the previous one, as "there have been no developments leading to major revisions" (Preface).

"The single feature of the focussed interview which distinguishes it from other types is that the interviewees have been exposed to a concrete stimulus situation, the 'objective' nature of which is known to, and has been previously analyzed by the interviewer" (p. i). A film, a radio program, or a magazine is subjected to some technique of "content analysis"; subjects who have seen the film, heard the radio program, or read the magazine are then interviewed in detail and in "depth" as to their reactions. The "focussed interview" generally can be considered as occupying a place between the opinion questionnaire and the clinical type of interview, with a greater resemblance to the latter. It differs from the opinion questionnaire in that it offers no rigorous interview guide or system of highly structured response categories but instead encourages open-ended exploratory questions to meet whatever situation arises. It differs from the clinical interview principally in that there is a "focus" upon a particular stimulus situation rather than upon a more general subject area.

The purpose of the "Manual" is "to codify, in a tentative and preliminary fashion, the experience obtained from using the focussed interview as an instrument of research" (p. 2). It is almost entirely devoted to a discussion of the procedures and techniques of eliciting relevant information as well as to the problems and errors that might arise in the interviewing situation. The "Manual" is introduced by a brief discussion of the criteria of the "focussed interview"—range, specificity, depth, and personal context. In order, these criteria refer to getting full coverage in the interview, specific references to the "document" that have impressed the respondent, the affective overtones of response, and information on the relation of the "document" to the respondent's own experience. A detailed and annotated Table of Contents (pp. i-xxv) probably serves to make the "Manual" an easier reference guide on specific points. Examples are given liberally throughout to illustrate the particular problem or point under discussion.

It should be added, too, that the "focussed interview" as presented in this book is particularly adapted to group interviewing, although individual interviewing can also be used. The advantages and disadvantages of group interviewing are discussed in detail.

The range of applicability of the technique appears to be rather strictly limited to communications research, although the authors suggest that further possibilities of use might be found. However, it would seem that by definition such possibilities would have to be within the context of some specific stimulus situation, like a film, a book, etc.; otherwise, the interview would lose its "focus" and the uniqueness which distinguishes it.

Questions of validity and reliability, which plague most research instruments, are not settled in the "Manual," and the "focussed interview," as the authors are ready to admit, must be subjected to more experimental testing. This statement is a caution rather than a criticism, since the technique has possibilities worth the time of further investigation and use. As it now stands, care must be exercised in interpreting interviews and especially in comparing and analyzing the findings of interview materials.

The most immediate use of the technique is for "applied" rather than for "theoretical" purposes. It is particularly adapted to answering questions on the effects of a movie, a magazine, or a radio program for the purpose of "product improvement" (pp. 19, 82, and 111); i.e., to

enable the producer to get what he wants out of his product or to sharpen the presentation of his "message." In its present formulation the technique could not be used easily for the majority of investigations reported in sociological journals.

The "Manual" can be considered an important contribution in research technique for those primarily interested in communications research, some aspects of market research, and, tangentially, for those interested in specific facets of the general problem of interviewing.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University of Louisiana

Errors of Psychotherapy. By SEBASTIAN DE GRAZIA. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1952. Pp. 288. \$3.00.

In evaluating what he considers to be errors of psychotherapy, the author deals with two major themes: (1) the nature of the psychotherapeutic process and (2) the need for a moral community in order to prevent neurosis and to eliminate mental disorder.

De Grazia concerns himself with finding the common denominator in all psychotherapies—modern psychiatry, religious healing, and the cures of primitive medicine men. He concludes: "Moral authority, an idea widely spurned by modern healers of the soul, is the crux of psychotherapy. The crystals that remain after distilling the multiplicity of therapies are not many. [They are that] neurosis is a moral disorder, the psychotherapeutic relationship is one of authority, the therapist gives moral direction" (p. 103).

His argument is as follows: The neurotic patient is in a state of conflict over some moral problem which he cannot resolve alone. "Moral conflict or guilt can be resolved only by a moral decision and resolved only by one in whose righteous power the person believes" (p. 104). The therapist can achieve results only because the patient makes an authority figure out of him: "authority resides in the eye of the beholder" (p. 104). Since the patient is in a desperate condition and looks upon the therapist as an authority, he will follow the therapist's moral directions. Although the therapist may deny this, he wittingly or unwittingly gives his patients moral guidance. It is only in this way

that he effects change in the moral disorder. Thus psychotherapy proceeds through the presentation of a moral problem by the patient to a person of moral authority, who offers moral guidance.

Since, for De Grazia, mental disorder is a moral disorder, its cure and prevention can be achieved by creating a moral community according to the principles of natural law. Psychotherapists are not experts in morality, nor do they have adequate understanding of the moral foundations of the community. Therefore, they cannot qualify as experts in the field of mental disorders. Who does qualify? "Those responsible for knowledge of the connectedness of things within the community and the ordering of them toward the highest good are the statesman and the theologian" (p. 218). "The political and religious authorities of the community are the ones best able to say, 'Of these dreams of yours, of these loves and passions you have, this one is fair and this one foul. This is the truth and therefore this is the way.' Only those can say this who are brought up to see more clearly than other men the valley of vision" (p. 236). Thus, for the author, the solution is simple: If we give the theologian and the political scientist power to establish standards of morality and to erect a community along the lines they think best, the society that will result will be one in which mental disorders will be eliminated.

From this reviewer's point of view, the author, by combining a highly selective point of view with inadequate data, arrives at misleading conclusions and a gross oversimplification of the psychotherapeutic situation. He engages in a reductionism that does violence to the complexities and subtleties of the therapist-patient relationship and distorts the picture of how beneficial change emerges for the patient.

We may agree that neurosis is a moral disorder. We cannot agree, however, that the therapist is an authority for the patient because the latter sees him as such. "Authority is in the eye of the beholder" is both an oversimplification and a distortion. It is a distortion because it says, in effect, that whatever role the patient projects on the therapist becomes, in fact, the reality. Using this kind of reasoning, we would then have to conclude that the paranoid patient, who looks upon his therapist as his servant predestined to carry out his orders, is, in fact, an authority for the therapist. The situation in which the patient sees the therapist as an authority is more complex than De Grazia de-

scribes. In such a situation, the patient's view becomes a problem for investigation by both patient and therapist, and, in this way, the nature of the authority relationship is altered.

The author's conclusion that beneficial change is effected in the patient only through the exercise of the therapist's moral authority is also misleading. He makes no distinction between the therapist's holding a general set of values for the patient (such as increasing the patient's mental health) and giving him explicit moral directions; between the therapist's maintaining a set of moral standards for himself and imposing these on the patient; between the unconscious transmission of the therapist's own value standards (which he considers a countertransference problem to be investigated) and exhorting or deliberately giving directions to the patient. There is ample psychiatric evidence that, for many patients, moral direction is of little use in alleviating their mental disorder; what has been helpful is aiding the patient to define for himself a set of personal values.

The author's most conspicuous omission is his failure to discuss the role of "insight" in the therapeutic process. This omission is difficult to understand, since psychotherapy is primarily the process of acquiring insight into one's emotional difficulties.

This reviewer is left with the impression that the author uses his attack upon psychotherapy as a vehicle for establishing the primacy of the political and religious authorities in all matters human. Can a system of morality determined by religious and political authorities and imposed exclusively by them on the general populace provide us with freedom from mental disorder? There is evidence that just such rigid imposition of moral standards has in part been responsible for the mental illness of many patients. Further, such imposition of values by presumed experts is incompatible with diversity, pluralism, and freedom to question and to choose between values, which characterize a democratic society.

There is a need for the social scientist and the psychotherapist to analyze each other's activities and to interpret their procedures to each other. It is unfortunate that this book contributes little to that end.

MORRIS S. SCHWARTZ

Washington School of Psychiatry

Educational Sociology: A Study in Child, Youth, School and Community. By FLORENCE

GREENHOE ROBBINS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953. Pp. xiv+529. \$4.75.

This book may be considered from two points of view: (1) as a work in the general field of child development and (2) as a conception of educational sociology.

Regarding the former, the author has brought together and organized into an effective unit the material on the social and cultural orientation of the child. Distinctive features included are a recognition of such mass media of communication as comics, radio, movies, and television and their effects upon children; the importance of religion in child life and personality integration, an area all too often neglected; and the role of the school as a social world, which is only now coming to be appreciated. The approach throughout the volume is by popular presentation, with the utilization of photographs, diagrams, illustrations, summaries, and various teaching and study aids. If, on the one hand, there is little that is essentially new, there is, on the other hand, little that the author has overlooked. The emphasis is upon the situational approach, with which the reviewer finds himself in hearty accord.

Conceived as a book in educational sociology, this volume is unique. According to the author, educational sociology is not a "field" at all, in the customary way in which that term is used, but rather an area of interest and study within sociology which has developed at the suggestion and instigation of people working in the field of education. In this area, the chief emphases are upon the study of personality formation and the social processes which affect it in the family, the school, the peer group, and the larger community.

Such an approach precludes any interest in boundary lines between academic fields or in the vested interests of any of these fields. The base of operations is widened to include various professional groups, all to the end of developing a service area for a specific group of students. The author, a member of the faculty at Ohio State University, presents this as the viewpoint of courses in educational sociology at that institution.

Implicit throughout is a conception which the reviewer has long accepted—that the study of the social development of the individual is a major part of the hard core of sociology and that various other specialties are but applications of

this core. On this the author insists in the name of educational sociology.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

Der Mensch: Seine Natur und seine Stellung in der Welt. By ARNOLD GEHLEN. Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1950. Pp. 444.

The author of this study is an anthropologically inclined philosopher who sets out to explore human nature in relation to the world of subhumans. His primary aim is to differentiate rather than to trace continuities. The present volume is the fourth edition of a book originally published in 1938, in an atmosphere uniquely unpropitious to a scientific attempt of international currency, involving the combined fields of physical anthropology, psychology, and sociology. Yet this is a well-informed and, in many ways, original synthesis, in which are acknowledged the contributions of such diverse authors as Nietzsche and George H. Mead, Schopenhauer and John Dewey, and Herder and the pragmatists.

The aim of the book is to trace the biological premises of human behavior in its essential characteristics and to account for such phenomena as the human learning process, the communicable fantasy, the play activities and role-taking exercises of the child, and the creation of the cultural milieu. In exploring the biological setting of these human manifestations, the author reopens the question of human origins. He rejects the classical theory of the adaptive evolution of man from the anthropoids and the corollary hypothesis of the gradual decay of the specialized organs which distinguish the subhuman species, such as the forward projection of the snout; interlocking teeth; hairiness; and short, prehensile legs equipped with spreading toes and adapted to tree-climbing.

The author assumes, in partial agreement with Bolk, Schindevolf, Hülzheimer, and others, that the human organism is, in comparison with the anthropoids, the older and more archaic type from which the simian characteristics—either ontogenetically or phylogenetically—evolved through functional specialization. The argument rests on two premises. First, the human traits of the simian fetus—its rounded skull, the lack of prognathousness, the curva-

ture of the rump, and others; second, the comparatively slow maturation of the human. Thus, the archaic morphology of man is the product of an endocrine retardation of growth, of an arrested development which is responsible for the lack of specialized organs in the mature human. The characteristics which become stabilized in the grown human represent an early phase in the development of sirians toward a more adapted and functional system of organs. In short, man's disfunctional organs are not the result of selective elimination in the struggle for existence but the products of an intrinsic process of "fetalization." Mar's "abandonment" of arboreal life is not the premise but the consequence of his deficient equipment for such a habitat.

From here the argument proceeds along more familiar lines. The helplessness of the human infant and its long dependence on parental protection create a permissive situation in which the child explores reality and his own perceptions free and unencumbered by the anxieties for self-preservation and need-gratification. This is the setting which relieves the child's relationship to its milieu of its biological immediacy and in which the open and expansive attitude toward the "world" evolves. This is also the origin of the capacity for conceptualizing sense-perceptions. Over one-half of the study deals with the functions and roots of language, the thought-process, cognition, fantasy, personality, the cultural control and standardization of needs, the emergence of inhibitions, and the rise of ethical standards.

Some phases of the discussion revolving around the latter topics might have gained by closer attention to the available literature on the emotional metamorphoses of the child and the body of research available in the border area between anthropology and psychoanalysis. The literature on personality and temperament might have more tangibly benefited the chapter on personality ("character"). Mention should be made, still in the critical vein, of a point of methodology pressed home in the first part of the study. That Gehlen's inquiry is focused on the differentials of human morphology is well justified by the results; but to reject, on dogmatic grounds, as Gehlen does, the alternative approach—namely, the conception of human behavior in a zoölogical continuum—is tantamount to proscribing a universe of discourse which has yielded significant results precisely in the field of anthropology, not to mention ecology, endocrinology, and psychology. Whether

the human species is treated as a zoölogical variant or as a discrete entity depends on the aim of the inquiry. To use the zoölogical continuum as a frame of reference is not the same as to posit man's descent from the anthropoids. I see no reason for making the choice between these alternative frames of reference a question of Weltanschauung. Be that as it may, this publication easily merits a somewhat abridged translation for the benefit of anthropologists, sociologists, and philosophers in English-speaking countries.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination. By GEORGE EATON SIMPSON and J. MILTON YINGER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. x-773. \$6.00.

In their Preface to *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, the authors admit to an understandable hesitancy in adding another to the many titles in this field. Fortunately they have singled out tasks that need to be done—indeed, the only tasks that justify, for the time being, additional books on the general subject of racial and cultural relations. These tasks, as Simpson and Yinger have formulated them, are relating the various analyses of minority groups to one another and to a systematic group of principles that underlies them, and relating the principles of minority-dominant group relations to broader principles of human relations. It is to their credit that *Racial and Cultural Minorities* represents a significant step toward the accomplishment of these tasks.

Several features desirable in a text on race and culture contacts are notably present. One is the genuinely sociological point of view. Due consideration is given to psychological theories of prejudice, but one of the recurrent themes is "Prejudice is a complicated phenomenon, compounded of social and cultural elements as well as individual personality elements" (p. 96). While the contributions of physical anthropologists to the study of race relations are adequately reviewed, it is nevertheless indicated that the student of intergroup relations must operate primarily in the fields of sociology and social psychology, "for the simple reason that, while most people use the term 'race' inaccurately, it means something definite to them and they have strong feelings about it" (p. 64).

A second notable feature is the organization of the book. The theoretical principles which the authors develop unfold in an integrated, coherent theory which evolves throughout the work, with experimental and historical data being introduced at strategic points. The reader can easily tell just what principle each case illustrates. Furthermore, the materials are meaningfully and logically related to each other and to broad sociological principles under three major headings: "The Causes and Consequences of Prejudice and Discrimination"; "The Institutional Patterns of Intergroup Relations"; and "Prejudice, Discrimination and Democratic Values." In the first section, the social psychology of intergroup relations is considered from the standpoint of both dominant and minority groups. In the second, minority groups are considered in relation to social stratification, the economy of the United States, American political and legal processes, family patterns, intermarriage, religion, education, and art. The third section consists of an objective consideration of strategy in the reduction of prejudice and discrimination, first through changing the prejudiced person and then through changing situations.

A third laudable feature is the selection for citation of studies of race relations. As in most books in this field, minorities in the United States, particularly the Negro group, receive the lion's share of attention. Studies of other American minorities are used, however, and data from Europe, Asia, and Africa are introduced at appropriate points. Moreover, the theories of students with a wide variety of theoretical approaches, from Oliver C. Cox to Freudian theorists, are cited and discussed.

The criticisms which can be made are minor and do not detract from the over-all merit of the volume. Particularly in their chapter on "The Personality Function of Prejudice," Simpson and Yinger tend to be too benignly eclectic. While carefully pointing out the methodological inadequacies of many of the studies of personality factors in prejudice, they seem to adopt a generous "it-well-may-be" attitude toward the conclusions. On the other hand, there is an inconsistency in their treatment of the "cultural-norm" approach which seriously weakens their discussion of "the cultural factor in prejudice." In one chapter they state: "The basic institutions are so important in the socialization of the individual that they can build into him the very standards by which they themselves are judged" (p. 130). But earlier they imply that such "built-

in standards" are still somehow superficial, saying, "We shall see in Chapter 5 that prejudice is sometimes a surface phenomenon, one of the outer layers of personality, acquired as one of the symbolic responses in the process of taking on the appropriate beliefs of a group, but having no deep-seated functional role in the life of the individual" (p. 91).

In some instances the authors so qualify their statements that the reader can easily read into them his own preconceptions. A particularly undesirable example is this statement: "Negroes in northern cities, for example, have not become communists in large numbers (although perhaps in somewhat higher proportion than have whites), despite intensive efforts by the Communist party to win them. Many of them find it difficult, however, to give an unqualified allegiance to a nation that makes them second-class citizens" (p. 254). Examination of recent books by Record and Nolan on communism and the Negro indicates that, while no definitive answer can be given, there is no justification for even implying that Negro Americans are more susceptible to communism than are white Americans. While it is possible that Negroes could develop into a "thoroughly restive political minority," it should be made unequivocally clear that so far the Communists have failed abysmally in their attempts to subvert Negroes.

It is surprising to find that these writers accept uncritically Herskovits' theory of the survival of a significant number of African culture traits in the United States, without at least pointing out that this theory has been seriously challenged by more than one competent social scientist. The only concession to the effective arguments against this highly controversial proposition is a footnote stating that "a different viewpoint is found in E. F. Frazier, *The Negro in the U.S.*" (p. 618).

The length of this book, over seven hundred pages, will detract somewhat from its attractiveness, especially as a text. Since it was designed as a "principles" of racial and cultural relations and not as a comprehensive study of Negro-white relations in the United States, it would have been well to reduce the lengthy and detailed treatment of this already much-written-about minority.

LEWIS M. KILLIAN

Florida State University

The Modern Family. By ROBERT F. WINCH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952. Pp. xxi+522. \$3.90.

This is a competent, well-written text book on the American family by an author who knows his material well enough to think with it in theoretical terms. Its particular distinction is that it combines social-psychological and sociological analyses of the family in an interdisciplinary interpretation which focuses principally upon the interpersonal relations of family members. Within this framework, Winch's personal achievements are his evaluation of studies, by psychologists and psychiatrists, of personality formation within families, the usefulness of which he increases by his systematized account of their findings, and his speculations concerning American personality and culture as they bear upon the family.

The book may be divided into three parts. The first is an exposition of family functions; the second deals with parent-child relations; and the third treats love and courtship. Throughout the book, but especially in the second and third sections, Winch's insights into the social psychology of the family produce stimulating reading. In the third part, which occupies nearly a third of the volume, he formulates a theory of love and marriage based upon the complementary emotional needs of spouses. While this hypothesis is not new with him, he has expanded its psychiatric statement considerably, into a broad social science interpretation; and he demonstrates admirably his predilection for systematization in his ordering of interdisciplinary data in its support.

Winch has by no means neglected sociological in favor of psychological analysis and has, in fact, compressed a remarkably large amount of sociological data into relatively few pages. Nevertheless, he deals cursorily with some sociological matters, such as dating, husband-wife relations, and divorce, in his final two chapters and entirely omits others, such as family law. These defects, however, do not seriously impair the considerable utility of this textbook. An instructor can readily supply material by lectures or assign other readings to cover it, and thereby impress himself, with Winch, upon his students. At all events, he will find that this volume excellently complements whatever may be his own approach to the study of the family, whether it is historical, institutional, or some other.

JOHN SIRJAMAKI

University of Minnesota

Race and Class in Rural Brazil. Edited by CHARLES WAGLEY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. 160. \$1.25.

This small volume represents a substantial addition to our knowledge of social stratification in Brazil. It is the first of the promised six volumes reporting the results of a survey, undertaken by UNESCO, of race relations in that country. The main part of the book consists of four papers, on four "traditional" rural communities, embodying the findings of approximately one year of field research done by the authors. Although three of the communities are located in the state of Bahia and one in the Amazon Valley, they were selected so as to be representative of different cultural regions: the sugar-plantation area along the Bahian coast; the highlands of central Brazil, where gold-mining boomed in the eighteenth century; the arid, pastoral, *sertão* in the northeast of the country; and the Amazon region, where exploitation of the products of the tropical forest is the basis of the economic life. Of the six cultural regions into which rural Brazil is divided by the authors (see map facing p. 65), two are not included: the far west and the south.

While in the four communities the three racial stocks—white, Indian, and Negro—have contributed to the composition of the population, their importance in each town varies. In the Amazon Valley and *sertão* communities, the white and Indian mixtures are predominant; in the other two, Negro, mulatto, and white are the main components. The four papers follow roughly the same plan of presentation: an introduction to the history and characteristics of the region and the town studied; an outline of the town's class structure; the socially defined categories of people by physical types and the stereotypes and attitudes toward these types; and, finally, an analysis of how such "racial" categories fit into the local social stratification.

Notwithstanding the variations in the racial situation in the different communities—and one of the merits of this work is to point out and document these variations and link them to the peculiarities of the conditions and history of each region—there is a general pattern, common to rural northern Brazil. This is depicted in the last chapter, written by Charles Wagley: from a structure consisting of two distinct castes, the Europeans and the Indian or Negro slaves, the present rural Brazilian society has developed, in which the most important arrangement is that of social class. Racial type is but one basis for ranking, together with wealth, occupation, and

education. Social position is derived from all criteria, which, however, tend to interact in such a way that, in general, the people of the upper class are whites and the majority of the "people of color" are found in the middle and lower classes, side by side with whites of the same status.

Especially commendable is the attempt by Wagley—so rare in community studies—to relate the local class systems to national classes. In three of the towns studied there are no representatives of the national upper class; in the "local upper classes" all racial types are found, and it is also at this level, we are told, that competition for social position is relatively intense and the criterion of race becomes most important.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that the ambiguities of the Brazilian racial situation have been admirably portrayed in these monographs. The few occasions in which he found himself in disagreement with the authors involved questions not so much of interpretation as of emphasis and are not worth mentioning. Particularly illuminating is the discussion and interpretation, by Marvin Harris (see pp. 60–65), of how the derogatory stereotypes about the Negro are contradicted by actual behavior; of how the existence of a large array of intermediate socially defined "racial" types between Negro and white serves as a mechanism for denying identification with the lowest-valued type ("the tendency is to flee from the crushing stigmata of the lowest type by taking advantage of either slight physical deviations or by emphasizing social rank achieved on the basis of non-racial criteria"); and of how the low position of an individual in the racial gradient may be offset by his position where the other rank-giving criteria are concerned. Although this analysis may be particularly applicable to the mining community studied by Harris, in which the "race" factor seems to be stronger than in the other communities (in part, perhaps, as suggested by Wagley, owing to the fact that in the mining region "the slaves . . . did not have the close and intimate relations with the master which were possible in the plantations"), this reviewer feels that it may be, in varying degree, more generally valid for other parts of Brazil as well.

JUAREZ R. LOPES

Chicago, Illinois

and SISTER KEVIN O'HARA. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953. Pp. xvii+678. \$4.75.

This book is intended primarily as a basic text for the first course in psychology at the college level. There is rather general agreement that such courses should impart a knowledge of established laws and principles as well as some acquaintance with the field of scientific psychology as it is being developed today. This latter involves a description of research methods and the discussion of those experimental studies which are thought to have made significant contributions to the understanding of human nature. In general, this text supplies ample material for fulfilling these basic demands of the introductory course. Indeed, since the authors follow the developmental approach, tracing the growth of personality from the womb to the tomb, there are few areas of human behavior remaining alien to their treatment.

However, as an introductory text this work is distinguished from many others in the field principally by what the authors call its "frankly partisan approach to psychology." Two major objectives are specified: (1) to present the data of scientific psychology in such a way that the *person* rather than isolated mental functions is the center of interest and (2) to relate scientific psychology wherever feasible to relevant theological and philosophical considerations. The first objective represents a significant orientation. It is sometimes forgotten that psychology must study the whole personality rather than mere segments of it. Since sensation, perception, learning, memory, feeling, thinking, and willing have their source in an individual, it is a mistake to identify personality with the behavior by which it is revealed. To be sure, the study of human personality (the person or the self) is essentially behavior study, but it does not follow that human personality is conduct, for conduct is merely the means of knowing personality.

The crux of the problem in psychology, of course, is the definition of human personality. The authors of this text maintain that it comprises the whole individual, composed of body and mind (or soul), i.e., the rational psychophysical organism. This view places them in the Aristotelian and Thomistic tradition, with the result that their text may offer little appeal to those not familiar with this system. On the other hand, all scholars will welcome their attempt to orientate psychology around the self or person. The "strain" toward integration which

Persons and Personality: An Introduction to Psychology. By SISTER ANNETTE WALTERS

is becoming apparent as the science of psychology matures will continue to raise many intriguing problems, and all serious efforts to meet them must be evaluated thoughtfully and impartially if there is to be progress.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

Institute of Social Order
St. Louis, Missouri

Factory Folkways: A Study of Industrial Structure and Change. By JOHN S. ELLSWORTH, JR. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952. Pp. 284. \$4.00.

The purposes of this book are to test the applicability of certain criteria of institutional organization to an industrial unit and to demonstrate the value of such analysis to operating personnel in the industrial field. The particular concept of "institution" which is used as the framework of the study is that developed by Malinowski, which consists of the six factors of charter, norms, material apparatus, personnel, activities, and functions. The object of study is a small New England company in which the author worked in various capacities for eight years. The substantive material is presented in a history of the company and in sections corresponding to the theoretical system employed.

It is no doubt admirable to interweave fact and theory, observation and interpretation. However, in this instance there is a strong tendency to present factual material in so predigested a form that the reader is not sure just what is observation and what is interpretation. Many sections of the discussion become so general that they might have been incorporated in a theoretical paper which did not profess to derive from a particular set of data. This preponderance of generalized statements at times gives one the impression that the company is not quite real. Management structure has been rationalized; workers have unionized; supervisors find it hard to rise to higher positions; Negroes are, with few exceptions, regarded as fit only for the lowest jobs, etc. This degree of standardization leads one to conclude that the company is unbelievably typical; the data are not presented in a sufficiently direct and detailed manner to allow evaluation of the descriptive material.

The same style factor will probably detract

from the usefulness of the book in convincing operators of the value of such analyses. Most people in industry, including executives, would have been more impressed if there had been a greater emphasis on concrete examples of behavior, and quotations which showed how participants talked about the charter, norms, etc. The reviewer frankly doubts that one style of presentation can reach persons in industry and at the same time treat adequately a highly theoretical problem such as the applicability of institutional theory to a set of economic organizations. The latter will be of most significance to the professional social scientist. Ellsworth has taken on a job which certainly needs to be done, in trying to apply existing bodies of general sociological theory to the relatively new area of industry. Many more such efforts should be made to counterbalance the recent emphasis on practical or applied research and the overconcern with informal organization.

The author concludes that Malinowski's formulation of the concept of "institution," with certain elaborations required by the complexities of industrial society, does provide a useful frame of reference for the analysis of the factory. The reviewer agrees with this statement. However, this book does not justify the further conclusion, tentatively held, that this particular concept is the one and only means for approaching institutional processes or that it is the best one for all purposes. It is clear from the comparisons made to other definitions of institutions that the data which were assigned to the six components of the Malinowski formulation would have been dealt with under *some* heading if one followed almost *any* scholar's definition. It is also strongly indicated that the major events and problems in the company could have been recast in terms of the primary-secondary dichotomy or of the concept of bureaucratization.

DONALD E. WRAY

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An Introduction to Anthropology. By RALPH L. BEALS and HARRY HOJER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953. Pp. xxi+658. \$6.00.

A book designed for use in first- and second-year college courses, this text fulfils its purpose nicely. Comprehensive in factual coverage, clear

in writing style, avoiding the pitfall of overcitation of ethnographic detail, it surveys the broad sweep of physical and cultural anthropology so that an imaginative instructor may profitably employ classroom time. After an introductory chapter on the scope of anthropology, the next six chapters deal with physical anthropology, including, besides the usual sections on the primates, fossil man, and racial distribution, a chapter on genetics. The remaining fourteen chapters are devoted to a definition and explication of the concept of culture. Using a "table-of-contents" approach, the major aspects of culture—technology, economics, marriage and the family, political organization, religion, language, the arts, and socialization—are viewed cross-culturally. A thin chapter on culture change and another on acculturation and applied anthropology complete the survey of cultural anthropology.

The section on physical anthropology, while employing the concepts and terms of the "new" physical anthropology, falls short in integrating the functional and genetic theory of modern physical anthropology with the empirical data presented. There is much discussion of "racial" types by phenotype and traditional measurement which is in no way adequately linked to modern evolutionary theory and genetics. For, after all is said and done, Beals and Hoijer arrive at the three primary "racial entities," and physical traits still pertain to some abstract type rather than to a population in space and time. This solecism is clearly evident in the authors' review of racial history (p. 167), in which populations pick up and drop traits like the putting-on and taking-off of clothing. The lack of integration between fact and theory in physical anthropology may be a reflection of the still unassimilated meaning of the ideas of modern biology, or it may be an instance of the law of cultural accumulation and elaboration rather than of lag. At any rate, the section on physical anthropology will have to be carefully and qualifiedly presented to a beginning student.

In presenting cultural anthropology, the authors have availed themselves of the happy expedient of using one or two cases, rather than a multitude of isolated citations from diverse tribes, to illustrate the propositions they develop in each chapter. The descriptions and illustrations of material culture are good, if much overextended and a bit wearing for those more inclined to a historical and functional study of technology than to a museum cataloguing.

Perhaps the slighting of "culture and personality" studies is justified in an introductory textbook, in view of the state of fact and theory in that area of research; but the thinness of the treatment of culture change and acculturation cannot be so rationalized. In a book which avows that the central problem of anthropology is the discovery and elucidation of the social and cultural processes which may account for cultural variety and uniformity, the meager treatment of cultural dynamics is not understandable. Four pages on acculturation are hardly adequate, nor is a summary of the various positions held by groups of scholars on social change an efficient substitute for analysis and summary of what anthropologists know and think to be true of the processes of change.

The discussion of applied anthropology and of anthropology in the modern world is a sort of appendage to the rest of the book, and, unless one firmly believes in the naïve positivistic position of the direct application of knowledge to the social realm, my advice is to skip it.

As with any textbook which attempts comprehensiveness without superficiality, much of the classroom value of this work depends on the ingenuity and skill of the instructor in being able to separate the wheat from the chaff and to draw the most from the wheat. This textbook has the merit of not placing too many obstacles in the path of the conscientious instructor.

MANNING NASH

University of Chicago

T.V.A.: Democracy on the March. By DAVID E. LILIENTHAL. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xxiv+294. \$3.50.

When the first Republican President in twenty years called the TVA an example of "creeping socialism," the solid citizens of the Tennessee Valley were nearly shocked into swallowing their "I Like Ike" buttons. The stage could hardly have been better prepared for the second coming of Lilienthal's paean, which (the dust jacket says) has already "sold over 190,000 copies in the American editions . . . and has been translated into eighteen foreign languages." This welcome revision, retooled with 1952 statistics, contains happy selections from the congressional testimony of the author's distinguished successor as TVA board chairman, Gordon R. Clapp, and also reprints

evidence of the persuasiveness of the TVA idea almost everywhere that geology and the hydrologic cycle have conspired to produce river valleys. In the text itself, a new word and even an additional paragraph or two appear here and there; but it remains essentially the same combination of rhapsody and realism, of carefully documented arguments and glittering generalities, which first appeared in 1944. In his recent celebration of *Big Business: A New Era*, Lilienthal says that he often had to revise his "opinions and prejudgments because they simply did not square with the facts." Should one be cheered or dismayed by the lack of any second thoughts on the TVA? It's a wise father who knows his own child.

Sociologists may inquire how this volume deals with Philip Selznick's use of *T.V.A. and the Grass Roots* to test his sociopolitical theories of formal and informal "co-optation." (The theories came off very well; the TVA, especially in its agricultural manifestations, rather badly.) The answer is that Lilienthal ignores Selznick. Chapter xvii still describes the TVA's resistance to political interference as a struggle against partisanship and patronage. While saluting Lilienthal's refusal to let Senator McKellar put a crimp in the TVA's operations, one may regret the author's failure to examine his third "pillar of decentralization" (p. 151) against Selznick's charge that the TVA sold the public interest for bourbon support. This examination may have been discouraged by the amount of time needed for excavation if the author were to come to grips with the contending argument. Perhaps the multisyllabled subtlety of current sociology is not the medium for writers who want to call men of affairs to account.

On political matters, Lilienthal might well have discussed the problem inherent in the absence of an organized political entity which corresponds geographically to the Tennessee

watershed. The lack of a political forum for the Valley is keenly felt. The author criticizes the political influence of federal bureaucrats without acknowledging how much their power comes from groups similar to (and often identical with) the ones whose support he has so purposefully enlisted for the TVA. Again, the remoteness, coldness, and impersonality of federal bureaucrats is unfavorably compared to the perceptiveness and compassion of local administrators. The reviewer must protest in the name of a host of federal civil servants who have shown an understanding in handling local human problems that many local officials might well emulate.

Some events of the last ten years might have been given more weight in the revision. Within the TVA, there was the failure to establish scientifically the proposition that a particular land-use program was essential to the success of flood control and power generation; this experience justifies a new look at the idea of treatment of a bundle of resources as a unified whole. Also, the question is now appropriate of whether the TVA's rate policies have not unduly stimulated metals, chemicals, and home use at the expense of other industrial development. The early edition's strictures upon overcentralization in government are repeated without recognition of the centrifugal tendencies at work in the intervening years.

These criticisms aside, the book remains an eloquent tribute to one of this century's most important public enterprises. Lilienthal's accomplishments in the TVA, the Atomic Energy Commission, and, generally, as a citizen are considerable; and he has compounded this generation's debt to him by his lucid, sparkling books and articles on the great issues of our time.

CHARLES M. HARDIN

University of Chicago

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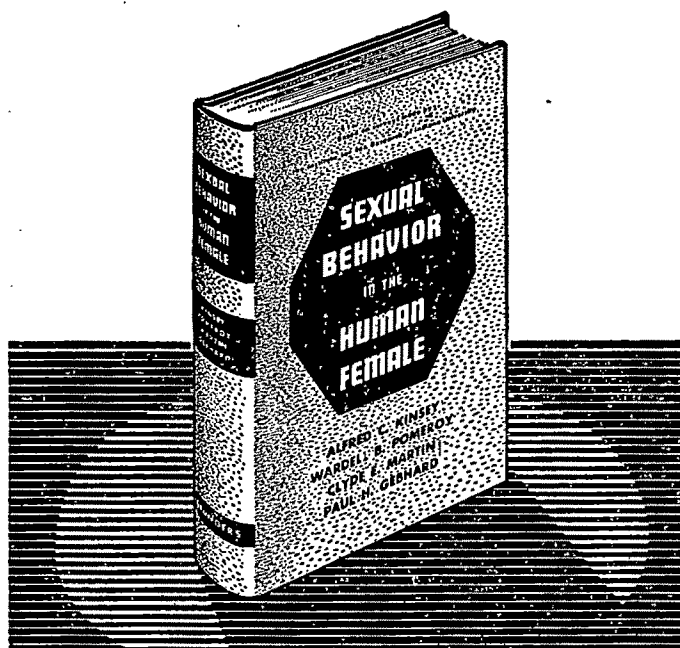
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RETIREMENT PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

CLARK TIBBITTS

ABSTRACT

Retirement is essentially a product of scientific invention and discovery, resulting in changing social roles and in the extension of life beyond the completion of conventional adult responsibilities. Retirement gives rise to serious individual problems which have equally serious social counterparts. Chief among these are the timing of retirement, financial support of the retired, discovery and provision of new roles, maintenance of social contacts and health, and living arrangements.

Retirement is a relatively new phenomenon in our society and the challenge of a new way of life for most Americans. In rural, pre-industrial days there were comparatively few older adults, and most of them were occupied with the responsibilities of making a living until overtaken by final illness or death. Until well into the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the population 65 years of age and older numbered fewer than two million—less than 3.5 per cent of the total. The population 50 years and over accounted for less than 12 per cent of the whole. Well over two-thirds lived in rural areas, and three-quarters of the older men were gainfully employed. The older women were also usefully occupied, for in the days of the self-sufficient, productive family unit they were busy cooking, sewing, cleaning, teaching and entertaining the young, and caring for the sick.

Partial or complete retirement from these tasks is a development, primarily, of the last fifty to seventy-five years. Fundamentally, it is an outgrowth of the scientific and technological achievements of the time. Con-

trol of the environment and discoveries in the causes and treatment of disease have so extended life that the 50-year-old adult may now anticipate, on the average, at least twenty-five additional years. Simultaneously, technological inventions and application of mechanical power have brought about a two- or threefold increase in worker productivity. This has been reflected, in turn, in a 40 per cent reduction in the length of the work week since 1870 and in the separation of a majority of older persons from the work force. Today, only about 42 per cent of males and nearly 10 per cent of females over 65 years of age are gainfully occupied. And among males the dropping-out from the work force is already observable in the age span 45-54.

Corresponding changes appear to have taken place in family life and in occupations of older women. Industrialization, with separation of the principal earner's job from the home; lightening of farm and household work; and partial or complete removal of some household tasks from the home have brought about a marked shift from the con-

sanguinal, economic unit to the conjugal, two-generation family in which there are few, if any, essential roles for the older generation. Urbanization—64 per cent of Americans now live in urban areas—and growing mobility have interfered further with the utilitarian and social functions of older people in the homes of their children.

Widowhood and the increasing excess of older women over men is a special phase of the retirement phenomenon. The growing differential in death rates as between the sexes is increasing the number and proportion of unmarried, older women without residual household duties.

The absolute and relative increases in numbers of retired persons are also, of course, functions of the high birth rates of the latter part of the nineteenth century, which were followed by declines in the present century, and of the large influx of young adults prior to World War I.

What is retirement? There is no single definition; the term is used in at least three different ways. It is, perhaps, generally understood to mean separation or withdrawal from one's principal or career occupation in gainful employment. Recent gerontological research discloses that it is applied with almost equal force to housewives at the end of the child-rearing period—usually between the ages of 45 and 55 years.

Some workers, however, shift to new occupations, and some housewives find paid work after their children have left. Following these adjustments, retirement may then come to mean complete or final separation from the work force.

Many older persons continue or take up other forms of productive activity, such as community service, arts and crafts, gardening, and home maintenance. Retirement may then denote the end of all contributory activity beyond that of mere self-maintenance.

Even these three categories, however, fail to account for all variations. Some workers, particularly the self-employed, do not retire abruptly but taper off by reducing the time

or effort devoted to their jobs. Others shift to part-time employment. Women whose careers have been in homemaking also retire gradually, at least as long as their husbands are alive. And an increasing proportion of women have two careers—families and paid employment and, thus, two retirements.

For the purposes of the present discussion, retirement is roughly defined to include (1) persons who report themselves as no longer in the regular work force and (2) unemployed women whose children have matured and left home. Creative activity, community service, and the like are regarded as retirement interests.

The total number of persons aged 65 years and over in 1953 exceeds 13.4 million (8.4 per cent of the total population) and is increasing at the rate of about 325,000 annually. In addition, there are 32 million between 45 and 64 years of age—20 per cent of the total population.

The number of males aged 45 years and over who are not in the labor force is 4.8 million, of whom some 3.6 million are aged 65 and older. The females 45 and over not in the labor force number about 16.7 million, and 6.2 million are 65 or more years of age.

Among the 16.7 million women who have reached 45 years of age and who are not in the labor force, there are probably some 10–12 million who have been, but no longer are, responsible for children.

Marital status also changes rapidly with age. From 15 per cent at age 50–54 years, the proportion of men who are not married increases to 26 per cent at ages 65–69 and to 56 per cent at age 80 and over. The increase among women is much more rapid, from 25 per cent not married at 50–54 years to 51 per cent at 65–69 and to 88 per cent in the top age group.

There are no data to indicate how many older persons are in their usual occupations and how many have shifted to different jobs, how much time older women spend in housework, and how those who are wholly or partially retired are occupying their time. Prevalence of handicapping illness increases

with age, but there are relatively few invalids among the retired.

Just when to retire from work is a critical and complex problem. In the 1930's the principle that retirement should occur at some specified point between 60 and 70 years of age was generally adopted. But, for the individual, the question turns on financial condition, energy and health, performance capacity, need to maintain position or status in the family and community, the wish for stimulating activity, the ability to retain or find work, and the desire for time to devote to other interests.

There is a great deal of evidence that most aging and even aged persons wish to continue in gainful employment. Self-employed business and professional workers and farmers like to continue as long as possible. The great majority of salaried workers and wage-earners resist retirement as long as their health continues good, and many keep on even longer. Women who worked while their children were growing up tend to keep on working, and increasing numbers who did not work are seeking jobs in their newly freed time.

For the employer the decisive factors are the supply of qualified workers, their cost and productive capacity, the need to advance younger workers, and the hiring and retiring practices and pensions.

Society's position is also complicated. Fear of the cost of supporting an increasing retired population is responsible for much of the shift in attitude since the 1930's. Some point to the from \$10 to \$12 billion contribution of older people to the national product and insist that we cannot get along without it. During the war, employment of older workers was essential, there are still acute shortages in some occupations, and federal manpower agencies are anxious to maintain the health, skills, and work habits of older persons in view of the world situation. There is also growing recognition of the current waste of skills and experience and of the in-

dividual problems and frustrations brought on by retirement at a fixed age.¹

On the other side, there is concern that fulfilment of defense orders and rising productivity will create an oversupply of workers and restrict opportunities for young people entering the labor force.

The long-time downward trend in the employment of older men has already been noted. For the trend to be arrested, a number of adjustments will be required: current prejudices will have to be abandoned; research will be necessary on the development of objective criteria for hiring and retirement; the length of the work week may have to be reduced; more opportunities for tapering off and for part-time work may have to be developed, as well as procedures for moving older workers into positions of lesser responsibility, and there must be provision for counseling, rehabilitation, and retraining.

Adjustment to the changes of the later years is, basically, an individual matter. It can be successful, however, only in an environment which provides opportunity. And, since it is society which creates roles, attitudes, and social values, institutions, facilities, and services, the individual or personal problems of retirement have their societal counterparts. Just as society and the community have provided a climate favorable to the development and self-realization of those of other ages, so now they must define the problems of maturity and create a climate in which older adults may continue as socially integrated, contributing, self-sufficient individuals.

Fairly numerous studies of the adjustment of various occupational and population groups of the retired show that the principal problems faced by the individual are maintenance of income to meet the requirements of active and healthful living; discovery of new occupations or social roles; finding opportunity for social contacts, companionship, and affection; maintenance of health; and procurement of suitable living arrangements. Although most studies show

¹ National Committee on Aging, *Criteria for Retirement* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953).

that the majority of older persons adjust well, large numbers are bewildered and confused and frustrated in their efforts to retain or find useful roles, social contacts, and security.²

Obtaining sufficient income for shelter, food, clothing, increased medical needs and for active living is commonly regarded as the most pressing need of retired persons and their dependents. At the same time people wonder how many can be supported without lowering the general standard of living.

Considerable progress has been made, particularly in the last twenty years, in providing basic money income to the retired. Of the 13.4 million persons aged 65 and over on July 1, 1953, about 4.1 were employed or were wives of employed persons. Among the remaining 9.3 million, about 3.8 million were receiving old age and survivors insurance. Other public retirement systems—civil service, veteran and armed forces, and the railroads—were making payments to some 1.1 million persons aged 65 or more. Nearly 0.5 million were beneficiaries of private pension plans. These figures overlap considerably, but it may be said that perhaps two-thirds of all the aged are receiving payments under a public plan or earnings from employment.

Despite this progress, the income continues to be a pressing problem. Old age and survivors insurance payments are low—averaging less than \$600 per year to primary beneficiaries, on the assumption that there will be other income, as from savings or part-time employment. Actually, only one in eight has a supplemental income of as much as \$600, and the majority of beneficiaries appear to be physically unable to work.

The problems of women are particularly acute. As wives of social security beneficiaries they receive an amount equal to one-half that of the primary benefit—when they

reach 65. As widows, they receive a three-quarter benefit, at 65, and private pensions rarely make any provision for them. Not more than one-tenth of the women over the age of 65 are gainfully employed.

The 1950 Census established the fact that the median income of family units in which the head was 55–64 years of age was \$3,258 but dropped to \$1,903 for families in which the head was 65 or more. About 30 per cent of the older families had less than \$1,000, and about 32 per cent had \$3,000 or more. Older persons living alone or with nonrelatives averaged \$646 per year.

Other sources of income include public assistance payments (to 2.6 million in July, 1953); room, board, clothing, and gifts from relatives; community-supported living accommodation and medical services; and produce from gardens. A few are able to live on personal savings, but only 8 per cent report a net worth of as much as \$25,000.

As a consequence many older persons are poorly housed, eat badly, neglect health, and withdraw from organizational and community activities. And many become burdens on their children, who, in turn, must support families of their own and save for their own retirement years. Moreover, continually rising prices depress the value of pensions and financial holdings and lead to prolonged uncertainty and worry.

Some students argue that the economy is not endangered by population aging and retirement. For one thing, the over-all ratio of persons who are not gainful workers per 100 gainful workers has declined from 209 in 1870 to 135 in 1952. Aged persons who are not workers or the wives of workers have increased from 2 per cent of all nongainful workers to 10 per cent over the same period. But there has been marked decline in the proportion of children in the population and marked increase in the employment of young and middle-aged women. If present trends continue, the ratio of 135 dependents to 100 workers will not change much during the next generation.³

* Ruth S. Cavan; Ernest W. Burgess; Robert J. Havighurst; and Herbert Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949); Robert T. Monroe, M.D., *Diseases in Old Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

³ *Pensions in the United States: A Study Prepared for the Joint Committee [of the Congress] on the*

Furthermore, it is pointed out that productivity and the national income will continue to outstrip population changes. Some authorities forecast that the rise in manufacturing production by the year 2000 will be twice as large as the increase in population.⁴ Another group predicts that the national income in 1975 will be twice what it is today and that the per capita increase will approximate 65 per cent.⁵ Thus, if economic progress can be maintained, our standard of living is not threatened by the growing number of retired persons. Even today the major obstacle to making adequate provision for this new element in American society would seem to be the outlays essential for military defense.

Insurance and pension plans are now regarded as fixtures, and attention is focused on their improvement. Major questions revolve about the integration of present systems; extension of coverage to all retired persons, including those forced by disability to drop out early; increasing benefits and making them responsive to the rising standard of living and the decreasing purchasing power of the dollar; short- and long-time implications of funding versus pay-as-you-go systems; and provision of financial protection against costs of long-term illness.

It is a question whether pension and insurance plans can be arranged so that they encourage rather than discourage the older person who wishes to continue in gainful work. Though designed to protect the older worker, most of the 14,000 private pension systems tend to place him at a disadvantage when he seeks to change jobs, when he wishes to continue beyond a fixed retirement age, or when, unemployed, he applies for work. But in the future it seems certain that

there will also be greater opportunity for increased savings during the working years and, correspondingly, less need for burdening the middle generation with the support of their parents.

Economists at the National Conference on Aging raised the question of greater provision of income in kind. While urging the changes suggested above, they recognized that cash incomes cannot be expected to meet all needs of retired persons. They suggested, therefore, that more facilities and services be made available at the expense of the community, as is now the case with public health, education, and recreation.⁶

Even though the number of older persons who remain in paid employment remains at its present level, three-fourths of those beyond middle age will have to look elsewhere for their principal occupations. American society rewards usefulness and self-sufficiency with recognition and social status. Recent research reveals the strength and universality of the need for a purpose in life, and this is usually satisfied by some sort of contributory activity. One of the critical problems of retirement, therefore, is the discovery of status-giving social roles to replace those of the earlier years.

Herein, it may be suggested, lies the new challenge to American society. Throughout history the tasks of making a living and nurturing the new generation precluded leisure, except in limited amounts. But now the situation is different. No other culture has offered the length of life and the amount of free time now enjoyed by the industrialized countries of the Western world. What shall be done with it? An alternative is to encourage retired adults to live out their years in pursuit of time-filling hobbies, at such entertainment as circumstances afford, and in reflective vegetation—as a reward for past contributions. Or they may be regarded as a new and rich source of energy, experience,

Economic Report, by the National Planning Association (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 39-49.

⁴ *Retirement Policies and the Railroad Retirement System: Report of the Joint Committee [of the Congress] on Railroad Retirement Legislation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), Part I, pp. 408-10.

⁵ *Pensions in the United States*, pp. 33-49.

⁶ Federal Security Agency, *Man and His Years: Account of the First National Conference on Aging 1950* (Raleigh, N.C.: Health Publications Institute, 1951), chap. iii.

and wisdom capable of attaining a self-realization and carrying important community responsibilities.

While there is considerable evidence of constriction of interests in retirement, there are parallel indications that those who are withdrawn from family and social life are not contented. Some try to find opportunities for broader participation in community affairs. The natural tendency of the mature individual is to turn to activities that will preserve and improve the environment for oncoming generations.⁷

At any rate, the first alternative appears to promise boredom, deterioration, dependency, conservatism, depression, and institutionalization. The second promises continued growth, preservation of the vital functions, purposeful living, continued social usefulness, and self-sufficiency.

Most basic capacities hold up—indeed, in some cases, do not reach their peak—until well into the sixth or seventh decade of life. Much present-day decline and loss of function can be postponed. By and large, the second alternative is the best. The question then becomes: In retirement can a way of life be developed in which the individual has purpose, comparative independence from children, and incentive to maintain health and self-sufficiency, society becoming the beneficiary of the product of his energy and maturity?

Household responsibilities, of course, partially occupy the time of a good many mothers well into the later years, and some find opportunity to be useful in the homes of their children. Similarly, some retired men turn to repair and maintenance of the home, gardening, and postponed hobbies. But these are not enough; most people need more formal interests as substitutes for the responsibilities of the earlier years.

Is there opportunity for self-realization through development of appreciation and creativity in the broad area of the fine arts

and crafts and for vast enrichment of the culture through the efforts of retired people? In several parts of the country older persons seem to be finding new satisfactions and, indeed, new lives in thoughtfully developed, organized, community-sponsored situations. The creative arts are meaningful when they are undertaken in groups, when one gains recognition from them, and when, as sometimes, they yield supplemental income. How widespread and significant this may be remains to be seen. It appears that there is much room for exploitation.

Voluntary community services may offer another outlet, but the evidence is conflicting. Many formerly active drop out as their careers terminate; others look to the field for a new occupation. Certainly, a great variety of useful tasks are performed by volunteers associated with both private and public community agencies, and most agencies clamor for more help. A striking example is the American Red Cross, which has more than a million volunteer workers. A new phenomenon is the banding-together of groups of retired businessmen for the purpose of offering consultation services to individuals or small organizations for little or no fee.

Many retired persons do not know of the opportunities in this field. Some who do seem to lack confidence in their capacities, some encounter the same discrimination as in gainful employment, some find that voluntary services are not so conducted as to recognize the values of maturity or yield a sense of accomplishment and recognition, and others lack the health or income to follow their interests. Can more agencies develop conditions of selection, training, work, and rewards broadly meaningful and satisfying to retired persons? Should more of our rising national income be used to place some of these important, voluntary occupations on a salary basis?

Another area worth exploration is that of citizenship. An everyday complaint is that government has become too large and removed from the people. Yet, government has grown in response to needs, and its func-

⁷ Maurice E. Linden, M.D., "Growing Up or Growing Down: The Challenge of the Geriatric Patient," *Danville [Pa.] State Hospital Mental Health Bulletin* (1952), Vol. XXX, No. 3.

tions will probably not be reduced. Indeed, today, it is faced with more complex responsibilities than ever before. Is it possible that mature, retired adults may come to be seen as a vast resource of senior citizens available to serve as consultants, members of survey teams, of commissions and advisory groups, as councils of elders, or, merely, as thinking, informed members of the community? If so—and there are beginnings—the potentialities for civic betterment challenge the imagination.

In solving these problems, the choice may lie between continued utilization and, through it, continued social integration of the retired, or the appearance of a huge pressure group of social, financial, and medical dependents.

The fundamental problem is that of shifting from a technological society focused on ever increasing productivity of goods and wealth to one in which the highest values are placed on forms of consumption that yield the greatest degrees of personal satisfaction and social gain.⁸

A major problem of retired persons is to find replacements for earlier sources of social contacts, companionship, and affection. The independence and mobility of children create an affectional loss that many parents find hard to fill. Widowhood, reached by a majority of women by age 65, aggravates the loss. That work provides social contacts is powerfully appreciated when retirement comes and the contacts are lost. Removal from the community or death of friends further constricts the social sphere.

Retired individuals, gradually bereft of companionship, characteristically become lonesome, complaining, and self-centered and may make excessive demands on children, physicians, case workers, ministers, and others. Their children, who must devote their energies to their own young, find themselves burdened with salvaging the social life of the older generation. Feelings of guilt and serious family problems result.

⁸ George A. Lundberg, *Leisure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

Not only do they give a sense of usefulness, but new interests in the creative arts, community service, continuing education, and citizenship activities automatically solve a large part of the problem through providing new friendships which satisfy the need for companionship.

Many private and public community agencies are experimenting with clubs for older adults; recreational programs in parks, playgrounds, and community centers; centers with programs in education, dramatics, crafts, social events, tours of interesting places, friendly visiting, and games; overnight camping; and development of such interests as nature study, photography, and collecting.

Although organized educational and recreational programs have, thus far, appealed to only small numbers of retired persons, these derive much satisfaction from them. Individual problems of family relationships, boredom, psychosomatic illness, and eating habits are being resolved.⁹ It appears worth while to continue to experiment with varied types of facilities, programs, leadership, and methods of appeal.

Declining health is generally a predisposing factor in retirement rather than a consequence. There is a marked inflection in the curve of chronic illness during the 45-55-year decade. Nevertheless, there is evidence of premature deterioration when retirement deprives the organism and the mind of activity. Moreover, low retirement incomes and lack of information often impede proper nutrition, medical care, and rehabilitation services. Health improves when retired persons rediscover a purpose in life. Surgery, drug and dietary therapy, physical medicine, and occupational therapy, in a few experimental programs, are restoring older persons and lifting the burden of their care from family and community. Current research offers great promise in bringing the chronic diseases and the aging process itself

⁹ Susan H. Kubie and Gertrude Landau, *Group Work with the Aged* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1953).

under control. But facilities to care for the extremely ill and the infirm for whom there is no prospect of improvement must be expanded.

Retirement from family duties and from work creates problems of living arrangements for many older persons. Departure of children generally reduces the amount of space needed. Reduced income sometimes makes it essential to seek less expensive housing. Rural homes must often be vacated in favor of the young family taking over the farm. Illness, declining energy, or loss of spouse may also dictate a change in living arrangements. And, for some, completion of family or career offers opportunity to migrate to a more attractive section of the country.

Many variations in living arrangements are sought, dependent upon personal preferences, income, health, marital status, availability of space with children, and importance of community contacts. Most retired persons seem to prefer to maintain their own homes, even beyond the point at which it has become a physical and financial burden. Some, voluntarily or involuntarily, seek living in groups or institutions. It is quite likely that many live as they do because they know no alternative.

Communities are faced with the problem of making a variety of living arrangements available, in one way or another, to declining families and retired individuals. The solution is not easy. Not enough is known about personal preferences. Housing is an expensive commodity, not easily turned over if it is of special design. Because of the low incomes and shorter life-expectancy of retired persons, private enterprise has been slow to take an interest. Unfavorable attitudes toward public housing have retarded effort through that medium. The belief that older persons will not share facilities has withheld efforts.

Nevertheless, the awareness and the urgency of needs are forcing some progress.

The University of Chicago is conducting research into preferences in type and location of housing. Villages for the retired which provide housekeeping and health services, workshops, and recreational facilities are dispelling the notion that all older people are unwilling to live in more or less segregated neighborhoods or communities. England, New York State, and Chicago are showing the feasibility of reserving units for retired persons in large public projects. Extension of hospital, home management and housekeeping, social case work, food, and visiting services into the home is enabling many infirm and ill to remain where they seem best satisfied. So, too, studies of housing design are yielding suggestions for greater comfort and safety.

Migration to warm climates is creating housing as well as other problems for some states. While it appears that most persons will retire in their own communities, enough will migrate to create special situations in Arizona, California, Florida, and perhaps elsewhere.

Larger numbers of very old, ill and infirm, and socially isolated persons are increasing the demand for institutional and "foster-home" facilities. Traditionally, institutionalization has meant admission of defeat and complete withdrawal from the community, relinquishment of total assets, and a vegetative existence. But there are improvements: institutions are no longer being established in isolated locations; medical, rehabilitation, and food services are being extended; and programs are being developed for purposeful activity and the maintenance of community contacts. These are only pioneering ventures, however, and many problems remain.

Indeed, this sentence applies to the entire field; housing and living arrangements for the retired have become recognized as one of the major phases of the total problem.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION,
AND WELFARE

FLEXIBILITY AND THE SOCIAL ROLES OF THE RETIRED

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

ABSTRACT

Great changes in social role occur between the ages of from 50 to 75. Intensified roles include those of homemaker and church member. Reduced roles include those of worker, parent, and spouse after the death of the partner. Older people may become more active as citizens, as members of the extended family and of informal groups, and as cultivators of hobbies. Conditions making for flexible adaptation to new roles are successful experience in a variety of roles during the middle years and deliberate cultivation of flexibility after the age of 50.

Research has established the fact that activity in a wide variety of social roles is positively related to happiness and good social adjustment in old age and also that a high degree of activity in a given social role is positively related to happiness and good social adjustment.¹ The reasons are implicit in the definition of a social role—a pattern of activity which many people commonly fill and which is expected by society. Living a social role means meeting community expectations. Meeting social expectations usually brings both social approval and personal satisfaction: A woman who spends a good deal of time as housekeeper knows she is doing something of which society approves and is happy in the knowledge. Moreover, she may enjoy some of her duties because of their intrinsic nature—the polishing of silverware, the joy of cooking, the pleasure of arranging furniture and home decorations. The ordinary person has the opportunity to fill a variety of social roles—parent, homemaker, husband or wife, son or daughter, member of a kinship group, member of an informal friendship group, club member, worker, church member, citizen, user of leisure time.

But at the ages from about 50 to about 75 he is deprived of several social roles or at least must see them reduced. At the same time he grows discontented unless he is able to compensate for this by increasing activity in other roles or by the developing of new ones; that is, by role flexibility.

Several circumstances bring about widespread role-changing in the period from 50

to 75. Some roles are intensified, some are reduced, some may be intensified by effort, and today there are some new roles open to those in later life.

INTENSIFIED ROLES

The role of homemaker, for men or for women, may be engaged in with more energy and bring more satisfaction as people grow older. With children grown up and going away, the role of parent is relaxed, and people often have more time and more money to put into making an enjoyable home. They may secure a new house while in the fifties, sixties, or even seventies and spend a great deal of time in decorating it and in gardening, in entertaining, and simply in relaxing before the open fire or sitting out in the sun or the shade.

As a person grows older, he may attend church more frequently and spend more time in Bible-reading and in church organizations.

REDUCED ROLES

For most people retirement from work comes in the sixties, and the rewards in money and public regard that an active worker enjoys are now denied him.

The role of parent is reduced for many as early as the forties. At least by the end of the fifties most people have largely lost the active, responsible, time-consuming role of father or mother, even though still living in close relations with their adult children.

Of course, the role of husband or wife is often terminated by the death of one partner. Half of the married women in the United States are widows before they reach 70.

¹ Robert J. Havighurst and Ruth Albrecht, *Older People* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953), chaps. iii, vi, and xvii.

Men lose this role, on the average, much later in life. But both sexes experience a reduction in some conjugal activities, especially in decreasing physical sex relations. Though a few people actually are more active in the role of spouse as they grow older, and thereby gain a great deal of satisfaction, that is not the common lot.

Club or association membership usually declines after the age of 60. One drops out or loses the leadership while continuing to belong.

ROLES THAT MAY BE INTENSIFIED

Several roles may possibly be intensified, but this requires special effort.

Older people can easily devote more time and energy to the role of citizen than they did when younger. They have time to read, to attend meetings, to work on committees, and in the ripeness of their experience they can often contribute a sounder judgment than was theirs when younger.

With the status that age gives them, and the time to visit and write letters, older people can enjoy family life on a wide scale with relatives as well as with their own children.

The older person has more time to be a friend, neighbor, and member of a social clique, and he may use his leisure and perhaps his money on such things as travel, gardening, and hobbies.

NEW ROLES

The outstanding new role available to older people is that of grandparent, which is often a source of great satisfaction. Involving, as it does, little responsibility for discipline, it often allows a full enjoyment of children and younger people.

FLEXIBILITY IN ROLE-CHANGING

For most people, the set of habits which constitutes a role is changed only with difficulty. To change roles easily and increase or reduce activity in a given role requires a personal quality which we shall call "role flexibility." Consider the changes in role which may be made by a man just before and after age 65 when he was automatically retired from his work.

Since he must give up most of the friendships he has enjoyed with fellow-workers on his job, he may find another place where he can be with old friends and make new ones. He may spend more time with friends at his club; indeed, he may join a club for this very purpose. He may use a park for the same ends, sitting on a park bench with others in pleasant weather, or lounging in a park building when it is wet or cold. Or he may use his church for finding friends and things to do.

He may make a routine out of his leisure to fill the void left by the loss of routines centered about his job. The job got him up in the morning, structured his day for him, and sent him home tired but satisfied. Now he may develop a new and more leisurely routine, getting the morning paper and reading it, tending the furnace or starting a fire in the fireplace, reading the mail, doing the marketing, working in the garden just before lunch, taking a nap after lunch, going to the library or the park or a clubroom for a couple of hours in the afternoon, reading the evening paper, eating supper, going to a meeting or a movie or listening to the radio, and going slowly to bed. This routine is unexciting to a younger person, but to an older person it may give all the satisfactions that the swifter tempo and more energetic activity of his earlier routine afforded.

The satisfaction of creative activity and new experience which he once got from his work, he may, now that he is retired, get from hobbies. He may take up painting or wood- or metalworking; he may turn to gardening with greater interest; to travel or to reading; and in these activities he finds even greater satisfaction than he earlier found in his work.

One who has served others in his work may get a similar satisfaction from civic activities, such as serving on a board of directors or on a committee of social agencies, or working for a political cause, or going in for church work. The prestige that success in work gave may be secured from heightened civic activities or from developing a hobby such as growing roses, painting, or cabinet work.

Perhaps the satisfaction ordinarily com-

ing from work which is most difficult to secure from other roles is self-respect or the sense of worth. But research reveals that some people find it in an avocation, skilfully performed, in music or art, for example, or civic activities.

CONDITIONS THAT MAKE FOR ROLE FLEXIBILITY

How does a person achieve role flexibility? Probably the best assurance of role flexibility in later years is a reasonably successful experience in a variety of roles during the middle years, the emphasis being on *reasonably* and *variety*, for outstanding success in certain roles in middle age sometimes makes for rigidity. For instance, a man who, as a worker, develops a set of habits which support and satisfy him to the time of his retirement is often ill prepared to adapt himself to other roles when retirement terminates the first role. For instance: a man who has been a success as a schoolteacher and a school principal is now 55 years old. He works harder than ever at committee work, is active in his professional association, and seeks summer-school teaching in a teachers' college. He dreads the thought of retirement. Another teacher, of about the same age, is gradually letting down. He has built himself a summer cabin on a lake and goes there as soon as school is out in the summer. He is head of the ushers' committee of his church. Retirement is no threat to him, except for the loss of income.

The deliberate cultivation of role flexibility after about the age of 50 may be wise. This involves the choosing of new leisure activities, the joining of new associations, the deliberate moving to a new home or the remodeling of an old one. Residents of the northern part of the United States might cultivate role flexibility by taking a winter vacation annually and going to a variety of warm places, depending upon taste and pocketbook. This would create new satisfaction in leisure and perhaps leads to moving to a warmer climate upon retirement. Women whose children have left home might explore alternatives among jobs and civic activities.

These are things which an individual might do on his own. But what might an employer do, or a pastor, or a superintendent of schools, or an adult educator, if he wished to help people to cultivate role flexibility? He might encourage them to join groups with interests and aims different from what they have had in the past: an art group for a teacher of science; a discussion group for a housewife whose large family has grown up; a men's brotherhood in the church for a man who has worked on a lathe. If he is a flexible person, this may be enough; but at their age most people will need encouragement to help them over the difficulties of facing strange situations and learning new skills.

This is where a group, all of whose members are trying new activities, will give mutual support. In such a group, people discover that their own difficulties are not unique. Quite a number of people faced with reduced activity and satisfactions as they grow older would be helped by advice from a pastor, a supervisor, or a professional counselor. The latter may help the individual to take stock of his present activities, their limitations and their potentialities, and then to decide what roles to develop for himself.

Can role flexibility be learned? The movement through adulthood and old age involves changes in role activity. As one's children grow up and move away, as one's aging parents grow old and feeble, as physical energy and attractiveness decrease, as death takes away husbands, wives, and friends, as retirement takes away work, as the fires of ambition die down—as these things happen, people must learn to get new satisfactions in place of old ones out of new activities in place of old ones. They must withdraw emotional capital from one role and invest it in another one.

Modern life puts a premium on role flexibility without necessarily making role flexibility easier to gain. The problem for social science and for adult education is to learn the conditions under which the capacity may be acquired and to discover ways of helping all kinds of people to increase it.

CHANGES IN THE LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION OF THE OLDER WORKER

PHILIP M. HAUSER

ABSTRACT

Labor-force rates of older men declined during the last half-century, while those for older women increased. Worker rates for both sexes, however, increased between 1940 and 1950 as a result of the war. In the postwar period, after declines in older worker rates with demobilization, the labor-force participation of older women increased with the Korean incident, while older men resumed the war-interrupted trend toward retirement at age 65 and over. Older workers have higher month-to-month changes in labor-force participation than do all workers. Increased expectation of life and decreased expectation in the labor force have, since 1900, greatly increased expected years in retirement for males.

Increases in the number and proportion of older persons have been one of the more dramatic consequences of the demographic revolution which has accompanied the industrial revolution.¹ In the United States, for example, while the population as a whole was doubling in the half-century between 1900 and 1950, the number of persons 65 years and older quadrupled. The basic changes in our culture which have resulted in the increase in the number and proportion of older persons have also tended to modify their traditional role and status and to leave them in a relatively insecure, dependent, and ill-defined position in society. It is this combination of changes which constitutes "the problem of old age."

Among the important facets of life in which the changing status of the older person is evident is that of work activity. The economic role of the older person in our industrial, urban order is in sharp contrast with that in a preindustrial, rural society. Changes in the labor-force participation of the older person constitute an important element in the complex of changes with

which the older person is confronted and help to illuminate perhaps the major single problem of old age in our society, that of "personal adjustment" and "social adjustment" to the changing economics of old age.²

In April 1950, there were about 12.3 million persons 65 years and over in the United States, 6.5 million women, and 5.8 million men. They made up over 8 per cent of our total population. Let us consider, first, the functional role of these older persons as indicated by their labor-force status.

LABOR-FORCE STATUS

The labor-force status of older persons 65 years and over in 1950 differed greatly from that of all persons of working age, that is, all persons 14 years old and older. For each 100 males of working age, about 82 were in the labor force. For each 100 men 65 years and over, in contrast, only 45 were in the labor force (see Table 1). Of the approximately 18 out of each 100 males 14 years and over not in the labor force, about one-fourth were reported in the 1950 census as "unable to work"; of the 55 out of 100 older males who were not in the labor force,

¹ Henry S. Shryock, "The Changing Age Profile of the Population," in Industrial Relations Research Association, *The Aged and Society* (Champaign, Ill., 1950), pp. 2-23; Alfred Sauvy, "Social and Economic Consequences of the Aging of Western European Populations," *Population Studies*, II (June, 1948), 115-24; Philip M. Hauser, "Trends in the Aging Population," in A. I. Lansing (ed.), *Cowdrey's Problems of Aging* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1952).

² Federal Security Agency, *Man and His Years* (Raleigh, N.C.: Health Publications Institute, 1951); E. W. Burgess, "Personal and Social Adjustment in Old Age," in Industrial Relations Research Association, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-56; Philip M. Hauser, "Facing the Implications of an Aging Population," *Social Service Review*, XXVII (June, 1953), 162-76.

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over half were so reported. The proportion of older males who were inmates of institutions was about twice that of all males of working age. Moreover, the proportion of older males in "other" nonlabor-force status, which includes retirement as well as persons in school and persons not in the labor force for reasons other than those indicated, was twice that of younger males.

For each 100 females 65 years and older, only 10 were in the labor force in 1950, in

the sexes in our society were more marked among older persons than among all persons of working age. The proportion of older women who were workers was less than a third that of all women of working age, 9.5 as compared with 31.9 per cent; but the proportion of older men who were workers was over half that of all men of working age, 45.0 as compared with 82.4 per cent. Or, as another way to show this difference, the worker rate of all women of working age

TABLE 1
LABOR-FORCE STATUS FOR PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER AND 65 YEARS OLD
AND OVER BY SEX, UNITED STATES, APRIL, 1950 AND 1940

LABOR-FORCE STATUS	APRIL, 1950				APRIL, 1940			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	14 Years and Over	65 Years and Over	14 Years and Over	65 Years and Over	14 Years and Over	65 Years and Over	14 Years and Over	65 Years and Over
Total population*	53,312	5,797	57,042	6,472	50,554	4,406	50,549	4,613
Per cent in labor force†	82.4	45.0	31.9	9.5	80.9	43.3	27.4	6.7
Per cent not in labor force‡	17.6	55.0	68.1	90.5	19.1	56.7	72.6	93.3
Keeping house	0.4	1.5	54.8	60.3	0.5	1.0	56.8	54.7
Unable to work	4.4	29.1	3.2	19.8	5.8	39.9	4.5	31.2
Inmates of institutions	1.4	2.7	1.0	3.1	1.5	2.5	0.8	2.2
Other	11.3	21.5	9.2	7.2	11.3	13.3	10.4	5.1

* In thousands.

† Labor-force participation rate from Bureau of the Census, "A Projected Growth of the Labor Force in the United States under Conditions of High Employment: 1950 to 1975," *Current Population Reports, Labor Force* (Series P-50, No. 42 [Washington, December, 1952]). Based on "Monthly Report of the Labor Force."

‡ Proportions for "Per cent not in the labor force" based on data reported in the censuses of 1940 and 1950; for 1940, "Population Characteristics of Persons Not in the Labor Force, 14 Years Old and Over," *16th Census of the United States, 1940* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 1, ff.; for 1950, "Employment and Personal Characteristics," *1950 United States Census of Population* (Special Report, PE No. 1A [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953]), pp. 1A-36 ff.

contrast with 32 of each 100 women 14 years and older. Most of the women of each of these age groups who were not in the labor force were reported in the census as "keeping house," but the proportion was somewhat greater for the older women than for all women of working age, 60.3 as compared with 54.8 per cent. Six times the proportion of the older women than of the younger women were "unable to work," 19.8 as compared with 3.2 per cent; and three times the proportion were inmates of institutions, 3.1 as compared with 1.0 per cent.

The differences in the economic roles of

was almost two-fifths that of all men of working age, but the labor force participation rate of older women was only one-fifth that of older men.

Most of the difference between the labor-force participation rates of men and women, whether the older persons or persons of all ages are considered, was accounted for by the great difference between the sexes in "keeping house." Household duties, while not defined as a labor-force activity, constitute, of course, a very important contribution of women in our society to both economic and total life activity. Keeping house accounted for four-fifths of all women of

working age not in the labor force, but among women 65 years of age and over not in the labor force household activities accounted for only two-thirds of the total. The decreased household activities of older women are explained by the much larger proportion who were reported as "unable to work," 19.8 as contrasted with 3.2 per cent; and as inmates of institutions, 3.1 as contrasted with 1 per cent.

The functional distribution of the total population of working age and of older persons followed the same general pattern in 1940 as in 1950. Important changes in labor-force status, however, occurred during this decade characterized by mobilization for national defense, war, demobilization, and partial remobilization. In response to the increased requirements of the armed forces and the stimulus of full employment, the proportion of males of working age who were in the labor force increased from 80.9 to 82.4 per cent. More striking, however, was the increase in the labor-force participation rate of women, from 27.4 to 31.9 per cent. For both sexes the labor-force participation rates for 1950 represented a decline from peaks reached under the duress of war in 1944 and 1945.

The war and prosperity climate of the 1940's had an important impact on the work activities of older persons. The worker rate for older men in 1950 was 45.0 as compared with 43.3 per cent in 1940, while that for older women was 9.5 as compared with 6.7 per cent. The increased labor-force participation of older women was particularly striking, representing an increase of almost one-third in a single decade. The differential effect of the war and postwar conditions on the labor-force rates of men and women is discussed more fully below.

* Also noteworthy in the changes which occurred during the decade were the considerable decreases in the proportion of all persons and especially of older persons reported as "unable to work." For all males of working age the proportion "unable to work" decreased from 5.8 to 4.4 per cent between 1940 and 1950; for all women the de-

crease was 4.5 to 3.2 per cent. Men 65 years of age and over showed a decrease during the decade from 39.9 to 29.1 per cent, while older women showed a decrease from 31.2 to 19.8 per cent. It is unlikely that this considerable decline in the proportion of persons "unable to work" represents a real increase in health or a real decrease in physical impairment. It is more likely that this change represents a change in the operational definition of "employability" in our economy. It was apparently possible to employ many persons in 1950, after a decade of high employment, who were regarded as "unable to work" in 1940, after a decade characterized primarily by depression. These statistics in a dramatic way point up the vagueness of the concept "employability" and have important implications, perhaps, for dealing with the increasing economic invalidism associated with old age.³

Another important change between 1940 and 1950 is to be found in the increase, especially among older males but also evident for older females, in the proportion of persons not in the labor force in the category "other." Males 65 years of age and over in this category increased from 13.3 in 1940 to 21.5 per cent in 1950; females, from 5.1 to 7.2 per cent. These increases undoubtedly reflect the increasing trend toward retirement at 65 and over.

SECULAR CHANGE

For the first four decades of this century the proportion of the total population of working age who were workers⁴ remained practically the same at a level of about 55

³ The measurement problems in census operations are, of course, also a factor in the differences discussed. The consistency of the differences, however, by age and sex, the reported small increases in the proportion of persons, especially older persons as "inmates of institutions," and the relatively small changes in the "other" category "not in the labor force" indicate that the problem of measurement is perhaps a minor one.

⁴ This term is used as the equivalent of persons in the labor force, that is, persons working or seeking work.

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per 100.⁵ The labor-force participation rates of older workers, however, have changed a great deal (see Table 2). Labor-force rates for 1950 were at somewhat higher levels than in preceding decades as a result of the effects of the war.

The labor-force participation rate for men 45 years old and over decreased from 1900 to 1950 from 84.3 to 78.5, or by 7 per

Men 45-64 years of age maintained a fairly constant labor-force rate over the period, the former at a level of about 94 per cent, the latter at about 87 per cent. Men 65 years of age and over, however, showed a marked decrease in labor-force activity, dropping from a rate of 63.2 to 45.0 or by about 29 per cent during the half-century. In contrast, the labor-force rate for older

TABLE 2
LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER AND PERSONS
45 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY SEX, 1900-1950, AND PROJECTIONS, 1955-75

SEX AND AGE	YEAR*										
	1900†	1920	1930	1940	1950	1950‡	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Males:											
14 years and over....	85.7	85.9	83.4	80.9	82.4	83.3	82.4	81.1	79.7	79.7	80.6
45-54 years.....	92.8	94.5	94.8	93.7	94.6	94.3	94.3	94.2	94.2	94.2	94.1
55-64 years.....	86.1	87.4	87.6	85.6	85.1	87.0	86.9	86.8	86.8	86.7	86.6
65 years and over....	63.2	57.1	55.5	43.3	45.0	44.7	42.9	41.2	39.6	38.0	36.5
Females											
14 years and over....	20.0	24.1	25.1	27.4	31.9	31.3	32.6	33.8	34.9	36.2	37.5
45-54 years.....	14.2	19.4	21.3	24.2	36.9	35.7	38.1	40.3	42.5	44.7	46.7
55-64 years.....	12.6	15.3	16.4	17.8	27.3	25.9	27.6	29.2	30.7	32.3	33.8
65 years and over....	8.3	8.2	8.2	6.7	9.5	8.9	9.0	9.2	9.3	9.4	9.5
Total.....	53.7	55.8	54.6	54.1	56.8	57.0	57.0	56.9	56.7	57.4	58.4

* Data from 1920 to 1975 from Bureau of the Census (see Table 1, n. †).

† Adapted from John Durand, *The Labor Force in the United States, 1890-1960* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), pp. 208 ff. Data are "comparable with 1940 Census Data" but not adjusted for comparability with current "Monthly Report of the Labor Force."

‡ These data for 1950 and subsequent years are based on projections from 1920 to average of the years 1947-51, as of July 1 of each year. Other data for 1920-50 are as of April of each year.

cent. The labor-force rate for women 45 years and over, however, over the same period more than doubled, increasing from 12.3 to 26.0 per cent. These changes in labor-force participation for persons 45 and over, as a group, obscure the important differences which occurred for the age classes within the group.

⁵ John Durand, *The Labor Force in the United States, 1890-1950* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948). See also Philip M. Hauser, "Mobility in Labor Force Participation," in forthcoming volume on labor mobility, under the aegis of the Committee on Labor Market Research of the Social Science Research Council; A. J. Jaffe and C. D. Stewart, *Manpower Resources and Utilization* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1951). See also forthcoming volume, under the aegis of the National Bureau of Economic Research, by Clarence Long, *Labor Force, Income, and Employment*.

women increased rapidly during the first half of the century. Women 45-54 years old increased their labor-force participation rate from 14.2 to 36.9, or by 150 per cent; women 55-64 showed an increase from 12.6 to 27.3, or by 160 per cent. Women 65 and over showed some decrease between 1900 and 1940 from 8.3 to 6.7 but had a rate of 9.5 in 1950 as a result of World War II and its aftermath. The secular trend toward increased labor-force participation of women is manifest among older as well as younger women and more than offset the trend toward retirement.

These trends have been projected by the Bureau of the Census by quinquenniums to 1975 (Table 2). The projections show practically constant labor-force participation

rates for males 45-64 years of age, but a continued decline in the work activity of males 65 and over to a low point of 36.5 in 1975. Should these projections hold, the labor-force rate of older men would show a decrease of 44 per cent in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century.

In contrast, the labor-force participation rates of women 45-64 years of age would continue to increase although at a declining rate. Women 45-64 under these projections would increase their labor-force participation rates by about 30 per cent in the next twenty-five years and would show about a threefold increase from 1900 to 1975. Women 65 years and over, however, would, under the projections, maintain a practically unchanged labor-force rate at around 9 per cent.

These divergent tendencies in the work activities of older men and women are the result of conflicting factors. Technological development resulting in increasing mechanization of work activities, shorter hours of labor, increasing white-collar occupations, and improved conditions of work have undoubtedly contributed to increased opportunity for older workers to remain in, and women to enter, the labor force; and depression and inflation have, in turn, set various forces in motion tending to increase motivation to work. Yet paralleling some of these developments have been increased income and savings, permitting voluntary retirement, and the growth of retirement systems, including widespread compulsory retirement systems.⁶

The decreased labor-force participation of older men is a function of increasing rates of retirement especially at ages 60 and over. Yet, despite this trend toward compulsory retirement, the various factors resulting in the increased work activity of women have resulted in increased labor-force participation rates of older women at ages 45-64 and a continuation of about the same labor-force

participation rate for women 65 and over. The increased labor-force activity of older women is in large part attributable to the re-entry into the labor market of married women as they leave their period of greatest reproductivity and responsibility for the care of young children. This tendency to re-enter the labor force is clearly manifest, for the first time at a decennial census date, in the data for 1950. In contrast with data from the preceding censuses, the labor-force rate for women 35-44 years of age was higher than that for women 25-34 years of age and remained high for women aged 45-54 years.⁷ It is at age 55 and over that work rates for women began to show a marked decline. The census projections to 1975 indicate an increasing tendency in this direction.

WARTIME CHANGES

Current population statistics on a monthly basis made possible the measurement of labor-force changes during the period of mobilization, demobilization, and partial remobilization since 1940. From 1940 to 1945, under the duress of war, the total labor force of the United States increased by about 11 million workers, to a level of 63 million persons, including the armed forces. Some 3 million of this 11 million increase in the number of workers represented "normal" growth in the labor force, resulting from the increase in, and aging of, the population. The remainder of this increase, 8 million persons, represents an "abnormal increment" to the labor force resulting from the requirements of total war.

During World War II the armed forces increased from several hundred thousand to about 12 million persons, while the civilian labor force remained at approximately the same size at a figure of about 55 million. Persons who entered the armed forces were, of course, primarily young males. To maintain the civilian labor force, persons were drawn from population groups not normally employed, primarily women, younger per-

⁶ E.g., Robert K. Burns and Leonard B. Brown, "The Older Worker in Industry," in *Cowdry's Problems of Aging*, pp. 991 ff.; Industrial Relations Research Association, *op. cit.*, Part II.

⁷ Hauser, "Mobility in Labor Force Participation," *op. cit.*

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sons, and older persons. A comparison of the actual labor force in April, 1945, with the "normal" labor force as determined from previous trends in labor-force composition shows the extent to which older persons contributed to the wartime abnormal increment to the labor-force (see Table 3).

The 8 million abnormal increment to the wartime labor force comprised 4.2 million women and 3.9 million men. Persons 45

of additional workers varied inversely with age. Women 45-54 years old contributed over half of all the additional older female workers, while women 65 years and older contributed a little over one-tenth. For each sex, however, the proportion which the "excess" workers constituted of the "normal" varied directly with age.

The female excess was proportionately greater for each of the three older age

TABLE 3*
DEVIATION OF LABOR FORCE FROM "NORMAL" FOR TOTAL LABOR FORCE AND FOR
OLDER WORKERS, BY SEX, UNITED STATES, APRIL, 1945 AND 1946
(In Thousands)

SEX AND AGE	APRIL, 1946				APRIL, 1945			
	Actual Labor Force	Normal Labor Force	Deviation from "Normal"		Actual Labor Force	Normal Labor Force	Deviation from "Normal"	
			No.	Per Cent of Normal			No.	Per Cent of Normal
Both sexes.....	60,304	58,843	1,450	2.5	66,246	58,163	8,083	13.9
Males:								
14 years and over.....	43,626	42,788	838	2.0	46,407	42,496	3,911	9.2
45-54 years.....	8,084	7,863	221	2.8	8,017	7,749	268	3.5
55-64 years.....	5,349	5,019	330	6.6	5,385	4,998	387	7.7
65 years and over.....	2,381	1,950	431	22.1	2,411	1,937	474	24.5
Females:								
14 years and over.....	16,678	16,066	612	3.8	19,839	15,677	4,172	26.6
45-54 years.....	2,651	2,305	346	15.0	2,964	2,149	815	37.9
55-64 years.....	1,350	1,112	238	21.4	1,620	1,118	502	44.9
65 years and over.....	410	334	76	22.8	490	329	161	48.9

* Source: Derived from data of United States Bureau of the Census and Durand, *op. cit.*

years of age and over constituted about a third of these labor-force additions. Persons 65 years of age and over made up almost 8 per cent of the total increment. The pattern of increased labor-force participation differed considerably by sex.

Men 45 years of age and over contributed over 1.1 million persons to the "excess" over "normal"; women 45 and over contributed almost 1.5 million workers. Among the men, the absolute additions to the labor force varied directly with age, with men 65 and over constituting over two-fifths of the total contribution of the older males. Among women, however, the absolute contribution

groupings of women than for the men, ranging from an excess of about 38 per cent for women 45-54 years old to about 49 per cent for women 65 years old and over. Among the men, by far the largest proportion in excess was contributed by men 65 years old and older (24.5 per cent). The excess of males 45-54 years was only 3.5 per cent, while that of males 55-64 years was 7.7 per cent. The relatively small proportionate contribution of these latter two age groups of males is, of course, to be accounted for by their relatively high labor-force participation rates, as compared with males 65 years old and over or with women.

In the year between April, 1945, and April, 1946, which witnessed the cessation of hostilities, the labor force, with demobilization, decreased by almost 6 million persons. In April, 1946, it is estimated that the labor force was in excess over normal by fewer than 1.5 million persons, or 2.5 per cent. These figures, however, obscure the fact that the labor force at this time showed a deficit of over 1 million males 20-44 years of age and almost 0.9 million females 20-34 years of age.⁸ The former comprised mainly veterans who were recuperating or attend-

normal in the labor force; and almost 0.7 million women of the same age. Thus, by April, 1946, the excess of men 45 years old and over had decreased by only 13 per cent, but the excess of females of this age had decreased by 55 per cent. By the same date, the excess of males 65 and over had decreased by less than 10 per cent, while that of women 65 and over had decreased by 53 per cent. Both males and females 65 years of age and older, however, were over 22 per cent in excess of normal labor-force participation in April, 1946.

TABLE 4*

INDEX OF CHANGES IN LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR TOTAL
LABOR FORCE AND OLDER WORKERS, BY SEX, UNITED
STATES, 1940, 1945, 1946, AND 1952

SEX AND AGE	LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE				INDEX OF CHANGE (1940 = 100)			
	1940	1945	1946	1952	1940	1945	1946	1952
Both sexes.....	54.1	62.0	56.8	57.2	100	115	105	106
Males:								
14 years and over.....	80.9	87.9	82.0	82.7	100	109	101	102
45-54 years.....	93.7	95.8	95.0	94.6	100	102	101	101
55-64 years.....	85.6	90.5	89.0	86.0	100	106	104	100
65 years and over.....	43.3	49.9	48.3	40.9	100	115	112	94
Females:								
14 years and over.....	27.4	37.0	30.8	32.3	100	135	112	118
45-54 years.....	24.2	36.7	31.3	39.1	100	152	129	162
55-64 years.....	17.8	27.1	22.9	27.0	100	152	129	152
65 years and over.....	6.7	9.4	7.7	8.0	100	140	115	119

* Source: Derived from data of United States Bureau of the Census. See Table 2.

ing school under the "G.I. Bill" after demobilization; the latter, reflecting the great increase in the postwar marriage and birth rates, were not in the labor force because of household and reproductive responsibilities.

Despite the deficit worker participation rates of veterans and of women of reproductive age, the labor force, in general, was still above normal in 1946 because of the excess over normal of young persons under 20 and older persons 45 and over. In April, 1946, after demobilization, there were still almost 1 million males, 45 and over, in excess over

⁸ Durand, *op. cit.*, chap. vi; Jaffe and Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-85.

The effects of postwar full employment on the labor-force participation of older persons in relation to the impact of the war and to the 1940 prewar rates is presented in Table 4. Using the 1940 age-sex labor force participation rates as a base, the consequences of mobilization, demobilization, and partial remobilization are evident. Among males 45-54 years of age with a labor-force participation rate of 93.7 per cent in 1940, full mobilization resulted in an increase of 2 per cent in the labor-force rate, while demobilization in 1946, and partial remobilization in 1952, resulted in a worker rate in each instance only 1 per cent above the 1940

level. For men 55-64 years of age, with a somewhat lower labor-force rate of 85.6 per cent in 1940, mobilization resulted in an increase of 6 per cent by 1945. Demobilization in 1946 produced a rate below the peak mobilization level but still 4 per cent above the 1940 level. By 1952, even with partial remobilization, the labor-force rate of men 55-64 was at the same level as in 1940.

Among the men 45 years old and over, those 65 and over showed the greatest variability in labor-force rates during this period. Full mobilization resulted in an increased worker rate 15 per cent above the 1940 level by 1945. Demobilization in 1946 resulted in a decrease of three percentage points, to a level still 12 per cent above the 1940 level. By 1952, even with partial remobilization, the labor-force rate of men 65 years old and older had dropped to 6 per cent below the 1940 level. This decrease resulted from a continuation of the trend toward retirement which was interrupted by the war.

The pattern of labor-force participation rates, from 1940 to 1952, for women 45 years old and older was quite different. Women 45-54 years old showed an increase of 52 per cent in labor-force participation with total mobilization in 1945. With demobilization, this rate declined sharply but was still 29 per cent above the 1940 level in 1946. With partial remobilization, labor-force participation for this age class of women again rose sharply and in 1952 was 62 per cent above the 1940 level and ten percentage points above the level achieved during total mobilization in 1945.

Women 55-64 years old increased their labor-force participation by 52 per cent with total mobilization in 1945 and decreased to a point 29 per cent above the 1940 level with demobilization in 1946. Women of this age, however, although they entered the labor force in increasing proportions with partial remobilization in 1952, returned to a level 52 per cent above the 1940 level, the same level reached in 1945. Women 65 years and older reached a level of labor-force participation 40 per cent

above the 1940 level in 1945, decreased their labor-force rate to a point 15 per cent above the 1940 level in 1946, and showed a relatively small increase to a level 19 per cent above 1940 in 1952. It would seem that for women 45 years of age and older, including those 65 years old and older, the secular trend toward increased labor-force participation was continued and accelerated by the requirements of the war and its aftermath.

In general, the older worker who was in the labor force constituted an important labor reserve to meet the demands of total mobilization in war. Among men this reserve was concentrated primarily among those 65 years old and older. Among women, an important reserve was found in all age classes 45 and over. In requiring the utilization of the labor reserve of older women, it seems that the war and postwar conditions accelerated the trend toward their increased labor-force participation.

GROSS CHANGES

Although the labor-force participation rate of all persons of working age has remained remarkably constant over the last half-century, there is considerable mobility in labor-force participation in the short run, as indicated by the wartime changes, discussed above, by seasonal changes, and by "gross changes" from month to month. Of perhaps special interest are the measurements of gross changes in the labor force, made available by the Bureau of the Census, which show the shifts into and out of the labor force, that is, the changes in the status of persons from month to month as "in" or "not in" the labor force (see Table 5).⁹

In 1951 average monthly gross changes for all persons of working age constituted about 10 per cent of the annual average number of persons in the labor force. The average number of gross changes—"addi-

⁹ The Bureau of the Census has been publishing data on "gross changes" since 1945 (see *Annual Report on the Labor Force*, the most recent of which is available for 1952, Series P-50, No. 45, issued in July, 1953).

tions" and "reductions"¹⁰ combined—of persons 65 years and over constituted about 18 per cent of the annual average number of persons of this age class in the labor force. Thus, gross changes of the older workers were about 80 per cent greater than those of

changes of persons 45–64 years of age was about 8 per cent of their average number in the labor force for the year, an average below that for all workers.

Gross changes for male workers were approximately one-fourth of those for female

TABLE 5
GROSS CHANGES IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE FOR TOTAL LABOR
FORCE AND OLDER WORKERS, UNITED STATES, 1951

GROSS CHANGE	TOTAL (IN THOU- SANDS)	AGE	
		45–64 Years	65 Years and Over
Average number in labor force.....	62,871	19,486	3,024
Average monthly gross change.....	6,627	1,516	560
Number of additions.....	3,320	758	259
Number of reductions.....	3,307	758	301
Average gross change as percentage of aver- age labor force.....	10.5	7.8	18.5
Males:			
Average number in labor force.....	43,647	14,062	2,465
Average monthly gross change.....	2,419	431	356
Number of additions.....	1,192	209	170
Number of reductions.....	1,227	222	186
Average gross change as percentage of average labor force.....	5.5	3.1	14.4
Females:			
Average number in labor force.....	19,224	5,424	558
Average monthly gross change.....	4,208	1,086	205
Number of additions.....	2,128	550	89
Number of reductions.....	2,080	536	116
Average gross change as percentage of average labor force.....	21.9	20.0	36.7

* Source: Derived from United States Bureau of the Census, *Annual Report on the Labor Force*, Series P-50, No. 31 (Washington, 1951), and Series P-50, No. 40 (Washington, 1952).

all workers and, in fact, were exceeded only by the gross changes for persons 14–19 years of age.¹¹ The average number of gross

¹⁰ "Additions" and "reductions" refer to a change in status from one month to the next in labor-force participation. If a given person changed status more than once during the month, only one change would be counted. Similarly, if a person changed status but reverted to the same status he had in the preceding month, no change would be counted.

¹¹ Hauser, "Mobility in Labor Force Participation," *op. cit.*

workers and constituted about 5 per cent of the average male labor force as contrasted with about 22 per cent of the female labor force. Gross changes for males 65 years old and over were about three times as high as those for all males, 15 as compared with 5 per cent; while for females of the same age class gross changes were about 70 per cent higher than for all females, 37 as compared with 22 per cent. Gross changes for women 65 and over were two and a half times as great as those for older males, reaching a

level of about one-third of the annual average number of older women in the labor force.

The gross change statistics refer to the total number of "additions" and "reductions" as defined rather than to separate individuals. The number of gross changes is much greater than the total number of persons who actually entered or left the labor force, because, as in other forms of labor mobility, it is undoubtedly true that a relatively small proportion of the workers contribute a disproportionately large share of the mobility and because double or multiple counting of persons is involved, since many of the mobile persons both entered and left the labor force during the year. For both sexes combined, for example, the number of additions and reductions to the labor force of persons 65 years old and over exceeded 6 million, more than twice the average annual number of persons of this age in the labor force. For males 65 and over the total number of additions and reductions for the year exceeded 4 million, or almost twice the total; while for females 65 and over they approximate about 2.5 million, or almost five times the total.

The old worker, both male and female, has, then, a high rate of mobility in respect to labor-force participation from month to month. The role and the significance of this high labor-force mobility rate as it affects the problem of adjustment in old age have yet to be explored and fully grasped.

TABLES OF WORKING LIFE

In recent years life-table methods have been applied to labor-force participation rates.¹² This has made it possible to calculate the average number of years remaining in the labor force, as well as in life, at given ages. Unfortunately the different pattern of labor-force participation of women has precluded the calculation of such data for fe-

males, so that tables of working life are at present available only for males. The life-table calculations are of the greatest significance not only in indicating the average years remaining in the labor force and in life but also in quantifying the difference between the two, that is, in providing a measurement of the average number of years in retirement.

From 1900 to 1940, for white males at age 20, the average number of years of life remaining increased from 42.2 to 47.7, or by 5.5 years (Table 6). During this same period

TABLE 6*
AVERAGE NUMBER OF REMAINING YEARS OF LIFE, IN LABOR FORCE AND IN RETIREMENT AT AGE 20 AND AT AGE 60: WHITE MALES, 1900, 1940; TOTAL MALES, 1940, 1947, 1975

YEAR	AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF LIFE REMAINING		
	Total	In Labor Force†	In Retirement
	At Age 20		
White males:			
1900†.....	42.2	39.4	2.8
1940.....	47.7	42.0	5.7
Total males:			
1940.....	46.8	41.3	5.5
1947.....	48.0	42.8	5.2
1975 (A)§....	52.7	42.8	9.9
1975 (B)§....	52.7	45.9	6.8
	At Age 60		
White males:			
1900†.....	14.3	11.5	2.8
1940.....	15.1	9.2	5.9
Total males:			
1940.....	15.1	9.2	5.9
1947.....	15.3	9.7	5.6
1975 (A)§....	16.8	7.9	8.9
1975 (B)§....	16.8	10.5	6.3

* Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Tables of Working Life* (Bull. 1001 [Washington, August, 1950]), p. 42. See *ibid.*, for similar data at age 40 and detailed explanations.

† Labor-force estimates for 1900 and 1940 have been adjusted for comparability with the estimates for 1947 and 1975 but may not be compared directly with the detailed tables for 1940.

‡ Mortality data based on records of eleven original death registration states.

§ A, Assumes continued decline in labor-force participation rates for men, 55 years and over, based on 1920-40 trends. B, Assumes labor-force participation rates at 1947 levels.

¹² W. S. Woytinsky, *Labor in the United States* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938), pp. 261-63; Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Tables of Working Life* (Bull. 1001 [Washington, 1950]).

the average number of years of life remaining in the labor force increased from 39.4 to 42.0, or by 2.6 years. In consequence, the average number of years of life remaining after retirement from the labor force increased from 2.8 years in 1900 to 5.7 years in 1940, or by 2.9 years. Similarly, between 1900 and 1940, at age 40, the average number of years of life remaining after retirement increased by 2.7 years, to a total of 5.9 years; and at age 60, by 3.1 years, to a total of 5.9 years.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has also made projections for males to 1975, in expectation of life and in years remaining in the labor force. The estimates for 1975 are based on two assumptions. The "A" estimates assume continued decline in labor-force participation rates for men 55 years and over based on 1920-40 trends. The "B" estimates assume labor-force participation rates at the relatively high 1947 levels.

The "A" projections show, for all males at age 20, an increase between 1940 and 1975 of 5.9 years in expectation of life, 1.5 years in average number of years in the labor force, and 4.4 years in life remaining after retirement. At age 20, under the assumption of the "A" estimates, the male in the United States could expect an average of 9.9 years of life after retirement, as contrasted with less than 3 years in 1900. Under the "B" estimates, the average number of years of life remaining in the labor force at age 20 would increase by 4.6 years. Thus, average number of years of retirement would increase by only 1.3 years by 1975, to a total of 6.8 years.

At age 60, the "A" projections show an increase between 1940 and 1975 of 1.7 years of life, a decrease of 1.3 years in average number of years of life remaining in the labor force, and a net increase of 3 years to a total of 8.9 years in average number of years of life in retirement. Under the "B" estimates the average number of years remaining in the labor force would increase by 1.3 years and the average number of years in retirement by only 0.4 year to a total of 6.3 years.

The life-table data also make possible the

quantification of the "labor-force potential," that is, the calculation of the total number of man-years in the labor force that may be expected from a cohort of males, given the age-specific labor-force participation rates in any given year. An abridged table of working life has been computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1940 and 1947.¹³ These tables indicate that the stationary labor force which would result from 1940 age-specific labor-force participation rates would yield a total of 3.8 million man-years in the labor force, while that in 1947 would yield a total of 4.2 million man-years. The increases in age-specific labor-force participation rates, then, between 1940 and 1947 resulted in a 9 per cent increase in the male labor-force potential.

Similarly, the tables of working life show that, in 1940, males 45 and over had a labor-force potential of 1.5 million man-years. By 1947 this potential for males 45 and over had increased to 1.7 million man-years, or by 11.1 per cent. Between 1940 and 1947 the labor-force potential of men 65 years of age and over increased from 271,000 to 330,000 man-years, or by over 12 per cent. Between 1940 and 1947 the increase in the labor-force potential of men 45 years of age and over accounted for over half of the total increase in potential man-years, while the increase in the potential of males 65 and over accounted for more than one-sixth of the total increase.

It is also possible from the life-table data to study changes in rates of accession to, and separation from, the labor force. In 1947, for example, separations from the labor force, due to all causes, were lower at all ages up to 65 than in 1940. Much of this decrease in separations is attributable to decreased mortality, which was lower in 1947 at all ages than in 1940. Of special import, however, are the changes attributable to retirement. It is significant that under the conditions of 1947, as contrasted with 1940, retirement rates of males 50-64 years of age decreased appreciably. This decrease arose

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

from a number of factors, including the aftereffects of high employment rates of older men during the war, increased opportunity for employment under postwar full-employment conditions, and the pressures of inflationary rising prices. The decrease in the labor-force participation rates of older men since 1947, reported above, indicates, however, that by 1952 retirement rates must have risen over 1947 levels, especially for workers 65 and over.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

Improved labor-force and population statistics are permitting more comprehensive

analyses of the aging of the population and of some of the characteristics and activities of older persons. In the improved and elaborated data, particularly those emanating from the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, lie many new opportunities for investigation. Moreover, these data provide increasingly useful frames for the design of more intensive surveys and research projects which will produce a better understanding of our older population and of their economic and other problems.

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THE MIGRATION OF OLDER PEOPLE

CHARLES R. MANLEY, JR.

ABSTRACT

Through the use of company personnel records this study attempted to determine whether sufficient data would be available to indicate differential factors distinguishing 34 retired migrants from 189 retired non-migrants previously employed by a large metropolitan department store. From nineteen items consistently contained in the records, the following five factors were found to favor migration: (1) preretirement suburban residence; (2) preretirement income of \$70 a week or more; (3) pay mobility index, 10-29; (4) company retirement benefits of \$40 or more per month; (5) more frequent changes of address after retirement.

The two purposes of this study were to determine whether personnel records of a large metropolitan department store could be used independently for research on factors in migration of retired persons and, if so, what findings the records would yield.

THE STORE

The store from which records were made available for this study was established in 1854. There is not nor has there been any union organization operating within the store. Hence all policy concerning hours, wages, working conditions, and other "fringe benefits" have been introduced by management. The approach of management in its relations with the store employees has been one of concern for their welfare. This concern has quite naturally extended into the area of retirement and retirement benefits.

The retirement of employees, until 1949, was handled on an informal basis. Employees were permitted to continue to work until such time as the company health service believed that further employment would be detrimental to the worker or until the employee voluntarily retired. At the time of retirement each case was reviewed by management, often its top echelons, to assess the individual's ability to sustain himself financially after retirement. The benefits were then granted on the basis of individual need. After 1949 no employee who had been with the store for less than fifteen years was eligible for any retirement benefits. Each employee was given the option of

accepting a lump sum in lieu of monthly payment or the monthly benefits.

In 1949, however, the administrative area of retirement and associated problems was reduced to a written and formalized policy by management. This set up a standard device for determining the retirement benefits. At the same time a system of regular physical examinations for all employees 64 years of age and over was instituted and used as one of the criteria by which management determined the appropriateness of any person's continued employment in the store on either a full-time or a part-time basis.

In 1947 there were about 400 persons employed at the store who were 65 years of age or over. The records indicate that 192 persons still living have been retired since 1947, whereas only 31 persons, still receiving retirement benefits, were retired prior to that time. The retired employee keeps his group insurance and his Blue Cross and Blue Shield memberships and continues to receive the discount on purchases. The services of the store doctor and attorney are available to him, and the store paper is mailed to him monthly. The Employee's Mutual Benefit Association handles the Group Insurance Plan and loans but does not regulate the discount buying.

During the past year a full-time position has been created to maintain morale of store personnel. One of the major functions of this office is to determine, with the aid of the health service staff, the feasibility of retain-

ing any employee on a full- or a part-time basis after he has reached age 65. This officer is also charged with the responsibility of conducting such preretirement training and/or interviews as are consistent with policy and staffing. This officer also acts as liaison between the retired employee and management in any and all appropriate matters.

SOURCE OF DATA

The personnel records from which the data for this study were gathered, as is frequently the case in commercial, industrial, and social welfare organizations, were considerably more elaborate in design than in operation. The various forms contained more than eighty items concerning the working and health history of each employee before and during his period of employment with the firm. Only nineteen items were found to be filled out consistently enough in the retirees' records to justify their inclusion in the study. Unfortunately the health records were not complete for more than half of the retirees. The health records might have revealed some clear demarcations between the migrant and non-migrant groups.

Of these nineteen items, the one which presented the greatest difficulty and which resulted in the greatest number of "not known" was retiree's last pay rate. Aside from a special system of notation for most employees, there were quite a number of persons in the occupational category of executive-administrative and executive supervisory whose pay rate was not shown.

The items which yielded satisfactory data from the records were the following:

- (1) Name
- (2) Present address
- (3) Present phone number
- (4) Date of birth
- (5) Sex
- (6) Marital status
- (7) Date of induction into employment by the company
- (8) Date of retirement
- (9) Number of years service with the company

- (10) Retirement benefits (either monthly payments by company or lump-sum payment at the time of retirement)
- (11) Last pay rate prior to retirement (in cases of persons on "short hours," except where specific hours were indicated, the rates were translated into weekly incomes on the basis of *full* or *part-time* week of 40 and 20 hours, respectively)
- (12) Department where last employed
- (13) Last address prior to retirement
- (14) Number of addresses prior to retirement
- (15) Number of changes of address since retirement
- (16) Number of *upward* pay changes during employment by company
- (17) Number of *downward* pay changes during employment by company
- (18) Number of *changes in job assignment* while employed by company
- (19) Age at retirement

These items of data suggested the following questions:

1. Are there age and sex differences in migrants and nonmigrants?
2. Are persons with a higher preretirement income more likely to migrate than those with lower preretirement income?
3. Are those with a higher company retirement benefit more likely to migrate than those with lower benefits?
4. Are persons who have had the highest number of net upward pay changes most likely to migrate upon retirement?
5. Are persons who have had most frequent changes in job assignment prior to retirement more likely to migrate than those who have had fewer job assignments?
6. Would those who lived in less desirable communities prior to retirement be more likely to migrate than those whose preretirement residence was in relatively favorable communities?
7. Would the year in which a person retires have any relation to whether or not he migrates?

FINDINGS

For the purposes of this study, "migrant" will be defined as any person who upon retirement has moved outside of the normal commuting range of the metropolitan area where he was previously employed.

• "Nonmigrant" will simply be defined as those persons who remained within that commuting range after retirement.

Age and sex.—Of the 223 persons (whose records were retained in the "inactive" file) who had been retired from the company on or before December 31, 1952, 100 (44.8 per cent) were males, 123 (55.2 per cent) were females. Of the 223, a total of 189 (84.8 per cent) were rated as nonmigrants and 34 (15.2 per cent) as migrants. The sex composition of the nonmigrants is 80 (42.3 per cent) males and 109 (57.7 per cent) females.

15.7 per cent between the migrants and nonmigrants with relation to their age at retirement approached (critical ratio=1.8) but did not reach statistical significance at the 5 per cent level.

For the general purposes of the study, no attempt was made to compare percentages within either sex grouping because the numbers of males and females in the migrant group were so small.

Date of retirement.—Although the critical ratio between the percentages of migrants (30.4) and nonmigrants (10.6) who retired

TABLE 1
WEEKLY INCOME PRIOR TO RETIREMENT OF 34 MIGRANTS
AND 179 NONMIGRANTS*

AMOUNT OF WEEKLY INCOME	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS		CRITICAL RATIO
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
\$0-\$29.99.....	6	17.7	26	14.5	.....
\$30.00-\$39.99.....	6	17.7	63	35.2	2.4
\$40.00-\$69.99.....	12	35.2	74	41.4	.....
\$70.00 and over.....	10	29.3	16	8.9	2.5

* Data for 10 nonmigrants were not available.

The migrants were divided into 20 (58.8 per cent) males and 14 (41.2 per cent) females, indicating that males are more likely to migrate than are females. At the 5 per cent level of confidence,¹ which was used throughout this study, this difference was found not to be statistically significant (critical ratio = 1.7).

Of the 223 persons, a total of 51 (22.9 per cent) retired before the age of 65, and 172 (77.1 per cent) retired after that age. Of the 189 nonmigrants, 39 (20.7 per cent) retired before 65, 148 (79.3 per cent) after 65, and one person's age is not known.

Of 34 migrants, 12 (36.4 per cent) migrated before age 65, 21 (63.6 per cent) after 65, and one not known. The difference of

before 1947 is 2.39 in favor of migration, it is misleading. Of the 34 migrants, 10 retired before 1947. However, only 20 out of 189 nonmigrants retired before that date. Hence it can be assumed that the year of retirement was not a statistically significant factor related to migration.

Preretirement income.—The data in this study indicated that persons whose income per week prior to retirement was \$70.00 or more were significantly more likely to migrate (29.3 per cent versus 8.9 per cent) than those with lesser preretirement incomes. However, those in the income brackets from \$49.00 to \$69.99 per week showed no significant difference either favoring or not favoring migration. There was a significant difference in favor of nonmigrating of those whose income was \$30.00-\$39.99 per week to retirement. Below \$30.00 a week there was no significant difference.

One drawback in using the last income prior to retirement was the fact that many

¹ The test for significance between percentages used in this study was set at the .05 level of confidence employing the formula

$$\sigma_{p_1 - p_2} = \sqrt{\frac{p_1(1-p_1)}{n_1} + \frac{p_2(1-p_2)}{n_2}}$$

persons in both the migrant and the non-migrant group had been "eased" into retirement by being put on schedules of reduced hours and, in some cases, less demanding work, and hence their final incomes reflected lowered earning time and lower basic rates.

Company retirement benefits.—By way of contrast with these preretirement incomes is the sharp distinction between the migrants and the nonmigrants with regard to their retirement benefits from the company. It can safely be assumed that the retirement benefits are a more accurate reflection of the person's preretirement income than the final

company benefits were used. An interesting sidelight on the matter of postretirement benefits from the company is the number of nonmigrant women who elected to accept the lump-sum payment in lieu of monthly benefits. Of 23 nonmigrants who elected the lump-sum payment, 21 (91 per cent) were women. Some interesting conjectures might be made as to the reasons behind the preponderance of women preferring the lump-sum payment to small monthly payments. In most cases, the election of lump-sum payment resulted in ultimate loss to the person. However, immediate uses for the

TABLE 2
MONTHLY INCOME FROM COMPANY RETIREMENT BENEFITS
FOR 27 MIGRANTS AND 160 NONMIGRANTS*

AMOUNT OF MONTHLY INCOME	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS		CRITICAL RATIO
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Under \$40.00.....	5	18.5	81	50.6	3.8
\$40.00 and over.....	22	81.5	79	49.5	3.8

* For the entire group in eight cases the information on retirement benefits was not available and 28 persons (5 migrants and 23 nonmigrants) elected the lump-sum payment.

pay rate. In the formula by which the retirement monthly benefits are computed is a means of striking an average earning over a given period of years. This would tend to correct the retiree's income picture to square a little more accurately with the facts. Hence it is assumed that the monthly retirement benefits are a more accurate gauge of the person's preretirement income than is the final pay rate upon which Table 1 was based. They certainly reflect more accurately his postretirement income. This is highlighted by the sharp distinction of percentages between the migrant (81.5) and nonmigrant (49.5) groups in Table 2.

Since total retirement income data was not available and since additional income accruing from Social Security benefits would hold a constant relationship to the preretirement income as well as to the computed retirement company benefits, only the com-

pany benefits were used. An interesting sidelight on the matter of postretirement benefits from the company is the number of nonmigrant women who elected to accept the lump-sum payment in lieu of monthly benefits. Of 23 nonmigrants who elected the lump-sum payment, 21 (91 per cent) were women. Some interesting conjectures might be made as to the reasons behind the preponderance of women preferring the lump-sum payment to small monthly payments. In most cases, the election of lump-sum payment resulted in ultimate loss to the person. However, immediate uses for the

Occupational groupings.—The entire group was broken into three occupational categories: (1) sales, (2) sales-supporting, and (3) executive-administrative-supervisory. It might be guessed, because of higher preretirement income and probable higher retirement income, that the executive-administrative-supervisory group would be the one most likely to migrate after retirement. This, however, is not the case. There was no significant difference between the migrant and nonmigrant group in the occupational composition of the groups. However, all persons in the migrant group who fell into the executive-administrative-supervisory category were males. In the nonmigrant group only 2 (11.8 per cent) of the 17 were females in this occupational category.

In cases where jobs were borderline and

might have been classified either as sales-supporting or in the executive-administrative-supervisory group, the *status* of the job in the store was considered as more important to the classification than income alone. Hence certain sales-supporting jobs in which the pay was higher were ranked in

to encourage migration? The first reaction of the writer was that the explanation would be that those who lived in the suburbs would have a higher income than those who lived in the city. But the figures in Table 4 indicate that it is not economic factors which primarily determine the selection of

TABLE 3
LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RETIREMENT
FOR 31 MIGRANTS AND 184 NONMIGRANTS

LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS		CRITICAL RATIO
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Suburbs.....	14	45.2	29	15.8	3.11
City.....	17	54.8	155	84.2	3.11

the middle grouping rather than in the last category. Therefore, except for the sales positions, status in the company was employed as a criterion for classification.

Preretirement residence.—Second only to the retirement benefits in sharpness of distinction between the migrant and nonmigrant groups is the factor of preretirement place of residence. The migrants show a much higher proportion of suburbanites (45.2 per cent) than do nonmigrants (15.8 per cent), as shown in Table 3.

Why does residence in the suburbs seem

preretirement place of residence in the suburbs. It would seem that other factors might be more influential in bringing about this decision to live in the suburbs. For instance: (1) more favorable surroundings for raising a family (e.g., more play space, fewer traffic hazards to children, greater possibility of "private yard," less congested schools, etc.); (2) more pleasant community for adults and less impersonal than city; (3) both of these or a number of other personal reasons. Of importance to this study, however, is the fact that so many of the migrant groups lived in the suburbs prior to retirement and prior to migration.

Why these persons who lived in the relatively more favorable atmosphere of the suburbs chose to migrate is not clear from the data in this study. However, it might be suggested that these persons who sought the most pleasant community for their home within reach of their place of work might, after retirement, seek even "greener fields." Conversely, it seems very unlikely that those who lived in the suburbs before retirement would gravitate to the city after retirement. Further research may supply more concrete and valid reasons than those offered above.

Pay mobility index.—Two items were

TABLE 4
MEDIAN WEEKLY PRERETIREMENT INCOME BY
LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO RE-
TIREMENT FOR 32 MIGRANTS AND 176 NON-
MIGRANTS*

LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS	
	Num- ber	Median Weekly Income	Num- ber	Median Weekly Income
Suburbs.....	14	\$41.50	27	\$50.00
City.....	18	44.50	149	40.00

* The differences between Tables 3 and 4 with regard to numbers of persons in each group are accounted for by information not available on either (1) last place of residence or (2) last pay rate prior to retirement or both.

combined to form an index. These were the number of upward pay changes throughout period of employment by company and number of downward pay changes throughout period of employment. They were first simply recorded as a tabulation of an absolute count. Then each item was converted to an index number in the following manner:

$$\text{Index number} = \frac{\text{number of changes} \times 100}{\text{length of service}}$$

Then a net pay mobility index number for the two items was reached by subtracting the downward pay changes index from the upward pay changes index. These net pay mobility numbers ranged from nine cases with a net index of less than 0 to one case with an index of 79 for the nonmigrant group. The migrant group ranged 0-59.

Pay mobility information, however, was not available for 11 migrants and for 24 nonmigrants. This can be accounted for by the system of notations used by the company. Certain classes of jobs (primarily in the executive-administrative-supervisory category) were treated as confidential in the records. It was impractical for the purposes of this study to request access to these confidential files and information. Also among those whose records did not yield pay mobility information were many who had been transferred from a wholesale activity to the main store and whose records were complete only since the time of transfer in 1943. To have taken this information and translated it into pay mobility data would have been to misrepresent the facts on the cases involved; hence the entire pay history of the transferees was omitted. Although these and the executive-administrative-supervisory group (for which information was unavailable) reduced the total of cases for which data was obtainable to 188, it is believed that the results in significant differences are still of interest. As is shown in Table 5, those with an index of less than 10 closely approach a statistically significant difference favoring nonmigration. A definitely significant difference favoring migration exists

for those whose pay mobility index ranges from 10 to 29 (78.3 versus 43.0 per cent). The inverse is true of those with index numbers of 30 and over (12.9 versus 35.7 per cent).

Job mobility index.—In a similar manner a job mobility index was developed to represent the number of changes in job assignment which the person experienced during his period of employment with the company. Each change from one department to another was regarded as a change of jobs. This included the return to a previous department.

It was assumed at the outset of this study that the frequency with which a person was transferred from one department to another during his employment with the firm might supply an index as to the employee's stability. It was realized that stable and steady employees might have undergone a great many changes but that as a rule the less satisfied workers would be the ones whose employment record would show a greater number of changes. From this assumption it was further reasoned that a person who "shifted from pillar to post" while on the job would be likely to continue this pattern after retirement in an effort to find "just the right place" to spend his waning years.

The study did not support this assumption. It was found that there was no significant difference between any of the groups with regard to the number of changes of job prior to retirement. However, it is the writer's opinion that such a finding does not necessarily eliminate the possible correctness of the assumption. It merely points out the fact that the means of establishing the index were crude and that the results were therefore crude. If, for instance, instead of simply tabulating changes, the net direction of the changes (that is an upward, downward, or horizontal movement pattern) had been worked into the index, something quite different might have emerged. It is hoped that a subsequent study might provide an opportunity to develop a *net change index*.

Postretirement and preretirement changes in residence.—The last factor which dis-

tinguishes the migrant from the nonmigrant group is the number of changes of address since retirement. In order to equalize the two groups and discount the one migrant move, the migrant changes of address have been reduced by 1 to make the two groups comparable. In the case of the migrant group, the number of changes of address included the migration move. Hence

who had had the greatest number of changes of address prior to retirement, there was no significant difference between the migrant and the nonmigrant group in this regard. In fact, the writer found no consistent relationship between changes of address prior to retirement or after retirement with any of the other significant items which might distinguish the two groups in question.

TABLE 5
PAY MOBILITY INDEX FOR 23 MIGRANTS
AND 165 NONMIGRANTS

PAY MOBILITY INDEX	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS		CRITICAL RATIO
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Less than 10.....	2	8.7	35	21.3	1.9
10-29.....	18	78.3	71	43.0	3.2
30 and over.....	3	12.9	59	35.7	2.9

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF CHANGES OF ADDRESS SINCE RETIREMENT (LESS
ONE MOVE FOR MIGRANT GROUP FOR MIGRANT MOVE)
FOR 34 MIGRANTS AND 137 NONMIGRANTS

NUMBER OF CHANGES OF ADDRESS	MIGRANTS		NONMIGRANTS		CRITICAL RATIO
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
0.....	23	67.6	124	66.3	.....
1.....	4	11.8	56	29.9	2.8
2 or more.	7	20.6	7	3.7	2.8

the person whose only move since retirement was his migration move has been counted and compared with the nonmigrant person who had made no change of address since retirement (Table 6).

As might be expected, the migrants since retirement show a more lively pattern of changes of address than the nonmigrant group as a whole. But would those with the highest number of *preretirement* changes of address include a higher proportion of those who migrated after retirement? Although a comparison was made in the hope of finding that those who had the greatest number of changes after retirement were also the ones

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The following factors were found to favor migration:

1. Persons whose weekly preretirement income was \$70.00 or more are more likely to migrate after retirement than those with a lesser income.

2. Persons whose company retirement benefits amounted to \$40.00 or more per month were more likely to migrate than those whose benefits amounted to less.

3. Persons whose last place of residence prior to retirement was in the suburbs are more likely to migrate than are those whose

last place of residence prior to retirement was in the city itself.

4. Persons whose preretirement pay mobility index fell between 10 and 29 were more likely to migrate after retirement than those whose index was less than 10 or more than 29.

5. Omitting the migrant move, the migrant group is more likely to have a significantly higher number of changes of address after retirement than are those who do not migrate.

6. Statistically significant, although *probably quite unimportant*, is the factor of the date of retirement. According to the data in this study, persons who retired before 1947 were more likely to migrate than those who have retired since.

CONCLUSIONS

The most important and quite surprising result of this study is that, of nineteen items of data available in the personnel records, six factors were found to be statistically significant in differentiating between the migrant and nonmigrant groups. Even by

eliminating the obviously unimportant factor of date of retirement, we still have five factors which are statistically supportable and which also may have some importance in themselves.

However, it is well to keep in mind that these findings evolve from data of a relatively limited scope, and care must be taken not to give too high an evaluation to the results. But it is well within the limits of this study to conclude that for certain types of data and for certain limited purposes, the information contained within personnel records will contain migration-related data (1) for sociological research and (2) for clues as to the probable migratory action of persons approaching but not yet at the retirement age.

It would seem, then, that a study of personnel records might yield a framework around which a more detailed study could be developed. It is with this limited range of usefulness in mind that this study has been made and is submitted.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

COMMUNITY ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENCE OF AGED PERSONS: ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA¹

WILLIAM H. HARLAN

ABSTRACT

Immigration of retired persons has contributed approximately one-third of the recent population increase in St. Petersburg. The presence of these persons is clearly reflected in demographic data, in the occupations of the younger population, and in the types of local business and professional activities. A novel institutional complex, which is also to be found in comparable communities, is emerging as an adaptation to the large number of aged persons.

The effect of an increasing proportion of aged persons upon local economy and social institutions has been discussed in terms of broad national trends in politics, employment, and welfare services.² The question of what changes occur in the life of specific communities in adaptation to the presence and increase of a large number of the aged has been relatively neglected. This paper is an attempt to define the nature and extent of such adaptations in a community in which the proportion of the aged has increased strikingly through migration. The situation is an extreme one, scarcely to be duplicated elsewhere in the nation; yet it is advantageous for the present purposes, as the trends are easily discerned and indicate changes which may appear in lesser degree in other communities.

COMMUNITY ADAPTATION

The functional relationships among the individuals and institutions of a community

¹ This paper is based upon a study conducted under a Research Fellowship of the National Institutes of Health, U.S. Public Health Service, 1952-53.

² See, e.g., Lloyd H. Fisher, "The Politics of Age," in *The Aged and Society* (Champaign, Ill.: Industrial Relations Research Association, University of Illinois, 1950), pp. 157-67; Kingsley Davis and J. W. Combs, "The Sociology of an Aging Population," in *Proceedings of the Eastern States Health Conference*, 1949, pp. 146-70; *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XVIII (1940), 189-221 and 345-402.

may be altered as a result of changes in demographic, economic, or social processes. As one segment of a community undergoes change, adaptive or adjustive modifications are to be expected in others. Distinctly social changes are described by the term "social adjustment," which has been defined as "the adaptation to social change by modifications of social norms and standards and sometimes also of the functions, structure, and operations of social institutions."³ The term "community adaptation" as it is to be used here is more inclusive, covering both ecological and social changes. Both terms, however, are intended to center attention upon the collective rather than the individual aspects of adjustment to change.

Among the factors which may initiate changes in communal relationships is the intrusion of a new population group. The consequent adaptations include those relating to the sheer increase in number and those pertaining to the distinctive biological and cultural characteristics of the migrants. For purposes of analysis these are considered as separate processes. In a concrete situation, however, it is difficult to distinguish them. Furthermore, several change-initiating forces may affect a community concurrently, and it is difficult to determine their relative importance.

³ E. W. Burgess, "The Concept of Personal Adjustment," in Ruth S. Cavan *et al.*, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 10.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY

St. Petersburg, Florida, is a relatively new community which has grown rapidly in recent years. Part of the increase is due to births and part to the immigration of both young and old people. In addition, its entire economic and social structure is pervasively affected by a large seasonal influx of tourists.

St. Petersburg had its beginnings with the coming of the railroad in 1888. As early as 1902, with a population of only 1,500, it had been advertised in northern cities as a winter resort. It was then a straggling town of sandy streets, with a few frame business buildings surrounded by modest residences and two or three boarding hotels. Its isolated peninsular location was a serious barrier to growth until after 1920, when bridges and highways made it easily accessible.

In the early period the interests of tourists centered mainly upon the natural facilities for fishing, swimming, and boating; only after 1910 were "spa" and "health resort" activities developed in an effort to attract a larger tourist and permanent population.

The census of 1920 showed a population of 14,237. During the boom years which followed, it seems hardly to have been recognized that persons settling in the community were relatively old. By about 1930, however, both the tourist and resident populations contained large numbers of aged and retired persons. The resident population in 1930 numbered 40,389, of whom 7,416 were Negroes, and 3,008, or 7.5 per cent, were 65 years of age or over.

During the 1930's the community came to be characterized by great fluctuation of population between summer and winter, by high average age of the winter visitors, and by low cost of living as compared with communities of the Florida East Coast. All these attributes have persisted during the last two decades. The seasonal influx is relatively less important than formerly, owing to the growth of resident population and the larger

number of tourists during the summer months.

Within the last decade, especially, large numbers of aged and retired persons have permanently left their home communities in the northeastern and midwestern states and have moved to St. Petersburg with the intention of living there in season and out. In the past many who came to the city during the winter hoped that they might remain permanently by finding employment to supplement other income or conserve their savings. However, the city seemingly has never offered unusual employment opportunities for older people; thus many were forced to return to their communities in the North. But with the development of the Social Security system and the increasing coverage of industrial pension plans, larger numbers of retired persons have been able to settle there without expectation of or need for employment. The regular income, though small, has prompted many persons to leave the communities in which they had resided for thirty or forty years and to move a thousand miles or more to a strange but reputedly congenial environment.

Today the community is thriving as it never did during the speculative boom of the 1920's. New population, new business, and new industry are filling up the fifty-five square miles of sand and palm trees so ambitiously incorporated into the city twenty-five years ago. The stream of immigrants filtering into the houses, stores, schools, churches, and clubs of the city is constantly increasing.

POPULATION 65 YEARS AND OVER

In 1950, 22.2 per cent of the resident population of St. Petersburg was 65 years of age and over. This proportion is approximately two and a half times greater than in either of two other large cities in the state, Tampa and Miami. The actual number of persons of this age level was 21,448 in 1950.

Except for young people and children, there are virtually no native-born residents of St. Petersburg; even the native Floridians

were born in other parts of the state. The Florida State Census of 1945 showed only 174 natives of Florida among 4,125 persons covered of age 65 and over in St. Petersburg. In his survey of the city in 1950, Webber found that, in a sample of 441 retired persons whose average age was 67, only eight had been residents of St. Petersburg at the time of their retirement.⁴

What proportion of the population 65 years and over has recently migrated to the city?⁵ If an annual age-specific mortality rate of 25 per 1,000 persons of ages 55-64 is applied to the 1940 St. Petersburg population of these ages, 7,522, for each of the ten years 1940-50, the expected number of survivors is found to constitute only 40 per cent of the actual number of persons ages 65-74 in 1950. Thus, the actual number in 1950 was two and a half times greater than the expected number.⁶ If these proportions are applied to the entire group 65 and over, 21,448 in 1950, only about 8,580 were expected survivors of the 1940 population 55 and over. Thus, about 12,900 persons in the 1950 population 65 and over represent the net increase through migration during the previous decade. Apparently more than 13 per cent of the total population in 1950 consisted of persons 65 and over who had come during the years 1940-50. This is conservative.⁷

It is known that the immigration of older persons was not uniform throughout the decade. The statements of residents as well

as various indexes indicate that the city grew relatively little during the war years 1941-45.⁸ Additions to the population were largely concentrated in the last four years of the decade; the increase shown in 1950 thus occurred mainly during 1946-49. If the increment of older persons is apportioned one-third to the first six years of the decade and two-thirds to the last four, more than 2,000 persons age 65 and over moved to the city in each of the years 1946-49. If the total population increase in 1940-50 of 35,926 is similarly apportioned, the annual increment of persons of all ages during 1946-49 averaged about 6,000. Therefore, over one-third of the population increase in this period was due to the immigration of persons 65 years of age and over. It is understandable that the 1950 median age of 44.6 years was the highest for any large community in the nation.

The city has grown at a rapid rate since the census of April, 1950. An informed estimate placed the population at 118,551 in April, 1953.⁹ This would represent an increase of 21,813, or 22.4 per cent, over the 1950 population, or an annual increase of about 7,200 persons. If one-third of this increase consisted of persons 65 and over, the annual increment of such persons in 1950-53 was about 2,400.

Webber found that the average number of persons per household among the retired was 1.82.¹⁰ Applying this ratio to the recent migrants, the number of new household units being added to the city annually through the migration of persons 65 and over is about 1,300 at the present time.

⁴ Irving L. Webber, "The Retired Population of St. Petersburg: Its Characteristics and Social Situation" (Florida State Improvement Commission, 1950), p. 26. (Mimeographed.)

⁵ Cf. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁶ Cf. Daniel O. Price, "Estimates of Net Migration in the United States, 1870-1940," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 35-39.

⁷ These calculations do not distinguish between in-state and out-of-state migration or take account of persons who moved to the city during the decade and either died or removed to other communities prior to the 1950 census. Nor do they include persons actually living in the city who reported their place of residence to be in another state, as seems frequently to have been done.

⁸ Chamber of Commerce, *Facts about St. Petersburg, 1952* (pamphlet). Data on postal receipts, water, gas, electric, and telephone installations, bank deposits, and building permits indicate that about one-third or less of the increase occurred in 1940-45 and two-thirds or more in 1946-50.

⁹ *St. Petersburg Times*, March 1, 1953. The estimate was based upon the number of new dwelling-unit building permits issued during the three years (9,915) and the median number of persons per unit in 1950 (2.2). It does not take account of the increase in the number of persons living in trailers.

¹⁰ Webber, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Finally, if the increase in population since 1950 has involved the same proportion of persons over 65 as in the decade 1940-50, and if the same proportion of these has consisted of migrants, then it may be estimated that there were some 26,300 persons 65 and over permanently residing in the city early in 1953 and that approximately 15,900 had come to the city during the decade 1943-53, mainly within the last seven years.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS

The effect of the presence and increase of older persons upon the community is difficult to isolate from the effect of other circumstances operating at the same time. The large number of tourists, estimated at one-half million each year, consisting mainly of persons in the older age levels, may have an effect upon the community which can only with difficulty be distinguished from that of the local aged. It is done, however, with reasonable clarity through the use of appropriate data.

Three types of data are pertinent: the age-sex-marital status-household characteristics of the total population; employment and income; and the structure, functions, and interrelationships of economic and social institutions and their evident adaptation to the top-heavy population structure. The comparative method has been chosen to illustrate the character of the community. Data are presented for St. Petersburg, Tampa, and Miami and for ten Standard Metropolitan Areas in the East Central and Northeast regions of the nation, the latter being averaged to represent a composite "typical" commercial-industrial city of medium size in the northeastern region as a yardstick by which the characteristics of the Florida cities may be measured.¹¹

¹¹ The ten Standard Metropolitan Areas were chosen by the following criteria: they are located in the block of states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River from which the majority of the older migrants to St. Petersburg have come; the central cities of the Areas are intermediate in population between St. Petersburg and Miami, while the total populations of the Areas are approximately

The following paragraphs refer to Table 1.

Population growth.—From 1940 to 1950 the population of St. Petersburg increased at a rate nearly four times greater than that of Tampa or the Metropolitan Areas. Tampa more closely resembles the northeastern industrial cities than it does its Florida neighbors.

Number of households.—There were nearly four-fifths more households in St. Petersburg by 1950, about two-thirds more in Miami, but only one-quarter more in Tampa and the Metropolitan Areas.

Size of households.—The considerably smaller average size of households in St. Petersburg reflects the presence of the older population, among whom the average household consists of less than two persons. The typical household of retired persons consists of husband and wife, but there are many widows and widowers who live alone.

Change of residence.—The data do not distinguish movement within and between cities and thus do not adequately show the amount of migration. However, the Florida communities all show considerably lower proportions of persons living in the same place in 1950 than in 1949.

Percentage of persons 65 and over.—The unique population structure of St. Petersburg is clearly evident. The neighboring communities of Tampa and Miami are both much more similar to the Metropolitan Areas; the proportion of older persons in St. Petersburg is two and a half times greater.

Median age.—That the median age in St. Petersburg should be nine years higher than in Miami and thirteen years higher than in the Metropolitan Areas is probably the simplest indication that the activities and attitudes of St. Petersburg's population

equal to those of the Miami and Tampa-St. Petersburg Metropolitan Areas; their populations ranged from 250,000 to 400,000 in 1940. The ten Areas used in the averages are: Akron, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo, Ohio; Harrisburg, Johnstown, and Scranton, Pennsylvania; Syracuse, New York; Worcester, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut. In 1950 the Tampa-St. Petersburg Area had a population of 409,143; the Miami Area, 495,084.

differ from those of the other communities.

Sex ratio.—In St. Petersburg there were 22.2 per cent more females than males in 1950. The excess is largely a consequence of the younger age of women at marriage and the lesser life-expectancy of males: women who came to the city with their retired husbands remain now as widows. There is obvious and intense competition for husbands among many of them, and the rate of remarriages is very high.

Marital status.—The retired men who move to St. Petersburg are nearly all married; they expect to establish households, which, as will be shown later, creates an expanding market for new dwellings. The percentage of widowed and divorced females is considerably higher than in the other communities; it represents, mainly, women who came to the city with their husbands and outlived them.

St. Petersburg is clearly distinguished from the other communities in these measures of population composition and change. The greatest contrasts are with the northeastern industrial cities.

SOCIOECONOMIC COMPARISONS

The employed in St. Petersburg are primarily young adults and the middle-aged. Webber found less than 5 per cent of his sample, which had an average age of 67, to be employed; he notes that less than 8 per cent of the persons applying for work to the Florida State Employment Service in St. Petersburg were 65 and over.¹² Certain features of the occupational distribution of the "under 65" labor force, again in the form of comparisons between St. Petersburg and other cities, are presented in Table 2.

Labor force.—St. Petersburg has by far the lowest percentage of employed civilian males 14 years of age and over of any of the communities. The difference is mainly attributable to the larger proportion of men 65 and over; Tampa and Miami, with proportions equal to those of the Metropolitan Areas, have about the same proportions of

employed males. The retired, living as they do from savings and pensions, create employment for a large number of younger men.

*Self-employed workers.*¹³—St. Petersburg appears as a city of many small, independently owned and independently operated small-business enterprises. These constitute a major part of the service industries to be discussed below. They depend partly upon the tourists but perhaps equally upon the expansion of resident population. The proportion of self-employed workers is 78 per cent greater in St. Petersburg than in the Metropolitan Areas.

Occupational classes.—Three census categories are grouped together in Table 2 under the heading "Managers, officials, proprietors, clerical, and sales workers," and two categories under "Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers." The larger proportion in the first group indicates the extent of small enterprises in St. Petersburg. Of craftsmen, foremen, and operatives, St. Petersburg and Miami have less than three-fifths as many as the northeastern cities. The fact that the expansion of economic activity has taken a different direction in Florida is partly attributable to the kind of markets created by the tourists and immigrants.

Types of industrial employment.—There are few workers in manufacturing industries in either St. Petersburg or Miami; Tampa has three times as many of them. In contrast, St. Petersburg has more than twice as many construction workers, proportionately, than the Metropolitan Areas, undoubtedly as a consequence of the home-building activity accompanying the growth of population. In trade and service industries, as might be expected, St. Petersburg has distinctly higher proportions of workers than the Metropolitan Areas; the tourist business and the presence of a large retired group create a disproportionate demand for them.

¹³ This category includes, according to census definition, "persons who worked for profit or fees in their own business, profession, or trade."

¹² Webber, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 46.

TABLE 1
AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS, AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS
THREE FLORIDA CITIES AND TEN SELECTED
STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS*

CHARACTERISTICS	FLORIDA CITIES			AVERAGE OF TEN STAND- ARD METRO- POLITAN AREAS
	St. Peters- burg	Tampa	Miami	
Total population, 1940.....	60,812	108,391	172,172	309,914
Total population, 1950.....	96,738	124,681	249,276	358,345
Per cent increase, 1940-50.....	59.1	15.0	44.8	15.6
Per cent increase in number of households, 1940-50..	78.5	27.6	64.5	23.7
Persons per household, 1950.....	2.62	3.14	2.97	3.40
Per cent living in same house in 1950 as in 1949.....	72.8	75.7	68.3	86.1
Per cent 65 years and over, 1950.....	22.2	8.9	8.5	8.6
Per cent increase, 65 and over, 1940-50.....	130.8	55.4	91.8	39.6
Median age, 1950.....	44.6	33.6	35.8	31.3
Males per 100 females, 1950.....	81.3	91.6	94.8	96.8
Per cent males married, 1950.....	75.0	71.2	69.9	67.9
Per cent males widowed or divorced, 1950.....	9.4	8.1	8.5	6.7
Per cent females married, 1950.....	61.1	65.0	65.1	64.2
Per cent females widowed or divorced, 1950.....	24.9	20.2	19.5	13.9

* Sources: Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population, 1950*, "General Characteristics: Florida"; *Preliminary Reports*, Series PC-7, No. 4; *Advance Reports*, Series FC-14, Nos. 1 and 2; Florida State Improvement Commission, *Florida Facts* (Series 1952). Except where otherwise indicated, the data are for the total population.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY AND MEDIAN INCOME
THREE FLORIDA CITIES AND TEN SELECTED STANDARD
METROPOLITAN AREAS*

OCCUPATION, INDUSTRY, AND INCOME†	FLORIDA CITIES			AVERAGE OF TEN STAND- ARD METRO- POLITAN AREAS
	St. Peters- burg	Tampa	Miami	
Males 14 and over in the labor force.....	59.8	77.2	77.9	79.3
Self-employed workers.....	16.2	10.9	12.6	9.1
Managers, officials, proprietors, clerical, sales workers.....	38.6	31.4	36.8	32.8
Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers.....	22.7	34.8	24.8	41.4
Workers by type industry:‡				
Construction.....	11.3	7.7	9.3	5.0
Manufacturing.....	6.0	21.8	8.0	34.0
Wholesale and retail trade.....	28.7	27.3	29.4	19.1
Service industries§.....	35.4	23.0	29.5	20.6
Median income, families and unrelated individuals.....	\$1,943	\$2,007	\$2,348	\$3,037

* Sources: Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population, 1950*, "General Characteristics: Florida"; *Preliminary Reports*, Series PC-7, No. 4; Florida State Improvement Commission, *Florida Facts* (Series 1952). All data are for 1950.

† Occupation and industry data for the employed civilian labor force only; median income data for the entire population.

‡ Workers in transportation, communications, agriculture, etc., omitted.

§ Includes the following: finance, insurance, and real estate; business and repair services; personal services; entertainment and recreation services; professional and related services.

Median income.—The median income in St. Petersburg was less in 1950 than in any other large city, owing partly to the large number of pensioners and other nonemployed persons. Webber found among his sample of retired persons an average monthly income of \$158, or \$1,896 annually, which falls somewhat short of the median for the entire population in St. Petersburg. This does not necessarily mean a relatively low standard of living among the older people, for they have smaller households to support; moreover, many, perhaps most, own their homes outright and thus make no rental or mortgage payments.

It would be unwarranted to consider the special socioeconomic characteristics of St. Petersburg a result solely of the large proportion of aged persons. Yet if an analogy is made between the effect of an aged group numbering nearly one-fourth the total population and the more commonly recognized effect of an ethnic group of similar proportion, it can scarcely be doubted that the present occupational structure of the community involves important and extensive adaptations to the high proportion of aged persons.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS

Adaptations of business and professional activities to the large number of aged are documented in local newspapers and other publications and in personal observation and inquiry.

Industry and business.—The impact of the aged is perhaps most pervasive on industrial and business activities. The most striking examples are in the building industry, real estate transactions, and retail trade.¹⁴

The daily and Sunday newspapers display many pages of advertisements of new houses for sale, "lots," "developments," "income property," etc. While much of this is directed toward buyers of all ages, a considerable part is intended for the retired:

"retirement home—just right for two"; "near bus, shopping center, and good fishing"; "quiet and peaceful—comfort, security, and convenience." In 1950, building permits for the construction of some three thousand dwelling units, exceeded thirty million dollars' valuation. There are more than two hundred and forty building contractors in the city and about three hundred firms dealing in real estate. Allied with the real estate business is the very active market in new and used trailers; there are more than fifty trailer parks in the city, with approximately 4,800 spaces, and the number is increasing rapidly. At model-home demonstrations, trailer shows, and similar events the majority of the visitors are older people.

Retail trade.—The equipping and furnishing of homes in St. Petersburg creates a heavy demand for appliances and furniture and for the related services and facilities. Many immigrants dispose of their old furniture when leaving their home communities, owing to the heavy costs of moving and the common notion that only "Florida style" furnishings are appropriate in the new home.

There are about two hundred eating places of all types in the city. Many of these depend primarily upon winter visitors, but certain large and popular restaurants and cafeterias are patronized heavily by older people the year around. Some have come to be known as "old folks' " restaurants, and a person of less than middle age is rarely seen in them. The prices are generally low in comparison with those in cities in other parts of the country.

Retail food stores gain a trade from older persons roughly in proportion to their numbers in the population. The manager of one supermarket speaks of a certain day each month as "Social Security day" due to the unusually large number of older persons among the customers when the monthly benefit payments are received. The city supports many food specialty stores, particularly those dealing in so-called "health foods" and foods for special diets.

Companies dealing in optical goods, hear-

¹⁴ Cf. Amos H. Hawley, "An Ecological Study of Urban Service Institutions," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 629-39.

ing aids, orthopedic devices, and surgical supplies are very numerous for a community of this size. Pharmaceutical businesses flourish; one firm boasts "the largest and most complete" stock of drugs in the nation.¹⁵

Other prominent types of retail business, such as hobby and sporting goods, used book and magazine stores, derive a large share of their business from retired persons. Unique businesses in the community are those which purchase old jewelry and diamonds from financially embarrassed widows.

Personal services and the professions.—The beauticians and cosmeticians of the city depend heavily upon the tourist trade, but the services advertised are addressed to older women: "hair tinting," "white hair specialists," "personal formula to give your skin a firm look and prevent the tragic signs of old age." Electrologists, physiotherapists, diathermists, masseurs, "figure stylists," and similar persons often work together in "beauty clinics" or with specialists in "colonic irrigation" and direct their appeals largely toward older persons.

Medical, dental, and related personnel are conspicuous. The community supports 14 chiroprodists, 19 chiropractors, 15 optometrists, 33 osteopaths, 28 practitioners, 61 dentists, and 147 physicians and surgeons. There are also proportionately numerous nurses, technicians, laboratory assistants, and dieticians. Among the physicians and surgeons, approximately one-sixth indicate that their practices are primarily devoted to the treatment of conditions associated with aging, including diseases of the heart, skin, and digestive tract.¹⁶ A physician whose office is located in a recently developed residential neighborhood estimated that two-thirds of his patients were over 60 years of age, al-

though he had made no effort to build up a clientele among older persons. Patients requiring prolonged hospitalization for chronic and terminal illnesses create a relative shortage of hospital beds, a major problem for hospital administrators.

A peripheral but related occupation is the selling of hospitalization insurance by door-to-door calls and extensive mail campaigns. A member of one of these firms estimated that there were seventy-five hospitalization insurance salesmen in the community. Older people frequently stated that they had been visited repeatedly by these salesmen and received pamphlet literature from one or another of the companies several times each week.

The ministers of several large churches are undoubtedly chosen or assigned partly because of temperamental and personality traits especially congenial to older persons. One minister devoted an entire sermon to the hazards of purchasing a home in the community without adequate knowledge of the neighborhood, public utilities, fire protection, etc. Another lamented that he had spent so much time making sick calls and conducting funerals during the previous week that he had been unable to prepare a sermon.

CONCLUSION

The adaptation of the community to its distinctive population is a continuous process which is perhaps even more extensive at the present time than heretofore. The differentiation of the institutions and services of the community from those of communities with more normal population structures will in all likelihood become more pronounced within the next decade. The underlying demographic and social forces which have propelled aged migrants toward the community in the past are not likely to diminish in the foreseeable future. The types of adaptations described here, and others of equal significance, are probably in process of development in other communities elsewhere in the nation.

OHIO UNIVERSITY

¹⁵ The city ranked 116th in population in the United States, but 105th in retail drug sales in 1952.

¹⁶ A "medical forum" is held each week in a large auditorium during the winter months. The panel discussions on such topics as arthritis, heart disease, and nervousness, are among the most popular events in the community, attended by hundreds of elderly persons.

THE ORGANIZED SOCIAL LIFE OF THE RETIRED TWO FLORIDA COMMUNITIES¹

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ABSTRACT

In two Florida communities which have a disproportionately large population of older people, an analysis was made of the organizations to which the latter belong. The number of organizations in which individuals are members and their attendance at secular and religious meetings were examined. A large proportion of nonparticipation and a preponderance of religious membership and attendance were found. On the basis of the various criteria, formal participation of one type or another was found to be related to sex, marital status, education, and source of income before retirement.

This paper is an analysis of the organized social life of 474 retired persons in the cities of West Palm Beach and Orlando, Florida, as manifested in membership in organizations, attendance at secular meetings, and at religious services. The two surveys were planned to provide a description of the retired population and not immediately to test specific hypotheses relating to social participation, but the information obtained supplements our meager knowledge of their social life. Formal social participation includes those activities which involve organizations, defined by Chapin as "some active grouping, usually but not necessarily in the community or neighborhood, such as a club, lodge, business or political or professional or religious organization, labor organization, etc."² It is distinguished, of course, from informal social participation, which denotes interaction involving the family, friends, and acquaintances and not channeled through organizations. Decisive in childhood, contacts of the latter category are "fundamental to the development of the social self, and give one the basic training in

solidarity and cooperation."³ Participation in formally organized groups, on the other hand, assumes importance as childhood is left behind, especially in the city, although, according to Dotson, the role of informal social participation has been consistently underestimated by students of the city.⁴ There is a widely held belief, moreover, that individuals must be accepted into and interact with the social groups in the community if they are to have a normal, satisfying life.⁵ By implication, those who do not belong to such groups feel rejected and hence are not well adjusted socially.

From his study of persons aged 65 and over living in a California community of retired people McKain corroborated the common-sense observation that social participation declines with advancing age. About one-half of those past 65 reported that they gave less time to organizations than they did when they were 50 years of age, and only 1 per cent said that their social activities had increased.⁶ We may expect this to be even truer of older people who migrate to an unfamiliar community on retirement.

¹ This paper is based on the data of two studies of retired people conducted as part of the retirement research program of the Florida State Improvement Commission. Acknowledgment is due Dr. T. Lynn Smith, who assisted with the research design, and Mr. Glenn Fuguitt and Mr. Joseph Sardo, who undertook the interviewing in West Palm Beach and Orlando, respectively.

² F. Stuart Chapin, *Social Participation Scale*, 1937 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938).

³ Kimball Young, *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture* (New York: American Book Co., 1942), p. 23.

⁴ Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (October, 1951), 687-93.

⁵ Cf. Walter C. McKain, Jr., "The Social Participation of Old People in a California Retirement Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1947), pp. 26-27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

PROCEDURE

The data on which this paper is based were gathered during June, July, and August, 1951, in field surveys of Orlando and West Palm Beach. The two surveys were intended to furnish general information about retired people which, in conjunction with knowledge gained in an earlier survey of St. Petersburg, would aid in the shaping of further specific research proposals.⁷ Orlando and West Palm Beach were selected for study for geographic reasons, because of certain socioeconomic characteristics of the communities, and because they contain disproportionate numbers of older people.

Both cities may be called communities of the retired. In 1950, 13.5 per cent of the white population of Orlando and 11.8 per cent of that of West Palm Beach were aged 65 or over, as compared with 8.4 per cent of the white population of the United States and 9.4 per cent of that of Florida. Furthermore, the aged population of the two communities has been increasing at a much more rapid rate than the total population. In Orlando the gain for the entire white segment during the decade ending in 1950 was 48.4 per cent, compared with 90.4 per cent for those in the 65-and-over category; in West Palm Beach the comparable percentages were 35.8 and 74.4.

The term "retired persons" was broadly defined to include those who had left their regular lifetime occupations, including older persons who were working irregularly or part time; persons who had never worked or who were living on inherited wealth or savings; wives of the foregoing, unless they were working full time; widows of retired

men; and other widows, aged 55 or over, who did not work or who worked part-time only. Nonwhites were not included. The samples were probably affected in some degree by the fact that the field work was performed during the summer months, when some retired persons, particularly those with good incomes, leave to avoid the warmest weather.

An area sampling design, with city blocks as the units, was employed. In each case the first block was selected through the use of a random number, the remaining blocks being designated by the addition to the first number of the quotient obtained by dividing the total number of blocks in the city (after the elimination of blocks containing dwellings of Negroes and the main downtown business district) by the number of blocks intended for the sample. In Orlando 8 per cent and in West Palm Beach 9 per cent of the blocks within the city limits were included. Each retired person in every house in the sample blocks was interviewed by a graduate student in sociology, utilizing a fairly detailed schedule (Table 1).

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

More than half of the 101 organizations reported in the two cities were churches or church-related groups. In Orlando less than 40 per cent, and in West Palm Beach only 23 per cent, belonged to associations which are not church-connected.

In the Orlando sample about half of the local memberships were in churches, with an additional 10 per cent in church-affiliated associations such as Bible classes, men's clubs, Sunday schools, ladies' aids, guilds, and missionary societies. Members of fraternal associations such as Odd Fellows, Eastern Star, Masons, Woodmen of the World, and Elks were the next largest group, constituting about 17 per cent. Recreational and social organizations, including the Needlecraft Club, card clubs, bridge clubs, winter-visitor clubs, shuffleboard clubs, Colonial Women's Club, Grandmother Club, and bowling clubs, made up about 8 per cent of the memberships. Some, particularly

⁷ The St. Petersburg findings are summarized in Irving L. Webber, "The Retired Population of a Florida Community," in T. Lynn Smith (ed.), *Problems of America's Aging Population* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951), pp. 87-101. The 1951 surveys were reported in Glenn Fuguitt, "The Retired People of West Palm Beach" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1952), and Joseph Sardo, "A Sociological Study of the Retired People of the City of Orlando, Florida" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1953).

shuffleboard, lawn bowling, and winter-visitor clubs, have come into existence and function primarily for older people, including the considerable group of aged "tourists" who spend more than two months of the year in Florida. Military and veterans' organizations, among which the American Legion, United Spanish War Veterans, Reserve Officers Association, and Veterans of Foreign Wars were prominent, accounted

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIPS

In the combined Orlando and West Palm Beach samples, as is evident from Table 2, three-sevenths reported that they belonged to no organization whatsoever. In Orlando the nonparticipating group amounted to somewhat over one-third, but in West Palm Beach it was more than one-half. Furthermore, more retired people in the two

TABLE 1
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES OF RETIRED PEOPLE, BY AGE GROUPS
ORLANDO AND WEST PALM BEACH, 1951

AGE GROUPS	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Orlando.....	272	100.0	118	100.0	154	100.0
Under 60.....	50	18.5	14	11.9	36	23.4
60-69.....	108	39.7	51	43.2	57	37.0
70-79.....	76	27.9	34	28.8	42	27.3
80 and over.....	33	12.1	18	15.2	15	9.7
Not reported.....	5	1.8	1	0.9	4	2.6
West Palm Beach...	202	100.0	34	100.0	118	100.0
Under 60.....	39	19.3	17	20.2	22	18.6
60-69.....	67	33.1	23	27.4	44	37.3
70-79.....	68	33.7	28	33.3	40	33.9
80 and over.....	25	12.4	15	17.9	10	8.5
Not reported.....	3	1.5	1	1.2	2	1.7

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS PER PERSON, ORLANDO AND WEST PALM BEACH, 1951

Memberships per Person	Number	Per Cent
Orlando.....	272	100.0
0.....	97	35.6
1.....	106	39.0
2-4.....	65	23.9
5 or more.....	4	1.5
West Palm Beach.....	202	100.0
0.....	108	53.4
1.....	47	23.3
2-4.....	46	22.8
5 or more.....	1	0.5

for about 7 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the organizations were classified as music, art, and theater, and a comparable proportion were service groups. The findings in West Palm Beach were similar.

samples, considered together, belonged to only one organization than belonged to two or more. In both communities very few—less than 2 per cent—were members of five or more organizations.

In both communities relatively more women than men did not belong to any organization. The women who reported membership were also more likely to belong to only one organization, which was often a church. Finally, a smaller proportion of the women in the Orlando sample were members of two or more organizations, while in West Palm Beach the reverse was true.

The data show no consistent relationship between age and number of memberships per person. When the two samples are combined, the 264 persons under 70 years of age reported a higher share of nonmembership and a lower share of membership in two or

more organizations than the 202 people aged 70 and over. The proportion with one membership per person was the same for both age groups. In the Orlando sample the older age group (70 years and over) was associated with slightly greater nonmembership and slightly lower incidence of membership in two or more organizations. The opposite relationship prevailed in West Palm Beach, where those under 70 reported considerably higher nonmembership, as well as somewhat lower proportions in one organization and in two or more organizations. In both samples women under 70 years of age rated lower as to membership than those who were older. On the other hand, younger men rated higher as to membership in Orlando but lower in West Palm Beach.

Married persons were compared with those in all other categories of civil status—married but separated, widowed, and single—combined. There is slight but consistent evidence of higher rates of membership on the part of the nonmarried, particularly as to membership in two or more organizations.

A higher proportion of the retired with less than nine years of formal education reported that they belonged to no organizations, and a markedly lower share belong to two or more organizations, in comparison with those with nine or more years of schooling. However, the evidence showed somewhat less affiliation on the part of persons with more than twelve years of education in comparison with those who had remained in school from nine to twelve years.

Respondents were asked to indicate the principal source of their income before retirement on a five-point scale: inherited wealth, earned wealth, profits and fees, salary, and wages.⁸ Because of the relatively limited numbers of responses (177 in Orlando and 139 in West Palm Beach), inherited wealth, earned wealth, and profits and fees were combined for the analysis, the comparison thus being on the basis of (1)

wealth, profits, and fees; (2) salary; and (3) wages. In the combined samples there is a direct relationship between the former source of income and extent of membership in organizations; for example, 35.9 per cent of those who formerly obtained their income from inherited or earned wealth or profits and fees, 24.6 per cent of those who had received salaries, and 19.6 per cent of those who had earned wages belonged to two or more organizations. The same association was found in the individual communities except for one inconsistency in the case of West Palm Beach, where nonmembership was higher among former salaried than among former wage-earning persons.

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS

Membership in social organizations may be misleading because members may remain affiliated even though they seldom or never attend meetings. Further, older people probably tend to retain membership in organizations in which they were actively interested in earlier years but which no longer interest them. The facts of attendance correct or corroborate impressions gained from reports of membership. The following findings do not include church attendance, which is dealt with separately.

Replies to the question, "How many club or organization meetings do you usually attend each month?" revealed that nearly half of the sample of the retired in Orlando and nearly two-thirds of those in West Palm Beach attended none. Of the others, the largest proportion in both communities reported from five to nine meetings per month, while less than 5 per cent go to ten or more (Table 3).

Approximately the same proportions of men and women in both communities reported that they never attended meetings. In general, however, women as a group attended a greater number of meetings per month. Uniformly more women than men reported ten or more meetings per month. The modal category for both men and women was five to nine meetings.

In Orlando a smaller proportion of per-

⁸ This is a modification of Warner's seven-point scale. See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Wells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), pp. 138-42.

sons under 70 years of age went to no meetings, and a higher proportion went to three or more per month. In West Palm Beach, however, nonattendance was more common among those under 70 than among those over that age; in addition, about the same proportions in both age groups attended three or more meetings per month, and a slightly larger share of the older group went to five to nine meetings.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF MEETINGS ATTENDED MONTHLY
ORLANDO AND WEST PALM BEACH, 1951

Number of Meetings	Number	Per Cent
Orlando.....	272	100.0
0.....	126	46.3
1-2.....	30	11.0
3-4.....	19	7.0
5-9.....	87	32.0
10 or more.....	10	3.7
West Palm Beach.....	202	100.0
0.....	127	62.9
1-2.....	16	7.9
3-4.....	10	4.9
5-9.....	40	19.8
10 or more.....	9	4.5

Married persons living with spouse attended meetings to a greater extent than married-but-separated, widowed, and single persons. The married contributed a smaller share of nonattendance, and a larger share reported attendance at three or four meetings as well as at three or more meetings.

Persons who had completed less than nine years of schooling exhibited a higher proportion attending no meetings and a lower proportion attending three or more meetings per month than those with more formal schooling. As in the case of number of memberships, those who had from nine to twelve years of education were more active than those who had completed more than twelve years in school, although in general the participation of the best-educated group was markedly above that of the group with least education.

For the two communities considered to-

gether, a higher degree of participation was associated with inherited wealth, earned wealth, and profits and fees than with salary and wages. In West Palm Beach the relationship was direct and consistent in the case of those who went to no meetings, those who went to three or more organization meetings per month, and those who attended five or more meetings. In Orlando, however, the association was not consistent.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Responses to the question, "How often do you attend regular religious services?" were recorded in the following categories: never, less than once a month, once or twice a month, once a week, twice a week, oftener.⁹ It was discovered that religious services are attended much more frequently than meetings of secular organizations (Table 4).

TABLE 4

ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES, ORLANDO AND WEST PALM BEACH, 1951

Frequency of Attendance	Number	Per Cent
Orlando.....	272	100.0
Never.....	66	24.3
Less than once a month.....	30	11.0
Once or twice a month.....	40	14.7
Once a week.....	114	41.9
Twice a week or oftener.....	19	7.0
Not reported.....	3	1.1
West Palm Beach.....	202	100.0
Never.....	54	26.7
Less than once a month.....	43	21.3
Once or twice a month.....	29	14.4
Once a week.....	57	28.2
Twice a week or oftener.....	17	8.4
Not reported.....	2	1.0

About one-fourth of the subjects never attended religious services. In the combined samples more than one-third reported weekly attendance, and about 8 per cent

⁹ See the activities and attitudes questionnaire prepared by Ernest W. Burgess, Ruth S. Cavan, and Robert J. Havighurst, reproduced in Ruth S. Cavan, Ernest W. Burgess, Robert J. Havighurst, and Herbert Goldhamer, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 155.

made a practice of attending twice a week or oftener. Of those who attended church services, the modal group participated once a week. Although approximately the same proportion of those studied never went to church in the two communities, those in the Orlando sample were more regular than those in West Palm Beach.

Men reported considerably less church attendance than women. A larger share of men never attended religious services, and a smaller share went to church once a week. Moreover, among those attending church a much larger proportion of the women went more often than once a week.

Church attendance declines as age increases: of persons over 70 years of age the proportion never attending church services was higher and the proportions attending less than once a week as well as once a week were lower than for those under 70 years.

Among married persons living with husband or wife there was a lower proportion of nonattendance at church services, and a decidedly higher proportion went to services once a week than of the nonmarried.

It is notable that those in the Orlando sample were considerably more active in formal activities than those in West Palm Beach. This held true for number of memberships in organizations, number of meetings attended, and frequency of church attendance, although the share of nonparticipants in church services in the two communities did not differ greatly. These findings probably reflect, more than anything else, the fact that West Palm Beach does not function as a retirement center to the same degree as does Orlando: the former has a smaller proportion of people in the older ages, and its total and older population are increasing at a slower rate than Orlando's.

Relatively little on the organized social life of older people has appeared in the literature. In an early study Landis explored the role of informal and formal participation in the adjustment of older rural people in Iowa, contrasting persons receiving old age

assistance with the nondependents.¹⁰ Cavan and her associates have presented some data on their study group of persons 60 years of age and over which were collected through the use of the Adult Activities Schedule and Attitude Inventory.¹¹ Mayo employed Chapin's social participation scale in his study of social participation in the rural areas of a North Carolina county.¹² The most comprehensive research is that of McKain, who investigated the participation of a sample of aged persons in a California community.¹³ McKain and Baldwin also obtained a limited amount of data on formal activities in their survey of older persons in a Connecticut retirement town.¹⁴ None of these studies dealt with a retired population as such, and only the California study involved a large proportion of persons who had migrated for retirement purposes.

A detailed comparison of the findings of Landis, Cavan *et al.*, Mayo, McKain, and McKain and Baldwin with the Orlando and West Palm Beach results would certainly expose inconsistencies. The organized social life of older people can best be understood in terms of the community background, the organized social behavior of the total population, and the changing types, extent, and intensity of activities of the older subjects themselves with the passing years. But informal participation may well be as important as, or more important than, organized social life, especially for that considerable portion of the retired that gives evidence of little or no activity of the formal type.

¹⁰ Judson T. Landis, "Attitudes and Adjustments of Aged Rural People in Iowa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1940).

¹¹ Cavan *et al.*, *op. cit.*

¹² Selz C. Mayo, "Social Participation among the Older Population in Rural Areas of Wake County, North Carolina," *Social Forces*, XXX (October, 1951), 53-59.

¹³ *Op. cit.*

¹⁴ Walter C. McKain, Jr., and Elmer D. Baldwin, *Old Age and Retirement in Rural Connecticut. I. East Haddam: A Summer Resort Community* (Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 278 [Storrs, Conn., June, 1951]).

MOOSEHAVEN: CONGREGATE LIVING IN A COMMUNITY OF THE RETIRED

ROBERT W. KLEEMEIER

ABSTRACT

Moosehaven, a fraternal home for elderly people, has 350 residents, predominately male, of an average age of over seventy-six years. Economically dependent, most have come because of inability to maintain themselves in their home communities. In the thirty years of the community's existence a fairly stable pattern of living has evolved. Domiciliary units are relatively small and scattered over a 68-acre campus. Complete care of residents, including medical needs, is undertaken. Married couples live together, and a substantial number of marriages have taken place between residents.

Moosehaven is a community of old people, operated and subsidized by a fraternity of approximately one million members. Here reside some 350 elderly members of the Loyal Order of Moose, their wives, and their widows. More than half a million people over sixty-five live in what the Bureau of the Census classifies as quasi-households, which include such institutions as Moosehaven; and more and more older people will undoubtedly be absorbed into quasi-households as time goes on. Moosehaven, though not necessarily representative or typical, is interesting and important because it is there and it works. Although a home for people of advanced years, the term "old folks' home" does not quite describe Moosehaven.

Moosehaven's rambling white buildings, located on 68 acres of live oak and pine land fronting on the St. Johns River on the outskirts of Jacksonville, Florida, nestle close to the ground under great shading oaks and look deceptively small. There are seven major residence halls, each equipped as an independent unit, with its own kitchen and dining-room. In addition, there are a large health center, a community building with an auditorium, and numerous auxiliary buildings, some of which have quarters for residents. In the largest of the halls live fifty-eight people, and the health center normally has about seventy-five in its wards and its rooms. About a mile from Moosehaven, on

the community dairy farm, which provides all the milk used in the community, about ten more residents live and work.

Eligibility for admission to Moosehaven is contingent upon membership in the fraternity. Some were active members; others did no more than pay dues, but this much they did do. Married men bring their wives, who may or may not be members of the women's branch of the order. Widows of members are also admitted. However, men outnumber women about four to one. Nearly 30 per cent of the population consists of married couples. There are no admission fees of any sort, but the fraternity is made the beneficiary of any assets the applicant may possess. Who are the people of Moosehaven and whence do they come?

Jeannette Roberts in her sixty-five years had never left the city limits of Chicago except for several brief visits to a suburban town. Bill Service spent his life in the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia. Although proud of his fourteen trips to Florida, he could hardly be called a traveling man. For Fred Storm of Pittsburgh a 50-mile radius would probably encompass his eighty years of travel.

Moosehaven's 350 residents were admitted from more than thirty different states and two hundred fifty different localities. As of January 1, 1953, 97 of the 262 men and 81 of the women in Moosehaven's population were born in twenty-two foreign countries, England, Germany, and Sweden

predominating. Perhaps a fifth of them were not naturalized, although they had lived for over fifty years in this country.

Yet Moosehaven is not a melting pot. Although their speech may still be strongly accented, most Moosehaven people, regardless of nationality, have in common too much to make them strangers. Their homogeneity is reflected in occupational histories. By far the great majority come from the ranks of labor, ranging from the transient unskilled laborer to the highly trained artisan. There are painters, carpenters, machinists, farmers, seamen. A few were salesmen and clerical workers; still fewer were professional people.

Dr. Kolb, first a telephone lineman, studied dentistry and practiced for many years in a suburb of St. Louis. At Moosehaven he continues his practice in a limited way. Eighty-six-year-old Everett Green was an optometrist for over half a century. Theodore Warrick bought and dredged shells for buttons in most of the fresh waters in the Mississippi Basin; Jesper Nielsen for over forty years saw that those shells were made into buttons in Burlington's factories; Louise Schweitzer sewed them on garments in a Philadelphia clothing factory; and, in Chicago, Marie Graves stitched buttonholes for Marshall Field's.

Like other Americans of their age, Moosehaven people average between six and eight years of schooling; few are high-school, and none are college, graduates.

More men are bachelors than would be expected in a representative group of similar age composition. Thus, of 64 consecutive male admissions from October, 1951, to January 1, 1953, 32 per cent had never been married, 12.5 per cent were divorced or separated, 12.5 per cent were married, and the remaining 43 per cent were widowers.

The average age for Moosehaven residents is above seventy-six years, the men being about seventy-seven and the women almost seventy-four. Most of the residents are Protestant, although almost a quarter are Roman Catholic. The number of Jews never quite reaches 2 per cent, and all members are of the "white" race.

Moosehaven's entrance qualifications are reasonable. They are subject to interpretation, but in practice Moosehaven is for those who are financially unable to go ahead without assistance. Most have nothing or, at best, only a relatively small amount. Many receive social security benefits or a small pension. A few have a capital of several thousand dollars which they, like the rest, turn over to the fraternity, to be held in trust should they decide to leave.

Why do they come?

Born one of sixteen children in a Chicago flat, Jeannette Roberts was the daughter of a bricklayer and a charwoman, at work in the factory at the age of ten because she wanted to help out. Sore hands ended that job for Jeannette at age twelve, but there were other jobs, some good, some bad. In her twenties she married Jim, a fine, strong young man, who did not want his wife to work. She left her mother's flat and established one with Jim. For thirty-four years she lived here, queen and workhorse, always wanting children but never having any. Jim made a good living, working for the city, but after thirty years he was laid low with a stroke and paralysis and could not move from bed. Jeannette cared for him, lifted him, fed him, and bathed him until the end. Then came sad and lonely days for Jeannette, but she stayed on, still in her own flat. But she had only \$40.00 a month to live on. Her sister, the only one left out of the sixteen children, said she would gladly take Jeannette, especially if Jeannette would turn over all of her money and help keep house. It did not work. Jeannette paid \$10.00 a month for her room, but did not eat with the family. She was up and out of her sister's way by seven in the morning and never back until after her sister and brother-in-law were asleep at night. She did not read because she would be accused of wasting electricity. On the \$30.00 she had left, Jeannette ate hamburgers, chile, hot dogs, coffee, rolls—rarely, if ever, a balanced meal. Moosehaven was a relief to Jeannette. A job in the kitchen, a room of her own, and some compatible friends were exactly what she needed. But she did not find happiness immediately, for Jeannette had always had trouble with her fellow-workers, and it was no different at Moosehaven. Several nights she cried herself to sleep because of some real or fancied unkindness.

Hal Gerton was an undertaker. Having no children, his wife in her younger days helped him with his work. "He is a very good carotid man," said Mrs. Gerton. "All the younger men used to call him in accident cases. Hal was so dependable." Indeed, Hal was and is. Small, neat, intelligent, quick-thinking, modest in dress, he is the perfect funeral director. The Gertons were not destitute. They had a nice apartment but no children or close relatives. A highly nervous woman, Mrs. Gerton several years ago suffered a slight stroke, but there are no noticeable aftereffects. Their nestegg was small, considering the cost of illness, and they decided that, while still in good health, they would dispose of their effects and come to Moosehaven. They have been happy in the decision. Hal has a responsible job running the mimeograph (he learned at the age of seventy-two) and is an official Moosehaven guide. Mrs. Gerton, after trying several other jobs, has work in the dining-room which she enjoys.

Many of Moosehaven's people come because they are forced to come. Whether they like it or not, it is the only road for them. Others see in Moosehaven a positive way of living that offers them security and protection in age that can be obtained in no other way.

The Kittridges, though able to live with their son, the president of a flourishing chemical company, chose Moosehaven. In joining the fraternity, they had made conscious preparation for their old age. The \$480.00 in dues, which Mr. Kittridge had paid in past years, purchased this home for them. This was not charity, but independence—at least from their children.

There is plenty of work and a choice of more than fifty different jobs at Moosehaven. All who can work do. Those who cannot are called "Sunshiners" or are spoken of as being "on sunshine." Workers receive allowances roughly commensurate with the kind of work they do, but these are not considered wages. More than two hundred residents hold jobs. Most are kitchen and dining-room workers, but others are carpenters, painters, cabinetmakers, electricians, barbers, clerks, and so on. There is a conscientious effort to use the highest skills of each. Because of various kinds of dis-

abilities, different likes and dislikes, and work needs, it is no easy task to place each worker and to depend upon him completely for a job.

Fred Rickert was an all-around mechanic. Coming to Moosehaven at the age of sixty-six with his wife, he was considered a young man in the community where over thirty men were old enough to be his father. An alert, pleasant, co-operative person, he said he could drive anything up to and including a locomotive. Fred made an excellent station-wagon driver.

Cathryn Hegberg had made a remarkable recovery from two strokes, and her heart condition would permit little physical exertion. Her clerical experience of over thirty years ago and her pleasing personality fitted her admirably for the job of clerk-receptionist in the research laboratory. She spends three hours a day at her job, occasionally more.

Mark Jacobs, ex-Bowery bouncer and Boer War veteran, does a fine job in the kitchen and dining-room.

Henry O. Harrold and Henry Maling, both farm workers for most of their lives, continue farmwork at the dairy.

Cabinetmaker Al Bame, at eighty-four, turns out beautiful furniture, but the eighty-three-year-old cabinetmaker, Ed Kilburn, manages the tobacco counter at the recreation center. Both are content.

Former iron molder, Albert Milnes, in his eighty-sixth year, is an important and dependable member of a kitchen crew.

Most are happy with their work, and almost none would be without it.¹ Of the inevitable problems, most arise in personal relations, either between workers or between worker and supervisor.

In a moment of anger, Elizabeth Bunce reported to the superintendent that she doubted Elmer Miles's sanity. Elmer wiped dishes, and had been doing it in the same kitchen for over four years. He asked no special consideration for his eighty-three years, but he liked to do his work in his own way, particularly when he knew how to do it perfectly. So, when Elizabeth put plates in an area of the drainboard to which Elmer had prior claim, the incident threatened

¹ Robert W. Kleemeier, "The Effects of a Work Program on Adjustment Attitudes in an Aged Population," *Journal of Gerontology*, VI (October, 1951), 373-79.

to disrupt the whole kitchen and dining-room corps, and all levels of management were brought into the dispute before it was ended.

Some residents learn new skills, and many take over new jobs: embalmer Hal Gerton learned mimeographing; Swedish-born storekeeper, John Larsen, has been for five years a highly valued hospital attendant.

Some are misplaced on jobs. Hal Miller, carpenter and Salvation Army worker, did a good job in the kitchen but was desperately unhappy until he secured carpentry work.

Satisfaction with life in a community of aged people is primarily dependent upon the way in which food needs are supplied. Crusty Paul Finnegan says, "What else have we got left in life at our age but our bellies?"

Henry Maling was pleased with Moosehaven's food. He had been boarding on a Michigan farm but preferred the Moosehaven menu. "Here we got more vegetables and they don't fry so much. I like the meals fine," he says.

It wasn't as easy to satisfy Gregory Hilton and his wife. As Gregory said, "We always had a freezer full of stuff, and my wife, Minnie, is the best cook in the world." Gregory didn't like the meals. He and Minnie left after three months, to live again with the children.

In an average month Moosehaven serves 34,000 meals in its eight different dining halls. With the exception of the health center, each follows the common menu. The director of food services, a trained dietitian, pays constant attention to resident comments and complaints, but adjusts the services of her department necessarily to the tastes of the majority. An effort is made to satisfy individual tastes, and, of course, special diets are prepared for hospital patients.

To a tremendous extent, the problem of age is a problem of health. If it were not so, perhaps there would be no problem of age. All Moosehaveners are concerned with their health. A few give up and die; others, overwhelmed by their physical condition, wonder why they do not die. Some are hostile to the health service and prefer to consult the corner druggist or to prescribe their own

patent medicines, but others are enthusiastic supporters of the medical service of the physician or of certain of the nurses. In a recent week 74, or more than 20 per cent of Moosehaven's population, were living at the health center, in its wards and in its rooms. The majority were not bed patients but for some reason needed hospital services. Perhaps they were no longer able to care for their rooms or themselves properly, or palsy made it necessary for them to be served meals in their rooms. When husband or wife needs fairly extensive medical care, the couple may live together in the health center, the well spouse assisting in the care of the less able.

During this same week, about a third of Moosehaven's residents visited the drug-room for some kind of medication. More than 70 intramuscular and intravenous injections were given to various residents, and more than 40 were treated by the resident physician in clinic hours. In addition, about 10 residents consulted the visiting optometrist, and an equal number received some treatment from the chiropodist. A good proportion of the 35 users of hearing aids came for batteries or for help with the multiple problems connected with hearing aids.

There is mental illness at Moosehaven, but in this protected setting it is more difficult to distinguish and easier to handle than in the home community. Medical care is provided, and the hospital is readily accessible. Medical resources are strained, and constant improvement is sought; but Moosehaven takes no rosy view of the health of its residents.

As there is sickness in Moosehaven, so there is death. It comes often as an old friend. There is a comfortable matter-of-factness about the way Moosehaven people face death. There is no false sense of value which denies the inevitability of death. Nor is there a morbid preoccupation with it. Funerals are frequent. During the last four years there were 157 deaths which yield an average annual rate of 11.69 per cent. Seventy-two is the average age at entrance, and

the average age at death is almost eighty. Some have lived a quarter of a century at Moosehaven. Others have not survived their first year.

Moosehaven is filled to near-capacity. One-third of the men and 40 per cent of the women live in single rooms. Thus, most Moosehaven men have roommates. Since local tradition has it that it is utterly impossible for two women to share the same room, every single woman has a room to herself. The fifty married couples present no special problem; at least they were wholly responsible for the selection of their roommates. Residents share common bathrooms. Only one building has a lavatory for each room. There are, of course, central lobbies for each building. Selection of compatible roommates is difficult. Most are satisfied with the roommates they now have, but the great majority would prefer a room to themselves. Some Moosehaveners seek a compatible roommate—and then marry him. Fourteen of the fifty resident couples have been married here. Several have been married twice at Moosehaven, and one who came a bachelor has wed three times. Almost without exception, the marriages are happy.

Moosehaven has most of the social resources of the ordinary community. There is the recreation center, where a man or a woman can get a glass of beer or play a game of cards or pool. The library is well stocked. There is the pier for fishing in the river. And, there is indoor as well as outdoor shuffleboard. A lodge for men, and a chapter for women provide meetings and organized activities. The Women's Sewing Circle finances outings and picnics with the money

it makes from the hobby shop. Some residents have well-developed and profitable hobbies.

Moosehaven also sponsors activities: tournaments ranging from canasta to horse-shoe pitching, barn dances, movies, minstrel shows, and other types of entertainment. Since the advent of television, these shows have decreased in number.

Another set of activities concerns the democratic governing of Moosehaven; the elected house committees deal with certain types of problems within the houses. Quarterly town-hall meetings serve as safety valves for the expression of group opinions about administrative matters.

The "Booster," Moosehaven's newspaper, has its reporters, who gather news, and its mimeographers and assemblers, who produce the paper. The "Booster" crams as many names as possible per line of print into its narrow confines. In the 18 single-spaced pages of a recent issue, 193 different individuals were mentioned. Moosehaveners like to send the "Booster" to the folks back home, for it says more about what they are doing than they could ever write.

Living arrangements, such as those offered at Moosehaven, have an appeal to the aged person far greater than those of lesser years suspect. Economic security is assured, agreeable social outlets are provided, and barriers against the inevitable inroads of physical debility are erected. Here is a pattern which will become increasingly more important and which may provide a solution for the problems of aging for a large segment of the ever increasing number of aged.

MOOSEHAVEN RESEARCH LABORATORY

SOCIAL RELATIONS, ACTIVITIES, AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

ERNEST W. BURGESS

ABSTRACT

The sixty-four residents of two dwelling halls in Moosehaven, a community of retired members of a fraternal order, were classified as isolates by bilateral exclusion, isolates by unilateral exclusion, intimates with one person, intimates with two or more persons, and leaders. Participation in recreational activities was largest in those defined as solitary, followed in order by those classified as group, spectator, and audience. Leaders had the highest score on recreational activities and in personal adjustment, and isolates by bilateral exclusion the lowest. Men with the highest happiness scores take part nine times as much in group recreation as do those with the lowest.

An exploratory study of the social relations, recreational activities, and personal adjustment of sixty-four Moosehaven residents was undertaken by the writer during the month of March, 1953.

Dr. Robert W. Kleemeier has presented a graphic description of the institution and a picture of its representative citizens. It is desirable, therefore, to mention only certain distinctive characteristics which impressed the writer and which were derived from interviewing residents:

1. A strong sense of identification of the residents with the Loyal Order of Moose which, among other ways, is manifested by pride in Moosehaven, by letters and visits to and from members of the Moose of their home communities, and by the existence of Opportunity Lodge and its woman's auxiliary within the institution.

2. General satisfaction with the administration of Moosehaven and widespread appreciation of its standard of living, its program of activities, and the services available to residents.

3. A maintenance-work program which employs all able-bodied men and women of the community for an average of three hours a day.

4. Recreational facilities and activities, including an assembly hall, a recreation building, a hobby sale shop, television in every hall, radios in most rooms, a shuffleboard court, tournaments, etc.

The study was undertaken with the authorization of the Moosehaven board of

governors of the Loyal Order of Moose and with the sponsorship, interest, and co-operation of Superintendent Wesley J. Leinweber; of the late Martin L. Reymert, director of research; and of Robert W. Kleemeier, director of the Moosehaven Research Laboratory. Its aim was to explore the possibility and promise of analyzing the social relations of the residents and their recreational and work activities in relation to their personal adjustment. It was decided after conferring with Mr. Leinweber and Dr. Kleemeier to interview as many residents as feasible in two of the residence halls. The two halls selected were A, which housed thirty men and women, and B, in which only men resided. The number of men assigned to B Hall at this time was thirty-eight. Of this number, two were in the hospital and one worked at the farm three miles away. These were not included in the study. One other resident decided not to be interviewed. The number interviewed was thirty in A Hall and thirty-four in B Hall.

METHOD OF STUDY

The data to be presented were secured from several sources. The records of the Research Laboratory yielded information on date of birth, year of arrival at Moosehaven, attitude scores on feelings of usefulness, happiness, number of mentions in five issues of the "Moosehaven Booster" (the mimeographed journal published by and for the residents), and much other data that are not included in this report.

The house supervisors (two capable women staff members) furnished information on maintenance-work assignments, seating arrangements at meals, choice of members of the house committee, etc.

The residents of the two halls were almost all interviewed in their rooms. The exceptions in place of interviews were one in the hall lounge, one on the hall porch, and one on a bench on the grounds. Twelve persons were interviewed in the presence of roommates. This procedure did not greatly affect the replies but should have been avoided, although no objection was raised by the respondents. The interview was focused upon several open-ended questions. Those reported on in this paper were concerned with present recreational activities, friends as indicated by those with whom they visited, and feelings of usefulness and happiness.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

A lead from a study by Dr. Wilma Donahue, of the Institute of Human Adjustment, University of Michigan, provided one way of defining and analyzing the social relationships of the residents of these halls. In the interview each resident was asked, "With whom do you visit?" This question evoked rather satisfactory replies in A Hall, where both men and women resided. Much less satisfactory answers were obtained in B Hall, occupied exclusively by men. In this latter situation the tendency was to claim speaking acquaintance with all, rather than with a few, or to name only one's roommate if that relationship was one of close friendship. Of thirty-four men, nine mentioned their roommate. Some men were indifferent to, and a few held hostile attitudes toward, their room associate.

The choice of friends by this method for A Hall also provides data on the number of times one is chosen by others. Table 1 shows (1) the number of friends chosen by each resident; (2) the number of times others choose him for a friend; and (3) the number of times the choice is reciprocal.

The sociometric pattern is too compli-

cated to present here. The following types of choices do emerge:

1. Resident chooses none and is not chosen by anyone (residents 1-7).
2. Resident chooses no one but is selected by others (residents 8-9).
3. Resident chooses only persons living in other halls and is named by no one in A Hall. Mr. D. selects four men friends from other halls, but no one from his own residence, and is chosen by no one here (resident 10).
4. Resident chooses others and is chosen by no one. Mrs. E., 80 years old, names five persons and is not selected by anyone (residents 10-13).
5. Resident chooses one other person who reciprocates (residents 14-16).
6. Resident chooses and is chosen by two or more other residents (residents 17-24).
7. Resident chooses only persons from other halls but is mentioned by a few residents of A Hall. Mr. F. selected four persons from the outside and is selected by one resident (residents 29-30).
8. Resident selects only one or two from own hall but is named by several from A Hall (resident 26).

These eight groups represent but do not exhaust the whole range of types which might be differentiated. A consideration of these groups in the context of their social relationships suggests three major divisions of the residents into (1) isolates (types 1, 2, 3, and 4); (2) intimates (types 5 and 6); and (3) leaders (types 7 and 8).

Isolates fall into two groups, the majority who are aware of their isolation (bilateral isolation) and a minority who do not fully realize their separation from their fellows (unilateral isolation); that is, they choose but are not chosen by others (type 4). Those who realize their exclusion, *Isolates A*, are divided between those who are not chosen by others (type 1) and those who are chosen (type 2).

Intimates are those who maintain friendly relations with others which are reciprocated by one or more chosen. Intimates are divided into two groups, those who choose only one person who reciprocates and those who

select two or more others of whom two or more reciprocate.

Leaders are the outstanding persons who (1) tend to be elected or appointed to responsible positions and/or (2) have recognized competence in the performance of certain activities. They tend to report few or no intimates at least in their residence halls, although they themselves may be selected by fellow-residents. They often choose intimates from other halls and may

claim as an intimate another leader in the same hall.

The men in B Hall, as earlier stated, either had no more than one intimate or were resistant to singling out those with whom they visited more than with others. Fortunately, data from two elections for three members of the house committee were available. The nominations were made by asking residents to write on a slip of paper their nominees for this position. In this way

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF PERSONS CHOSEN, TIMES CHOSEN BY OTHERS, AND
TIMES CHOICE RECIPROCATED, CLASSIFIED BY ISOLATES,
INTIMATES, AND LEADERS.

PERSONS	PERSONS CHOSEN		TIMES CHOSEN BY OTHERS	TIMES CHOICE RECIPROCATED
	Total	A Hall		
<i>Isolates A:</i>				
Do not choose, nor chosen by, others (Type 1):				
1-4 (males).....	0	0	0	.....
5-7 (females).....	0	0	0	.....
Do not choose, but chosen by, others (Type 2):				
8 (male).....	0	0	1	0
9 (male).....	0	0	2	0
Choose only from other halls (Type 3):				
10 (male).....	4	0	0	.....
<i>Isolates B:</i>				
Choose, but not chosen by, others (Type 4):				
11 (male).....	3	2	0	0
12 (female).....	2	1	0	0
13 (female).....	7	5	0	0
<i>Intimates A:</i>				
One (Type 5):				
14-15 (males).....	2	2	1	1
16 (male).....	2	2	1	1
<i>Intimates B:</i>				
Two or more (Type 6):				
17 (male).....	9	4	2	2
18 (female).....	3	2	5	3
19 (female).....	3	3	4	3
20 (female).....	4	4	5	3
21 (female).....	5	4	5	3
22 (female).....	6	2	4	2
23 (female).....	6	6	6	4
24 (female).....	7	6	2	2
25 (female).....	4	0	2	0
<i>Leaders (Types 7 and 8):</i>				
26 (male).....	2	2	7	1
27 (male).....	3	3	1	0
28 (male).....	7	4	3	1
29 (male).....	4	0	1	0
30 (female).....	3	0	1	0

choices were made among the residents for persons to be nominated. The score values were obtained by equalizing votes¹ received in the two elections, adding them, and dividing by two. The score values of nominations are as follows:

Score Values of Votes	No. of Persons Receiving
0.	13
1.	10
2.	2
3.	1
4.	3
5.	0
6.	2
7.	1
8.	2

Thirteen persons were not nominated in either election. This compares with fifteen residents who were not chosen as intimates in the interview. Nine of these names appear in both lists.

Table 2 presents the number of isolates, intimates, and leaders in A and B Halls. The main fact disclosed is the high proportion of isolates, over two-fifths of the total number of residents interviewed. The one-intimate pattern of association seems more characteristic of the men than of the women and of B Hall, which is solely for men, than of A Hall, where both sexes reside.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND RECOGNITION

Status among the residents of Moosehaven depends upon several factors. There is some carry-over of prestige from one's position before admission but only a few cases. There are a few men who had been governors of the lodge and a few women who were regents of the chapter in their home communities. A former dentist is known as "doctor" to almost all residents. The aura of Covent Garden and the Metropolitan Opera still clings to one courtly gentleman. But, in general, recognition depends upon the roles of the residents in the life of the community. High status is ac-

corded to officers in the Moosehaven lodge and chapter, election to house committees, winners of tournaments, prominent work activity, visitors from and to home communities, etc. These different activities are reported in the "Moosehaven Booster," the mimeographed community newspaper. Five issues of the "Booster" were analyzed for the number of times names of residents appeared.²

Table 3 presents the average number of times the names of residents of A and B Halls appeared in five numbers of the "Booster," for January, April, May, July, and August. In recording the data, announcements of birthdays were omitted as unfair to those born in later months of the year. Deaths, accidents, and hospital care were also excluded as not directly related to status.

In A Hall recognition in the "Booster" rises regularly both for men and for women through the different levels of social relations. For B Hall, occupied by men only, the leaders are the one group receiving marked mention as compared with all the preceding levels. Data from other halls are needed to determine whether the pattern of recognition in the "Booster" for the entire community follows that of A Hall or B Hall. It should be mentioned that B Hall is the only residence at Moosehaven given over exclusively to men.

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Each resident was asked to state the activities in which he took part. These activities, with the number of persons mentioning them and the score values of the activity, are given in Table 4.

The score value of the activity was determined by assigning a score of 1 for minor and of 2 for major participation. The activities, as indicated in the table, were classified as *solitary*, if engaged in by the person alone; *group*, if participated in actively by two or more persons; *spectator*, if involving only

¹ In the first election each resident made three nominations, and in the second election each resident made one nomination.

² The writer expresses his thanks to Dr. Klee-meier for preparing the tabulations of the first four of these issues.

passive attendance; and *audience*, if present at a meeting of an organization or of the community.

The chief fact disclosed by the table is the high proportion (39.8 per cent) of solitary activities of the total recreational activities, followed by group activities (25.7 per cent), spectator activities (17.7 per cent), and audience participation (16.8 per cent).

The place of specific activities in the lives of residents can be measured by the number of each reported by the 64 persons. Television leads with 36 spectators. Second place goes to reading, reported by 31 persons.

Third in rank order is lodge and chapter attendance by 25 residents. Radio takes fourth place with 19 listeners. Cards and bingo tie for fifth place with 17 players each.

The score values which indicate the degree of participation in the activity show a few changes in rank order as follows: reading, 54 points; television, 51 points; lodge and chapter attendance, 36 points; cards, 30 points; radio, 23 points; and bingo, 18 points.

When both sexes are considered together, the men's lodge and the women's chapter rank third in attendance. This activity keeps alive the sense of participation in the

TABLE 2
CLASSIFICATION OF RESIDENTS IN A AND B HALLS BY
ISOLATES, INTIMATES, AND LEADERS

	A HALL		B HALL (MEN)	TOTAL
	Men	Women		
Isolates:				
A Neither choose nor chosen by others (bilateral isolation).....	7* (2)†	3 (3)†	7	17
B Choose, but not chosen by, others (unilateral isolation).....	1	2 (1)†	7	10
Intimates:				
A One.....	3	0	10	13
B Two or more.....	2	7	3	12
Leaders.....	4	1	7	12
Total.....	17	13	34	64

* Includes two chosen by others.

† Residing with husband or wife.

TABLE 3
AVERAGE NUMBER OF MENTIONS IN FIVE ISSUES OF THE "BOOSTER" OF
RESIDENTS OF A AND B HALLS BY SEX AND BY ISOLATES,
INTIMATES, AND LEADERS

TYPE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS	A HALL		B HALL (34 MEN)	TOTAL (64 RESI- DENTS)
	17 Men	13 Women		
Isolates:				
A Neither choose nor chosen by others.	1.1	2.0	1.6	1.4
B Choose, but not chosen by, others...	2.0	3.0	0.4	1.4
Intimates:				
A One.....	2.3	.....	1.6	1.7
B Two or more.....	3.0	5.1	1.3	3.9
Leaders.....	6.8	7.0	5.7	6.2

work of this fraternal order. A signal expression of the identification of resident members with the humanitarian projects of the organization was a recent contribution of one thousand dollars by the Moosehaven Lodge toward the building of a new high school at Mooseheart, the sister-institution for orphaned children, and one thousand dollars for a new hospital at Moosehaven.³

Television is the activity with the greatest number of adherents, or 36 out of 64 residents. Twenty-eight persons, however, report that they view it only a little or not at all. A number state that looking hurt their eyes. A few mention that even with

hearing aids furnished by the institution they cannot understand the words. Many men say they care only for pictures of fights and ball games. Others deplore or condemn the amount of time taken by commercials.

Vesper services were introduced on Sunday afternoons just as the study was closing. They met an enthusiastic response and were well attended.

Only thirteen women were included in the study. Their recreational preferences differ considerably from those of the men. Their most popular activity is sewing, embroidery, and crocheting; their second is chapter attendance; third, television; and fourth, the meetings of the sewing circle with its emphasis upon a social time.

³ *Moose Magazine*, XXXIX (October, 1953), 6.

TABLE 4

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND THEIR SCORE VALUES OF RESIDENTS
REPORTING PARTICIPATION, CLASSIFIED BY HALL AND BY SEX

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITY	PARTICIPATION REPORTED							
	Hall A				Hall B (34 Men)		Total (64 Residents)	
	17 Men		13 Women					
	Times Men- tioned	Score Value	Times Men- tioned	Score Value	Times Men- tioned	Score Value	Times Men- tioned	Score Value
Solitary.....	(24)	(38)	(21)	(34)	(42)	(58)	(87)	(130)
Radio.....	7	8	3	5	9	10	19	23
Reading.....	10	19	2	3	19	32	31	54
Walks.....	2	3	1	2	5	6	8	11
Solitaire.....	4	6	3	6	5	6	12	18
Correspondence.....	1	2	1	1	4	4	6	7
Sewing, embroidery, etc.....			11	17			11	17
Social group.....	(19)	(27)	(13)	(20)	(26)	(37)	(58)	(84)
Cards.....	6	11	3	5	8	14	17	30
Shuffleboard.....	5	7	1	2	5	6	11	15
Sewing circle.....			5	9			5	9
Pool, pinball, horseshoe.....	2	3			4	5	6	8
Bingo.....	6	6	4	4	7	8	17	18
Visits hospital.....					2	4	2	4
Spectator.....	(6)	(8)	(6)	(10)	(29)	(40)	(41)	(58)
Television.....	6	8	6	10	24	33	36	51
Motion picture.....					5	7	5	7
Audience.....	(11)	(20)	(12)	(16)	(15)	(19)	(38)	(55)
Lodge.....	8	14	8	11	9	11	25	36
Funerals.....	3	6	4	5	4	6	11	17
Other.....					2	2	2	2
Total.....	60	93	52	80	112	154	224	327

FEELINGS OF USEFULNESS AND HAPPINESS

The two over-all measures of self-evaluation from the Attitudes Index⁴ are feelings of usefulness and happiness. They show higher correlations with the total score on personal adjustment than do the measures of specific areas like family, friends, work, etc. Accordingly, they are used in this study for comparisons of the residents' feelings in the different types of social relations.

The residents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following questions

10. My life could be happier than it is now.
11. I seem to have less and less reason to live.
12. These are the best years of my life.
13. My life is full of worry.
14. My life is so enjoyable that I almost wish it would go on forever.

The answers expressing feelings of usefulness and happiness received a score of 2; those doubtful, 1; and those indicative of uselessness and unhappiness, 0.

It was now feasible to determine the association between the different types of

TABLE 5
RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES SCORES, FEELINGS OF USEFULNESS AND
HAPPINESS SCORES, AND PRESENT AVERAGE AGE BY TYPES
OF SOCIAL RELATIONS FOR B HALL

TYPES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS	AVERAGE SCORE			AVERAGE AGE
	Recrea- tional Activities	Useful- ness	Happi- ness	
Isolates:				
A Neither choose, nor chosen by, others	3.3	5.7	5.9	80.3
B Choose, but not chosen by, others	4.8	7.9	8.3	76.7
Intimates:				
A One	5.0	7.4	7.1	78.5
B Two or more	5.7	6.9	4.0*	74.3
Leaders	7.4	10.3	9.0	74.3
All persons	5.1	7.6	7.2	78.3

* The group consisted of three men with happiness scores of 6, 6, and 0.

(the first seven on feelings of usefulness and the second seven on happiness):

1. I am some use to those around me.
2. My life is meaningless now.
3. The days are too short for all I want to do.
4. Sometimes I feel there's just no point in living.
5. My life is still busy and useful.
6. This is the most useful period of my life.
7. I can't help feeling now that my life is not very useful.
8. This is the dreariest time of my life.
9. I am just as happy as when I was younger.

⁴ See Ruth S. Cavan *et al.*, *Personal Adjustment in Old Age* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), chaps. x and xi and pp. 143-59.

social relations and the recreation scores, feelings of usefulness scores, and happiness scores. It was decided not to use the responses of the residents of A Hall because of the small number of cases falling in the different social relations groups when classified by sex. Accordingly, the findings presented in Table 5 are limited to the residents of B Hall. The present average age of the men in each social relations group is entered, since age may be a factor to be taken into account in explaining the finding.

The two main findings of Table 5 are (1) the low average scores on recreational activities, feelings of usefulness, and happiness received by Group A of the isolates and (2)

the high average scores on these same categories received by the leaders.

Age differences between the various social relations groups are apparent, ranging from the average age of 80.3 years for Group A of the isolates who neither choose nor are chosen by others to 74.3 years for the leaders, a difference of six years.

But how far do age differences explain the variations in recreational, usefulness, and happiness scores? This may be tested by dividing these two groups into those 77 years and under and those 78 and over. Among isolates of Group A those 77 years and under had an average score on recreational activities of 2.0, on feelings of usefulness of 5.2, and on happiness of 5.3. The corresponding scores for those 78 years and older were 4.3, 6.0, and 6.3. In all classes a higher average score is obtained by the older rather than the younger isolates.

The same procedure was followed in comparing the younger and older persons among the leaders. The average scores on recreation, usefulness, and happiness for the younger individuals were, respectively, 8.4, 10.0, and 9.0 compared with 4.5, 11.0, and 9.0 for the older men. With the exception of recreational participation, the older men make as high scores as the younger persons. Similar findings were secured for the intermediate groups in social relations: Isolate B, younger, 3.2, 8.0, and 8.5; older, 4.8, 8.7, and 7.0; Intimate A, younger, 5.8, 6.7, and 7.7; older, 5.2, 7.3, and 6.5. The scores for the older residents are higher in three out of six comparisons. The scores for the group Intimate B consisted of only three cases and were not tabulated.

Apparently age variations do not account for the differences in scores except in recreational participation. But here, holding age constant, there is an almost constant progression from Isolate A through Isolate B and Intimate A to the leader group for both the younger (2.0, 5.3, 5.8, and 9.0) and the older age groups (3.4, 4.0, 4.5, and 4.5). The two isolate groups clearly participate less in recreational activities than the more sociable groups.

Interesting is the divergence from the expected of men in the Isolate B group (those who choose others but are not chosen). They have the perception of being on intimate terms with others which does not correspond with the reactions of others to them. Their optimistic overevaluation of their social relations is reflected in their relatively high average happiness score—higher in fact than the two groups of intimates. This overevaluation may well be in certain case defensive compensation for some feelings of insecurity in their social relations. This is clearly the case with one member of this group who is senile. This tentative finding should be explored in further research.

Finally, what is the relation of type of recreational participation (solitary, group, spectator, or audience) to reported happiness? A comparison was made of the twelve men with lowest happiness scores (4 and under) with fifteen men with the highest scores (10–14). The average participation per man in the types of recreational activities for lowest and highest happiness scores, respectively, was: solitary, 1.8 and 1.9; group, 0.3 and 2.7; spectator, 1.3 and 1.9; and audience, 0.3 and 0.5. The significant difference is in group activities, in which those with high happiness scores participate nine times as much as those with low scores. This is, perhaps, the single most important finding of the study with implications that should be further explored.

The average happiness scores for seven selected activities are presented in Table 6. Two group activities, cards and shuffleboard, rank highest in average happiness. Attendance at lodge and chapter meetings are a close third. Reading, radio, and television show little if any difference between participants and nonparticipants. The findings on bingo are contradictory for the two residence halls, and judgment on them should be suspended pending later study of residents of other halls.

The crucial question remains for further research: Does participation in group activities like cards and shuffleboard and attendance at lodge and chapter meetings in-

crease in personal adjustment as measured by happiness scores? Or do those who are well adjusted tend to engage in social activities? One way of answering this question is to institute a program of stimulating group activities to enlist wide participation and then measure the effect, if any, on personal adjustment.

TABLE 6

AVERAGE HAPPINESS SCORES OF RESIDENTS OF A AND B HALLS WHO DO AND DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN SEVEN SELECTED RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITY	PARTICIPATION			
	A Hall		B Hall	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Cards.....	8.9	7.8	10.3	6.4
Shuffleboard....	8.7	7.7	9.4	7.0
Lodge and chapter meetings..	8.6	7.0	9.4	6.4
Reading.....	8.2	7.6	7.2	7.3
Radio.....	8.0	7.8	6.9	7.4
Television.....	8.0	7.8	7.4	6.7
Bingo.....	7.0	8.3	8.3	7.0

The findings of the study may now be briefly summarized:

1. By use of two instruments ("With whom do you visit?" question and secret ballot for nominees for members of the house committee), five levels of social relationships were differentiated: (a) isolates by bilateral exclusion; (b) isolates by unilateral exclusion; (c) one-person intimates; (d) two-person intimates; and (e) leaders.

2. There appears to be an association of level of social relationships with status as

measured by number of mentions in five issues of the "Moosehaven Booster."

3. Participation in recreational activities is highest for those classified as solitary, followed by group, spectator, and audience.

4. For men the six recreational activities with the largest number of participants are, first, television and, then, in order, reading, lodge attendance, radio, cards, and bingo.

5. For the women the first place in activities is taken by sewing, embroidery, and crocheting, followed by chapter attendance and television.

6. Leaders obtain higher recreational activity, usefulness, and happiness scores than do the isolates by bilateral exclusion even when age is held constant. The other social groups have intermediate scores (except intimates with two or more who receive the lowest happiness scores).

7. The men with the highest happiness scores participate nine times as much in group recreational activities (cards, shuffleboard, pool, horseshoe-pitching, and bingo) than do those with the lowest happiness scores.

The findings of this exploratory study should be considered as tentative until corroborated by including other halls at Moosehaven. They do, however, indicate wide differences in social relationships, in recognition, in forms and amount of recreational participation, and in feelings of happiness and usefulness. They suggest, also, that experiments might be undertaken in stimulating recreational participation, particularly of the group type, and in measuring the consequences on social relationships and on reports of happiness.

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THE LIFE OF THE RETIRED IN A TRAILER PARK

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ABSTRACT

The trailer community under study, composed exclusively of retired and quasi-retired persons, manifests a well-developed and diversified program of activities. A large majority prefer to live in a community composed of retired persons because of advantages such as equal status, social activities, and association. Even with respect to mobile-home living itself, they see sociability as the chief advantage.

Older persons have characteristically been the least mobile group in our population. Recently, however, two studies have focused attention on their increasing mobility. Hitt finds a substantial increase in the migration of older persons in the decade 1940-50 over the 1930-40 period¹ and states that in 1950 over one-fourth of Florida's old people were immigrants to the state. Smith, in a similar analysis of the problem, reports that the areas to which the largest numbers of older persons migrate are southern California, peninsular Florida, and the eastern part of Texas.² Aged persons, he finds, like to move to more desirable parts of the country upon retirement, and they may be expected to do so to an even greater extent in the future.

Why do these persons leave relatives, friends, and other associations in the home community? Several explanations have been offered.³

1. The transition from a rural to an urban-industrial society. The changing nature of the

productive processes means that the worker is, characteristically, either fully employed or not employed at all. The growth of retirement systems frequently imposes an upper age limit or employment.

2. The replacement (in the rural-urban-transition) of extended family and kinship ties by the family consisting only of parents and their dependent children.

3. Loss of status and role of the older person in modern urban society.

4. The transition from the economic dependence of aged parents upon children to economic independence, brought about by the Social Security program and the growth of industrial pension systems.

Parsons sums up some aspects of the situation in the following terms:

In view of the very great significance of occupational status and its psychological correlates, retirement leaves the older man in a peculiarly functionless situation, cut off from participation in the most important interests and activities of the society. . . . Not only status in the community but actual place of residence is to a very high degree a function of the specific job held. Retirement not only cuts the ties to the job but also greatly loosens those to the community of residence. Perhaps in no other society is there observable a phenomenon corresponding to the accumulation of retired elderly people in such areas as Florida and Southern California in the winter. It may be surmised that this structural isolation from kinship, occupational and community ties is the fundamental basis of the recent political agitation for help to the old. It is suggested that it is far less the financial hardship of the position of elderly people than their social isolation which makes old age a problem.⁴

⁴ Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 231.

¹ H. L. Hitt, "The Role of Migration in Population Change among the Aged." Paper presented at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, September, 1952.

² T. Lynn Smith, "The Migration of the Aged," in T. Lynn Smith (ed.), *Problems of America's Aging Population* ("Southern Conference on Gerontology," Vol. I [Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1951]), pp. 15-28.

³ See, e.g., W. E. Moore, "The Aged in Industrial Societies," in Derber (ed.), *The Aged and Society* (Champaign, Ill.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950), pp. 24-39; T. Lynn Smith, "The Aged in Rural Society," *ibid.*, pp. 40-53; and E. W. Burgess, "Personal and Social Adjustment in Old Age," *ibid.*, pp. 138-56.

In what way, then, can the older person with a small assured income expect to find a solution to these problems? One answer would be the development of communities composed entirely or mainly of retired persons, preferably located in a suitable climate, such as trailer parks. These mobile-home communities are now well established in peninsular Florida and enjoy a certain popularity among older, retired persons in that area. An outstanding example is the Bradenton Trailer Park, founded by the Bradenton Kiwanis Club in 1936 and now the oldest and largest trailer park in Florida.

The general question to be raised is: "To what extent, and in what sense, does this type of community meet the needs and interests of older, retired persons?" Specifically, this paper will deal with (1) the park and its residents; (2) the program of social activities and the extent of participation in it; (3) the values reported to have most significance; (4) the degree of preference for a retired community and the reasons given in support of the preference; and, finally, (5) the advantages and disadvantages of mobile-home living as reported by the residents.

THE PARK AND ITS RESIDENTS

At the time of its inception, the community consisted of 100 trailer spaces and has grown somewhat gradually, with the exception of the addition of large tracts in 1946 and 1947, to the present 1,093 spaces, all of which are rented each year. Rental charges for parking facilities vary from \$3.00 per week in the newest section, through \$3.50 in the main section, to \$4.50 for front lots (which are nearest to recreation and shopping facilities). These rates are among the lowest to be found, especially among parks which provide recreational facilities. The rental also entitles each occupant family to full participation in the recreation program at no further cost, a basic amount of electrical service, water, laundry, and ironing facilities, which are located in the nine utility buildings dispersed throughout the community. All these provide lavatory and

shower and toilet facilities, and four have laundry and ironing rooms.

Membership in the sponsoring organization is not a condition of residence in the park. Other than payment of the rental charge, the sole condition of residence is that no resident may be employed in Manatee County and the adjacent counties. This restriction, initially imposed to prevent the residents from competing on the local labor market, was lifted during the housing emergency of World War II. Reinforcement of it after the war came about as a consequence of pressure from the residents, not from the park management or city officials.

From the community of 1,093 dwelling units a simple areal sample was selected, and this is defined as having a male head of household who is not too ill to participate and who is in residence at some time during the period of the study. (The study was conducted from the latter part of November, 1952, to February, 1953.) A total of 194 interviews provides the basis for the tabulations which are reported in part in this paper.⁵ The interviews with residents were supplemented by observation, available data in the records of the park management, and informal interviews with leaders and other persons in the community.

The age range of males in the sample was from 41 to 90, with a median⁶ age of 69 years. Current occupational status was

⁵ From an initial selection of 256 dwelling units which presumably are occupied by a family unit having a male head of household, 7 yielded information which was too scant for tabulation, 13 were refusals; in 16 cases the respondent could not be contacted, 4 dwelling units were not occupied during the period of the study, 10 male heads were too ill to participate, and 12 dwelling units were occupied by single women or widows who were not registered as such in the park records. There are approximately 250 such dwelling units which are occupied by women only (either singly or in pairs). These women have either continued to live in the trailer after the death of their husbands or, in some cases, have adopted this way of life after becoming widowed. Unfortunately, time did not permit of a systematic investigation of this decidedly significant group.

⁶ The medians given throughout this study are based upon group data.

found to be as follows: 73.7 per cent are fully retired, 19.1 per cent are quasi-retired (i.e., working only in reduced or seasonal capacity in life's work [11.4 per cent] or different work [7.7 per cent]), and 7.2 per cent are not retired.

In view of the restriction on local employment, the proportion of quasi-retired and nonretired may seem surprisingly high, at least in view of the 6.7-month median annual residence. However, the lifetime occupational groupings show a large representa-

TABLE 1
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Occupation	No.	Per Cent
Self-employed:		
Farm	48	24.7
Retail business, insurance, etc.	43	22.2
Professional	2	1.0
Non-self-employed:		
Industrial and transportation workers	60	30.9
Executives, managers, and officials including army officers	16	8.2
Services, business, finance, civil service	22	11.3
Teachers	2	1.0
No reply	1	0.5
Total	194	99.8

tion of those occupations in which gradual retirement is facilitated, such as farming. The occupational distribution is shown in Table 1.

Almost 12 per cent of the group is in residence 10 months or more each year, with a median annual residence of 6.7 months. The number of years of continuous residence yields a median of 6.1 years, with 2.6 per cent of the sample having been in residence each year since the inception of the park in 1936. A further indication of the stability of the population is the fact that 31 per cent of the trailers have had some sort of permanent structure added which precludes moving them. Sometimes, a trailer coach has a cabana added which serves as a living room, a permanent roof to give protection against sun and rain, and a carport for the auto-

mobile. Many lots have, in the place of the above-mentioned structures, concrete patios and awnings. All these permanent installations are at the expense of the resident and, if he leaves, become the property of the park. Some residents state that they prefer to have no inclosed cabana; "it cuts down your association with your neighbors."

At present, 58.8 per cent own the same home they owned during their working years, 10.3 per cent have a different home, 24.7 per cent have sold their homes, and 6.2 per cent did not own their homes at retirement. Of the latter two groups, the house trailer is the only home at present.

The East North Central group of states was the place of residence at retirement of 73.7 per cent, 17 per cent coming from New England and the Middle Atlantic States, the remainder coming from widely distributed areas. Over 38 per cent come from rural areas and towns up to 10,000 population, 34.5 per cent from cities of from 10,000 to 100,000 population, and 27.3 per cent from cities of over 100,000 population.

Median monthly income is \$172.22 for individuals and families. The range of incomes is considerable, varying from less than \$50 per month to over \$10,000 per year. In 90.7 per cent of the cases the family unit consists of two persons, 4.1 per cent have three persons, and 5.2 per cent are males living alone.

ACTIVITIES AND PARTICIPATION

At and around the main entrance of the park is found the focal point of activity. Here is located the park office, shuffleboard and horseshoe courts, post office, and the recreation hall, in which a regular calendar of events is held. The calendar of events in the recreation hall is shown on the next page.

Although each of the activities is technically sponsored and operated by the management of the park, the conduct of it is relatively autonomous. In the first place, leadership in all cases comes from the residents of the community. Second, each activity has been carried on among essentially the same group of participants long enough for it to

have become a part of the informal way of life of the community and thus to require a minimum of organization and direction.

<i>Sunday:</i>	Church Service Family Hour
<i>Monday:</i>	Bingo
<i>Tuesday:</i>	Square dance lessons and practice Rebekahs Star Club Dance (orchestra)
<i>Wednesday:</i>	Men's Bible Class Ladies' Bible Class Movie
<i>Thursday:</i>	Hobby Club Card Party Square Dance (recordings)
<i>Friday:</i>	Choir practice Dance (orchestra)
<i>Saturday:</i>	Family Hour practice Bingo

Finally, most, if not all, of these activities have become traditional, and the roles of the participants have become an integral part of the individual's expectations. Some practices have grown up in a genuinely spontaneous fashion, having originated among the residents, the management of the park playing no role whatever in the early stages. The best illustration is to be found in the history of the "Family Hour," a Sunday-evening institution which began with a small group of neighbors gathered under the trailer awning of Mrs. L., the widow of a minister. The group sang a few of the old-fashioned hymns and "had such a good time we decided to do it again the next week." It grew steadily more popular; people brought camp chairs from other parts of the park, until it overflowed to the street and several adjoining lots. The use of the recreation hall on Sunday evenings was readily permitted. This became a regular event, with other elements added from time to time, such as storytelling, playing musical instruments, vocal solos, travelogues, concerts by outside groups, skits, etc. At the time of the study, Family Hour was about seven years old. Nonetheless, it has never lost its quasi-religious character, as is illustrated by the objections raised following the

program at which a guest performed a tap dance.

Mrs. L., the leader of the program, says that "we try to keep it just like a large family entertaining itself on a Sunday evening. The mistakes [in the performance of an individual] don't matter. A poor performance is still a beginning." This refers to the attempt to bring out those who have no experience in entertaining. "It gives them a feeling of importance, and everyone, regardless of age, wants to feel needed." A conscious attempt is made to keep out elements of theatricalism or professionalism, in part to prevent inhibiting those who have no prior experience.

Mrs. L. also tries to interest persons, especially those who have been recently widowed, in creative work. Approximately fifty women from the park engage in ceramics or oil painting each week at a hobby workshop in the town.⁷

Several aspects of the Family Hour suggest a rural background. This may be attributable primarily to the high representation of former rural occupations and residence and to a lesser extent to the age distribution. The importance of the Family Hour in the lives of the residents is attested in part by the large attendance. The not infrequent statement, "This is just like one family here [in the park]," may derive in part from the name and nature of the Family Hour.

In addition, there is a men's and ladies' card room in the same building, and these are open from 8:00 A.M. until 10:00 P.M.

⁷ It may be that the relative importance of cultural and creative activities as a part of the recreation program will increase in the future. The three activities in the park which are of this basic nature, the Family Hour, the Hobby Club, and the group referred to above all originated from among the residents rather than from the park management. The Hobby Club may be of more significance than Table 2 indicates; handicrafts and other articles produced as hobbies are offered for sale by the makers at two yearly sales held in the recreation hall in the fall and in the spring. In March, 1953, 125 persons entered such articles. In some cases the return is a welcome supplement to the retirement income, but articles are also sold primarily as testimony to their worth and the skill of the maker.

daily. Outdoor activities are provided for by eight horseshoe pits and nineteen shuffleboard courts. Shuffleboard, which is popular at virtually every trailer park in Florida, is perhaps the main focus of recreation and social contact. Small grandstands surrounding the courts provide a gathering place for nonplaying as well as playing residents of the community from 8:00 A.M. until 10:00 P.M. (artificial lighting is used after dark), and usually there are two tournaments per week. Often there are one "pot-luck" elimination, in which one's partner is chosen by chance, and one team competition, usually against a visiting team from another trailer park in the vicinity.

Neighborhood "pot-luck" dinners are frequent affairs, especially in celebration of holidays, birthdays, and wedding anniversaries. At these the main dish is either financed out of contributions by all or provided by the host, other dishes being contributed and prepared by other participants. The dinner is held out of doors on the host's patio, with tables, chairs, tablecloths, and utensils contributed by the group.

Table 2 shows the degree of participation in the recreational activities available in the park, with the number of mentions received by each activity and the percentage of respondents mentioning it in reply to the question, "Which of the recreational activities here in the park do you take part in?" Probing was used rather than a check list.

In all, 61 per cent of the men and 52 per cent of the women take part in at least one activity that calls for active participation, such as dancing, shuffleboard, etc. Only 17 per cent of the men and 33 per cent of the women participate in roles that are no more than passive (bingo, cards, etc.), and 16 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women play roles of spectator only. The median number of activities participated in by families is 4. Since these are sometimes daily events, or at least weekly, the association of these retired persons is higher than would be true in the usual work-oriented community.

However, participation in more formal voluntary associations is a little different. In

the former home community 72 per cent of the respondents attended meetings of voluntary associations. The mean monthly attendance for this group was 3.3 meetings. After immigration, however, only 8 per cent attended such meetings, and the mean monthly attendance for this 8 per cent is only 1.6. The above results refer to all voluntary associations of a social, business, or fraternal nature except church. In the original

TABLE 2

ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY RESIDENT FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES MENTIONED AND BY PERCENTAGE OF 186* MEN MENTIONING EACH ACTIVITY

Activity	No. of Mentions	Per Cent of Persons Mentioning
Family Hour.....	123	66.1
Shuffleboard.....	111	59.7
Cards.....	103	55.4
Movies.....	91	48.9
Dancing.....	82	44.1
Bingo.....	54	29.0
Bible Class.....	28	15.0
Women's Hobby Club.....	27	14.5
Informal visiting.....	14	7.5
Neighborhood "pot-lucks".....	13	7.0
Horseshoes.....	10	5.4
Star Club (women).....	9	4.8
Rebekahs (women).....	1	0.5
Park Band.....	1	0.5
None.....	3	1.6
Total activities mentioned	667	.....

* Eight men did not reply to question.

home community 69 per cent of the respondents reported an average church attendance of 3.4 times per month; after immigration only 59 per cent attended an average of 3.6 times per month. Protestant church services are held in the recreation hall, with ministers from various denominations in the city rotating in the services. The very real decrease in participation in voluntary associations outside the trailer park suggests that (a) the trailer park is not well integrated with the larger community or city, and/or (b) the trailer park is socially self-contained. Of course, one expects a certain decrease in participation in work- and business-oriented

groups such as unions or the Rotary Club after retirement.

Over 82 per cent of the residents interviewed reported that they got all or most of their recreation within the park. Among those who do go outside the most frequent activities are fishing, pot-luck picnics, and trips to the beach, and these are commonly done in groups composed of park residents.

THE SIGNIFICANT VALUES OF PARK LIVING

Each respondent was asked, "What part of the life here appeals to you the most?"

TABLE 3

PART OF LIFE WITH MOST APPEAL TO MEN IN THE PARK BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEN GIVING EACH ANSWER

Category	Number	Per Cent
Sociability; association.	102	55.4
Free, carefree life.	10	5.4
People have lot in common.	3	1.6
Park activities.	28	15.2
Outside activities (fishing)	10	5.4
Climate.	27	14.8
Other and don't know.	4	2.2
Total.	184*	100.0

* Ten persons did not reply to question.

The question was left unstructured; "here" was never specified by the interviewer as referring to either Florida or the trailer park. The replies to this question are classified in Table 3.

A definite majority relate to social aspects of the way of life *within* the trailer park rather than to the climate or other conditions usually thought of as primary factors in the immigration of older people. Each respondent had been asked (in a section on factors affecting immigration, to be reported in a separate paper) the importance of climate. Climate was reported as being of first importance in immigration by 49.5 per cent, of second importance by 37.6 per cent, a factor by 5.7 per cent, and not a factor by only 6.7 per cent. Thus climate shows quite a discrepancy from its apparent role *after* migra-

tion.⁸ This comparison illustrates in another way the comment of one man who said, "Well, I came here for the climate, but I stay for the sociability. The sociability is the big thing here." The term "sociability" is frequently employed by residents in conversation in describing the park to others. Cases are often cited, when a resident describes the advantages of the park to an outsider, of persons who "came down here to this park and liked Florida so well that they decided to build a home here. They got moved in and before long they are hanging around down at the shuffleboard. Before you know it they sell their house and come right back in the park. They miss the sociability. Once you get used to it here, it gets pretty lonesome in town." At least six couples are reported as examples.

PREFERENCE FOR RETIRED COMMUNITY LIVING

A total of 155 (87.6 per cent) persons stated that they preferred to "live in a community such as this where everyone is retired" rather than in another in which most people are working. Seven persons (3.9 per cent) preferred a working community, and 15 (8.5 per cent) were undecided of a total of 177 persons who answered the question. Table 4 shows all reasons cited and the chief reason cited by those who prefer the retired community.

The category of "Less disturbance" refers both to the absence of children and also to persons going to work. Categories referring to the mutuality of residents are more commonly mentioned than was true in Table 3. "We are all in the same boat here. A retired person just doesn't fit in a working com-

⁸ A negative association is found to exist between climate as a factor in migration and climate as the most appealing factor at present. However, since the expected frequency in some cells of the cross tabulation is so low, X^2 may not be computed. A negative association is also found between health as a factor in migration and the mention of climate at present. In this case the association is not significant, however.

munity, but here everybody co-operates to have a good time," is a statement which typifies this category.

Local neighborhood groups respond quickly to the illness of another resident, helping with the care of the sick person if necessary and, particularly, taking over the household and cooking chores of a sick woman. The wife of one of the persons in the sample was ill and during the interview, which lasted about an hour and a quarter, five women from the neighborhood stopped in to assist; one took care of the laundry, one did the day's shopping, one cleaned the trailer, and two brought cooked dishes. The

residents often tell of an incident of a few years ago as an illustration of mutual aid. A couple on a limited income had spent their cash reserves to purchase a new trailer and construct a cabana. It was destroyed by fire. Other residents contributed cash or their labor and rebuilt the entire unit and turned over a cash balance so that the couple could replace their clothing.

Of the seven who preferred a working community, two said that they would rather work themselves, four like young people around, and one found that "the high number of deaths and illnesses are depressing here."

TABLE 4

ALL REASONS AND CHIEF REASON FOR PREFERENCE FOR RETIRED COMMUNITY BY
NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED AND BY PERCENTAGE MENTIONING

All Reasons	No.	Per Cent	Chief Reason	No.	Per Cent
Sociability or association....	72	46.4	Association.....	74	48.4
More or better activities....	44	28.4			
Not so lonesome.....	23	14.8			
Don't feel out of place.....	23	14.8	Mutuality.....	65	42.5
All same age.....	12	7.7			
Same status and interests....	66	42.6			
Mutual aid.....	10	6.4	Less disturbance.....	14	9.2
Less disturbance.....	29	18.7			
Other.....	1	0.6			
No reason given.....	2	1.3	Total.....	153	100.1
Total.....	155	.....		

TABLE 5

ALL ADVANTAGES AND CHIEF ADVANTAGE OF MOBILE-HOME LIVING NAMED
BY 186 RESPONDENTS* BY NUMBER MENTIONED AND
BY PERCENTAGE MENTIONING

All Advantages	No.	Per Cent	Chief Advantage	No.	Per Cent
Economy.....	105	56.4	Economy.....	46	24.7
Sociability and mutuality....	112	60.2	Sociability and activities..	97	52.2
Activities.....	43	23.1			
Less-work convenience.....	96	51.6			
Mobility.....	29	15.6	Less work.....	25	13.4
Free, independent, no worries	18	9.7	Mobility and less worry...	18	9.7
Good climate.....	17	9.1			
Separate from children.....	1	0.5			
Total.....	421	.....	Total.....	186	100.0

* Seven persons did not reply, and one had just moved in to "try it out."

ADVANTAGES OF MOBILE-HOME LIVING

Table 5 shows the advantages of mobile-home living for retired people as reported by 186 persons, with the category into which the chief advantage fell.

The frequent mention of sociability and activities, although these are not necessary concomitants of mobile home living in general, suggests that to most residents "living in Florida," "living in a trailer," and "living in this community" are so closely associated that distinctions are difficult to make. Thus, when asked about the advantages of mobile-home living for retired persons, "We are all in the same boat here," was a not uncommon reply.

Only 49 persons reported any disadvantages, and 6 of these replies—that trailers were unsatisfactory when raising children—do not apply to their use by retired couples. Size was the most frequent disadvantage (to 12 persons), while others referred to the lack of toilet and bath facilities in many trailers and their high rate of depreciation. Eleven persons stated that "a trailer is no place to be sick," which is interesting in that in cases where residents were actually ill it was contended that caring for one's needs was far easier owing to the convenience and compactness of the trailer. Several persons stated that, while there were no specific disadvantages in trailer living, they would not want it the year round or a permanent home.

In the analysis of these data cross-tabulations were made to determine the extent and nature of any association between several variables and the stated preferences and advantages. Table 6 shows the frequencies when preference for a retired community is tabulated according to present retirement status.

While the association obtained would not meet the arbitrary .05 level of confidence if the data in the table were corrected for the small numbers involved, the association is nonetheless observable and in the expected direction. Analysis of the preference for a

community of the retired by former occupation shows no association.

A tendency is shown for the fully retired to give the mutuality of residents and the lack of disturbance, rather than sociability, as their reason for preferring a community of the retired; the converse being true, of course, for the nonretired and quasi-retired. The difference, however, is not statistically

TABLE 6*

PREFERENCE FOR A RETIRED COMMUNITY BY PRESENT RETIREMENT STATUS OF 177 MEN

PREFERENCE	RETIREMENT STATUS		TOTAL
	Not Retired and Quasi-retired	Retired	
Retired community.....	28	127	155
Undecided and other community.....	8	14	22
Total.....	36	141	177

* $X^2 = 3.84$; $n = 1$; $p = .05$; $T = .15$. The formula used in computing T (Tschuprow's coefficient) is:

$$T^2 = \frac{X^2}{N \sqrt{(s-1)(t-1)}}$$

(See G. U. Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* [London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1947], pp. 70-76.)

significant in this case. However, in a similar analysis of the chief reason for preference by major occupational group a significant association is found to exist (Table 7).

The data in Table 7 show a very pronounced tendency for persons who were formerly self-employed to give sociability as their reason for preferring a retired community, while those who were not self-employed prefer to live in a community of retired persons because of the mutuality and the lack of disturbance. This relationship also holds when present retirement status is held constant. Such a relationship may be thought to indicate a feeling of different status following upon retirement of the urban-industrial employee, in contrast to

the self-employed person (since we know that the self-employed group consists largely of farmers and small businessmen). However, no similar association is found when the chief reasons for the preference are tabulated according to rural-urban residence at retirement or when the tabulation is made according to income.

Both lower-income groups and those who are fully retired manifest some tendency to give economy as an advantage of mobile

them. With respect to mobile-home living itself, a strong tendency was noticeable for people to give such values as sociability as an advantage, and certainly for this group the advantages outweighed the disadvantages.

To a certain extent, an increase in association may be expected because of certain physical aspects of trailer-coach living and trailer parks in general. In a favorable climate especially, the limited size of the dwelling unit may lead to increased time being spent out of doors, and this fact, when taken in conjunction with the close physical proximity of the dwelling units and the use of central laundry and lavatory facilities, gives rise to increased social contact and, in time, to informal associations of a more intimate nature.

For the most part our interest in this community stems more from the fact that at least partial retirement is a condition of residence than from the incidental fact that it is a trailer park. Since all residents are greatly interested in recreation and leisure pursuits, these activities tend to be more highly sanctioned than would be likely to be the case in a community in which the predominant interests centered around economic activity. To a certain extent, however, preoccupation with leisure activities such as bingo and dancing may be regarded by outsiders as adolescent and unbecoming to persons in this age group. It reflects the different code of conduct which develops in such a self-contained community the needs and interests of whose residents are not fully shared outside the community.

Status differences based upon occupational roles or upon the competence with which these roles were performed are not prominent. There is, of course, a certain degree of carry-over of status from former life,⁹ but status within this social group is at

⁹ This is especially noticeable in the case of professional persons who are, even though retired, still referred to as "Doctor," "Professor," or "Reverend," and as such are held up as proof of "the nice class of people that we have here in this park." The retired industrial executive or banker is, by con-

TABLE 7*

REASON FOR PREFERENCE OF A RETIRED COMMUNITY BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF 152 MEN

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	REASON FOR PREFERENCE			TOTAL
	Sociability	Mutuality	Less Disturbance	
Self-employed	47	25	1	73
Non-self-employed . . .	27	39	13	79
Total	74	64	14	152

* $\chi^2 = 18.494$; $n = 2$; $p = .001$; $T = .25$.

home living, but in neither case does the tendency approach the significant level. Contrary to expectations, there is no tendency for lower-income groups to spend more months each year in residence in the park, when the tabulation is made for the fully retired group only.

In summary, then, the community manifests, first of all, a well-developed and diversified activity program in which residents take part to a relatively high degree. When they assess this way of life and the most important values which it holds for them (Table 3), a high proportion refer to "sociability" and association. The overwhelming proportion who prefer to live in a community composed exclusively of retired and quasi-retired persons and their reasons for such a preference also point to the value which status feelings and association have for

least equally dependent upon one's "being a good sport," or an exceptionally good dancer or shuffleboard player, or perhaps from just being very friendly. Perhaps the important thing is that there are no sharp feelings of status—the residents are likely to assert that there are no status differences, even with respect to income differences. Of course, this is partly true, since the rental entitles each resident to full participation in the recreation program, and relatively few persons seek recreation other than fishing outside the community.¹⁰

It is particularly interesting to note that, with respect to housing for the aged, a community of this type, although mobile with single residences privately owned, has certain elements in common with institutions. These are the similarity of age and employment status, the central facilities including the organized recreation, the interest in lei-

trast, simply "Mr.," and his past position and prestige in the occupational hierarchy are, accordingly, less readily communicable.

¹⁰ For a report on other mobile groups and their community organization and the importance of status see W. F. Whyte, Jr., "The Transients," Nos. I-IV, *Fortune*, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 5 (May, 1953) and 6 (June, 1953), and Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 1 (July, 1953) and 2 (August, 1953).

sure pursuits, and, to a lesser extent, if not similar financial status among the residents, at least similar patterns of spending.

Personal adjustment in retirement and old age is facilitated by the attitudes and institutional practices of mobile-home communities. Social roles which are congruent with the needs and interests of the retired person are sanctioned. The primary interests center around leisure and recreation. Therefore a further impetus may be provided to the migration and ultimate relocation of older persons. Since the advantage of mobility is seldom actually utilized by the occupants of these mobile homes, the future growth of such retired communities in warmer climates might not be confined to the growth of new mobile-home communities. The implementation of a central recreation program is, of course, greatly facilitated by the nature of the trailer park, but further research is needed to determine the extent to which such facilities are practicable in a small cottage community. However, the potential mobility of the trailer home provides a sense of freedom, important to many persons, which cannot be provided in the cottage community.

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THE NEW LEISURE CLASS

L. C. MICHELON

ABSTRACT

Adjustment to retirement is facilitated by the satisfying use of leisure time. Leisure activities, however, differ significantly from the isolating hobbies frequently recommended during working years. Some communities—for example, the modern trailer park—offer organized leisure activities conducive to adjustment to retirement. Preliminary data obtained from one park suggest a hypothetical formula for measuring the individual's predisposition to success in retirement.

The fundamental problem of retired people—today's leisure class—is essentially the substitution of a new set of personal values and new kinds of activity for the lifelong job of earning a living, raising a family, and overcoming the day-to-day obstacles that affect one's income, status, and career.

Leisure in retirement, of course, has different effects on different individuals. Some try to duplicate the frenzy of their working lives by doing anything to use up time; as Santayana said of fanatics, they redouble their efforts when they have forgotten their aim. For others, retirement is the beginning of a long, terminal hibernation characterized by lonely and maddening inactivity. Between these extremes is the rare individual who can look ahead to the golden years, make the needed changes in values, and substitute new, vital activities for the meaning of work.

It is not to be expected, however, that everyone must be satisfactorily adjusted to retirement, any more than during his working years. Neither do hobbies automatically speed the process of adjustment.

Five questions are posed here for detailed consideration: (1) Does the type of community in which leisure activities take place play a major role in retirement adjustment? (2) What is the significant difference between the use of leisure in the working years and in retirement? (3) Does experience justify development of hobbies as a mode of adjustment? (4) Can activities of the retired be related to economic and social groups in terms of interest and proficiency?

(5) Can a program of activities in retirement contain the basic values generally ascribed to work?

SAMPLE SIZE AND CHARACTER

The retired and semiretired group observed was located at the A-1-A Trailer Park, Melbourne, Florida, a small mobile-home community accommodating about fifty trailer homes at a time.

During the period of the study—November, 1952, to March, 1953—thirty-six trailer spaces were occupied by retired or semiretired persons. Their average age was 61 years, and individual ages varied from 58 to 72. Most were married, and all but one had spouses living with them. Two men were single. Some couples remained in the park for about two months, then moved to other parks in Florida. Their place was usually taken by another couple, thus increasing the size of the group under study and also changing the actual people observed. The total number observed was 111. Of the 57 men in the group, 7 were farmers, 23 were workers, 10 were businessmen, 5 were teachers, and 11 were professional men of one type or another. One was a former navy officer. The small size of the sample group, as well as its changing character, necessitated the use of observation and extended interviews rather than quantitative or statistical techniques.

TYPE OF COMMUNITY

The essential difference between a mobile community and the conventional one is

described by saying that the former resembles a pioneer community.

Status levels and social differences are virtually nonexistent because the proximity of living and the characteristics of trailer life force a great deal of sociability on the mobile resident. The individual can have privacy or the ultimate in sociability. But it is impossible for him to remain to himself, since the stimulus for social intercourse is always present. It is there when people walk to the recreation hall for their mail, when they wash clothes in the community laundry, when they enter into the spontaneous or the planned activities in the recreation room and hobby shop. It is on the beaches—while bathing and fishing—on the shuffleboard courts, and along the park grounds and gardens.

Some people stay in the same mobile community for long periods of time—often for years. Others return to the same park year after year. This apparent lack of mobility is deceiving, however, since implied mobility and the architecture of trailer parks are the key factors. The fact that an individual can move, if he wants to, gives him a different outlook from what it would be could he not move. So it is not unusual for people to build semipermanent structures (called “cabanas”) next to their trailers and still retain the psychology of mobile living.

No doubt, natural selection operates in any group that takes up mobile living as a mode of retirement. It tends to bring into the resort type of trailer parks what might be called the more adventuresome people.

The average mobile resident is in much better financial circumstances than commonly believed. Variations in individual income are quite considerable—sometimes ranging from \$750 to \$20,000 a year.

The significant differences between the Bradenton Trailer Park and the A-1-A Trailer Park are in the size and type of community. Bradenton is a large park catering almost exclusively to a retired clientele. A-1-A Trailer Park is comparatively small and accepts trailerites of all levels and ages. Its clientele resembles more closely what

might be called a normal age community. The A-1-A Trailer Park's recreational and hobby programs were directed by a member of the University of Chicago's staff. At Bradenton the recreational program was planned by the park management. As Hoyt points out, however, spontaneous participation by park residents largely determined what the scheduled program would be. Both parks have much planned recreation and leisure activities—far more so than is customarily found in alternative living arrangements.

THE NEW MEANING OF LEISURE

Just as the movies have their new dimension, so, too, leisure in retirement has its new look. This is evident in the differences between the leisure a person has while he holds a job and his leisure in retirement.

The average, working individual has many leisure hours; in fact, about fifty a week—allowing for work, transportation, and sleep. Why, then, do not these idle hours cause the same problem they do after a man retires? Probably because, psychologically, there are no characteristics of leisure about them. Such time is consumed talking shop, planning the next moves in life, worrying about the family, looking at television, taking a ride in the country. We call it leisure, but it is really a pause between activities—much like the pause between heartbeats, that is, activity in another form.

The problem comes when a person has the same—or more—leisure when he reaches retirement age. His children are grown, educated, and married, and he has either attained his working goals or renounced them. The problems of putting the children through school and paying the insurance and the mortgage no longer exist. There yawn ahead just golden years of inactivity.

A series of subjective judgments may be made.

1. When a person is busy at work and faced with daily problems, he is engaged in vital living. Problem-facing and problem-solving are what make life worth living.

They lead to the development of personality.

2. The working person is important to others and then to himself—that is, he is a jobholder, family man, company man, etc. Work for a purpose, service to others, obligations—these are important conditioners of value.

3. Leisure is particularly good at that time because the time free from business is made satisfying by the knowledge that there will be a return to work—with its corresponding meanings to the individual.

When a person retires, this customary set of values is almost completely reversed:

1. The individual must now live for himself—to satisfy his own person rather than worry about what a job or other people require of him.

2. New friends and a new community of interests must be substituted for the break-up in his work and home relationships.

3. The individual must come to see that what he formerly considered peripheral activities are the most important and most satisfying. He must see in them basic, substitute values for the meaning of work.

That many people refuse to change their basic values structure upon retirement is attested to by this recent want ad:

RETIREMENT IS A BORE. I want to go to work again. Experience and judgment acquired during 30 years successful operation of own business should be of value to someone. Reputation unquestionable. If you have an opening I might fit, I'd like to talk it over.

What, then, is the solution to the problem of leisure time in retirement? What means of adjustment are available and practical?

Soul-searching will reveal to the individual that the problem of leisure in retirement is really no problem at all. Rather, it gives the individual the best opportunities of his life, since for the first time he can devote his attention to pleasing himself and those immediately around him. It is an entirely new

way of life for most people rather than one of gradual transition. For the first time the individual is truly independent. He can say what he pleases, think as he pleases, and gratify his basic instincts for developing latent talents. He can afford to be useless in the most satisfying and purposeful ways. And, if the development of the individual is the end and aim of a free society, retirement is the appropriate time for him to develop in ways formerly denied him.

Here, then, is a new challenge to the individual to do what he did not think possible—to accomplish what he thought lay beyond his province. Painting, gardening, landscaping, ceramics, woodworking, hunting, fishing, counseling, group discussion, games, charitable work, community drives—these and more can be undertaken without hindrance.

These are vital activities; they are no longer forms of passive entertainment, like attending movies. On the contrary, the satisfying and creative uses of leisure in retirement conduce to a way of life that brings tangible results and opens new horizons for people whose potential talents were never really known.

The slowness or failure of retired persons to take part in vital and satisfying activities is often caused by the structure of the social community rather than by the lack of initiative on their part. This can be best shown by describing the co-ordinated types of activities that go on in mobile-home communities.

SATISFYING USE OF LEISURE IN RETIREMENT

The word "hobby" is used here to describe some type of avocational craft rather than a favorite pastime. The distinction is important because, when the middle-aged workingman is told to develop a hobby, he may understand it to mean that he ought to develop a craft skill like woodworking, toy repairing, etc.

People are apt to think that the problem of leisure in retirement can be met by instilling in the individual the habit of hobbies during his working years. But at that time

in his career leisure activities are very often pursued in isolation and not out in the community.

The hobbies that a man undertakes in isolation are satisfying during his working life because it is good to escape from the hustle and bustle of daily living. Isolating hobbies, however, are not so satisfying in retirement (except where there is no community life for him), since the new leisure should force him into activities with others. The term "vital activities" is proposed rather than "hobbies," and it includes the individual skills characteristic of hobbies and of other activities.

The important thing about vital activities in retirement is not the skill or its time-consuming features but whether it is in the mind of the individual a substitute for work.

Observations at A-1-A Trailer Park were given direction by Havighurst's conception of work, and the investigator attempted to correlate them to successful adjustment to retirement among men and women. Among the men, professional and business people were found to differ from industrial workers. The interest of these groups in activities carried on in the park also was evaluated, as well as the capacity of the activities to function as substitutes for work.

OBSERVATIONS ON ADJUSTMENT TO RETIREMENT

Married women seem to adjust more quickly to retirement than do married men, apparently because they need make no abrupt transition from everyday life. The usual responsibility of caring for the family is not much changed, except as to pace. Increased leisure is welcomed, as are smaller living quarters, since they reduce the day's drudgery. For most married women, therefore, there is a continuum from working life to retirement.

Single women, particularly career women, seem to have as much difficulty in adjusting to retirement as professional men or businessmen. They also seem to have more difficulty than single men of the same age.

Professional men and businessmen, on

the other hand, are more reluctant to retire than the average workingman. And when they retire completely, they have more difficulty in making a satisfactory adjustment. This is true even though they can afford to travel and do more interesting things in retirement. Apparently, the people who go into the professions do so because they like the work. The work of doctors, lawyers, and dentists is held in high esteem by people, and that gives them a high degree of personal satisfaction. The professional man's advantage is that he can permit his practice to taper off and so make a gradual transition to retirement as his professional abilities and physical stamina decline.

The businessman is in much the same position, although there is greater pressure on him to retire as he grows older. For him, frustration is probably more common than for others.

Here are some typical cases; taken from the group at A-1-A Trailer Park:

Mr. D., a former chief engineer in charge of street construction for a large city, had devoted all his life to engineering work, having supervised about a hundred other engineers. His work was important, beneficial, and personally rewarding, a basis for self-respect and a source of prestige and intrinsic enjoyment. He retired at 63 and soon became dissatisfied. Not an easy mixer, he found it difficult to adapt to other activities. Retirement was the less satisfying because he was continually thinking of his previous job and had the feeling he was no longer useful. Fortunately, Mr. D. was able to do part-time engineering work on a construction project in the community in which he retired. As a result he began to enjoy his leisure—primarily because he could fill in a part of his day with professional work. This case seems typical of those people who are overly dependent on their work. Where work is enjoyable and socially rewarding, the adjustment to retirement seems to be more difficult.

Mr. M. made a satisfactory adjustment to retirement from a clerical position in an accounting firm. His work was not of a re-

spensible sort, nor was it particularly a source of intrinsic enjoyment. This case, typical of others, seems to bear out the theory that work which has a neutral or negative meaning to the man engaged in it helps rather than hinders adjustment to retirement.

There are the semiretired Dr. P. and Mr. H. The first is a dentist; the second a small businessman, whose business keeps him busy about six months out of the year. Adjustment among such semiretired people is often highly satisfactory. They enjoy their six months of leisure and look forward to their six months of work. It is gratifying to the dentist to know that his patients will be waiting for him. The consciousness of service to others, of worth, and of prestige guarantee them suitable adjustment during the retired half of the year. The small businessman, in turn, during his six-month retirement does a considerable amount of planning for the next business year. His sons keep him informed of business conditions at home, so he always feels he is in the heart of things. As a result he enjoys his leisure hours in retirement with a rare degree of enthusiasm.

There are two cases that reflect work which has a negative meaning. One was an assistant foreman for a large corporation; the other, a laboratory technician for a small company. Work to them was largely an economic necessity—often a burden. And, as a result, they did not worry particularly about leaving it, and the transition to leisured retirement was uneventful.

Can it be said, then, that work which has a positive meaning is a deterrent to adjustment in retirement? If so, what activities in retirement can best re-create in retired individuals the same degree of satisfaction that work originally had?

LEISURE ACTIVITIES, MEANING OF WORK, AND CONSTRUCTIVE RETIREMENT

Mobile-home communities probably offer the widest range of continuous, vital activities for retired people. Because of the activities' diversity and continuing char-

acter, everyone can find something of interest. Such communities cater to peoples' interests by providing appropriate leisure activities.

Table 1 shows the different kinds of activities normally carried on in mobile-home communities—and the way in which different types of people take to them. A plus sign (+) simply means that the group likes and is generally competent in the activity. A minus sign (—) signifies that the group does not enjoy or is not particularly competent in it.

Although there is considerable variation from group to group in specific activities, the possibilities of adjustment to retirement of each group are indeed good. In other words, each group can take part in a large number of activities they like and can do. Mobile-home communities bring these activities to their doorstep—free of charge.

Square dancing.—Women enjoy square dancing more than do men. Among the men the average worker is apt to develop a greater interest and competence in square dancing than professional men or businessmen. Apparently these latter do not unbend as easily as workingmen.

Fishing.—Men excel over women in fishing in both interest and skill. Furthermore, professional men and businessmen are as interested in fishing and as capable as the average workingman. Professional men and businessmen, however, prefer fly and plug fishing—that is, artificial bait fishing—while the average worker depends largely on live-bait fishing. No doubt, income and previous habits play an important role here.

Gardening and landscaping.—Everyone seems to have an interest and a degree of competence in gardening and landscaping. Observed differences are primarily in what is planted and why. Women and professional men and businessmen lean to the flower and decorative type of gardening and landscaping. These include exotic plants and flowers, hedges, and rare trees—that is, the unusual rather than the bread-and-butter type of gardening. Workers, on the other hand, prefer regular gardens as well as flowers and

beautifying shrubs. Here, again, money enters in. It is obvious, nevertheless, that gardening and landscaping hold great attraction for all retired people regardless of past position and status. They say they like to see a big, flowering bush take form from a little plant or seed. It symbolizes a contribution they make to a new life-process and brings them close to something fresh and young and growing.

Television is not available in the area at present.

Bingo.—This is indeed a popular game in most mobile-home communities. The game combines sociability with considerable intermittent conversation, as well as the excitement of the game and the possibility of winning prizes or modest sums of money.

Women like bingo better than men; male workers like it more than business or profes-

TABLE 1
DIFFERENT KINDS OF ACTIVITIES CARRIED ON IN MOBILE-HOME COMMUNITIES

ACTIVITY	SEX		OCCUPATION OF MEN	
	Men	Women	Professional and Business	Worker
1. Square dancing.....	—	+	—	+
2. Fishing.....	+	—	+	+
3. Gardening and landscaping.....	+	+	+	+
4. Movies, picnics, and barbecues.....	—	+	—	+
5. Bingo.....	—	+	—	+
6. Photography.....	+	—	+	—
7. Hobby-shop activities.....	+	+	—	+
8. Painting or ceramics.....	—	+	+	—
9. Shuffleboard, horseshoes (mild physical games).....	+	—	—	+
10. Gossip.....	—	+	—	+
11. Discussions and conversations.....	+	—	+	—
12. Card-playing.....	+	+	+	+
13. Television not available.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. Golf not available.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	(7+)(5—)	(8+)(4—)	(6+)(6—)	(9+)(3—)

Movies, picnics, and pot-luck dinners.—At A-1-A Trailer Park movies are shown once a week, pot-luck dinners are given once a week, and outdoor barbecues or picnics are held once a month. These activities are liked by everyone, particularly women. Women take considerable pride in presenting their dish at a supper. The commendations of the group—generally universal for all women participants—gives them a form of recognition often denied at home, and husbands take pride in their wives' accomplishments.

Among the men the workers get greater enjoyment from group entertainment than professional men or businessmen—especially from the movies.

sional people. Bingo is well attended by all groups, and games are held once or twice a week in most trailer parks. An individual may play one card or thirty cards, depending on personal finances and skill in handling the cards. Skill in handling a large number of cards may make one a reputation among the players.

Photography.—Photography is liked by men more than women and particularly by professional men and businessmen. This includes both still and motion pictures. No doubt, the cost of equipment and previous experience partly enter in.

When colored slides are shown, there is friendly competition to see who has the best

pictures or the most interesting sequences. And generally, those who show slides like the idea of getting up before a group and telling where they have been and what they have done.

Hobby-shop activities.—Hobby-shop activities—that is, activities requiring craft or hand skills—are liked equally well by men and women. Older men are less inclined to use power-driven machinery than younger men. This brings up the question of whether hobbies involving machinery—which are often recommended during an earlier age—would be obsolescent by the time the person retires.

The importance of purpose should not be overlooked. Sometimes a person is told to develop a hobby, as though he ought to develop any craft regardless of its usefulness. From the writer's experience the most popular hobbies are those related to something the individual wants or can use. Professional men and businessmen, for example, take an interest in woodworking machinery when it is related to activities in which they have an interest. Many men, for example, build their own boats because they want a boat for fishing. Or an individual may want to make a picket fence for his trailer lot or furniture for his patio. When a hobby has a purpose, it may have the same significance as work and yield the same sort of satisfaction.

Women take a greater interest in painting, clay modeling, ceramics, and sewing. These activities are also engaged in for their usefulness as well as for intrinsic enjoyment. It is a source of recognition for women to pass their handiwork around and make gifts of them to people in the park. Gift-giving of this kind increases one's circle of friends and does not cost much, since it is reciprocal. Thus, craft activities become a means of social participation, the basis for recognition by others, and a source of intrinsic interest and enjoyment, as well as a pastime.

Physical activities.—In a mobile-home community physical activities are adapted to the advanced age of its residents. Shuffleboard, for example, is an extremely popular game because it combines mild physical ac-

tivity with personal skill and an opportunity to engage in friendly conversation. Both men and women enjoy shuffleboard, although men excel in competence. Horseshoe pitching is a man's game and is liked best by the industrial worker.

Gossip and friendly conversation.—When a retired individual is cut off from his home and friends, he is motivated to establish relations with other people in the park. New arrivals at a mobile-home community are new faces, new backgrounds, new people to be studied; they invariably set up what can be called a "stream of gossip."

No scientific study has been made of gossip as a therapeutic device facilitating adjustment in retirement, but it is obvious that the gossip current in mobile-home communities is an exhilarating experience for most people. It gives the individual something to think about, talk about, and occupy his time—and represents a continuum with normal living in a way more vital than is usually realized.

Card-playing.—Card-playing is a daily diet in a mobile-home community. Park residents take an active interest in card games—particularly canasta (the most popular), bridge, pinochle, and poker. There is a distinct preference for certain card games, based on differences in economic status. Generally, poker and pinochle are preferred by poorer individuals, while bridge is preferred by the well-to-do. No doubt, past habits play an important part. Business and professional people tend to gauge their satisfaction and competence on the number of points scored, while others take greater pride in the stakes won.

CONCLUSION

The following tentative conclusions might form the bases for more critical and exhaustive analyses:

1. There is an inverse correlation between a person's adjustment to his job and his probable adjustment to retirement. Where the meaning of work to the individual is positive, the transition to retirement is more difficult. Where the meaning of work

is negative or neutral, the transition to retirement is easier.

2. The hobbies recommended to a person during his working years will not necessarily facilitate his adjustment to retirement, since they are for the most part, isolating. They may help a person relax from his work, but they may not contribute to adjustment.

3. The isolating hobbies, as well as the other vital activities mentioned, contribute to adjustment in retirement when the community contains many and varied stimuli for social intercourse. Because of its sociability and well-planned recreational and hobby programs, the mobile-home community most closely approximates this type of community.

4. The wide range of planned activities carried on in this type of community makes it possible for different types of people to find interesting activities in which they can excel—thus furnishing satisfying substitution for work.

Finally, much can be done in the way of evaluation instruments and preretirement counseling techniques to measure the individual's predisposition to adjustment in retirement. Such measurement, counseling, and planning can do much to smooth the transition to retirement by helping the indi-

vidual reformulate his "set of values." It may be that a "Personal Retirement Inventory" can be developed, incorporating Havighurst's meaning of work, and based on some preliminary hypothesis. Perhaps, by way of illustration:

$$PAR = \frac{EC + SC + VA}{MW \pm VSC},$$

That is, the *Predisposition to Adjustment in Retirement* (PAR) would depend upon *Economic Capabilities* (EC) plus a facilitating *Social Community* (SC) and well-planned *Vital Activities* (VA). These, however, might fail completely in bringing about suitable adjustment, if the *Meaning of Work* (MW) is strongly positive for the individual. In this case, a *Values-Structure Change* (VSC) would be indicated. If MW (Meaning of Work) could be quantitatively measured, then, hypothetically, the larger the positive number, the lower the PAR.

Changes in a person's values structure might best be achieved through preretirement counseling several years in advance. The purpose would not be to make the positive meanings of work negative but rather to neutralize them with a better appreciation of retirement opportunities.

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SOME CLINICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF AGING¹

DAVID RIESMAN

ABSTRACT

Reaction to aging in America is largely governed by norms which vary according to social group. Three types of reaction are: the adjusted, the anomic, and the autonomous. This typology is tentatively set up for analyzing materials now being gathered in the Kansas City Study of Middle Age and Aging.

If we observe the aging of individuals, after middle life, we can distinguish three ideal-typical outcomes. Some bear within themselves psychological sources of self-renewal: aging brings for them accretions of wisdom, with no loss of spontaneity and ability to enjoy life, and they are relatively independent of the strictures and penalties imposed on the aged by the culture. Others, possibly the majority, have no such resources within them but are the beneficiaries of a cultural preservative (derived from work, power, position, and so on) which sustains them, although only so long as the cultural conditions remain stable and protective. A third group, protected neither from within nor from without, simply decays. Expressed in terms more fully delineated elsewhere,² these are "autonomous," "adjusted," and "anomic" reactions to aging.

THE AUTONOMOUS

In the case of someone like Bertrand Russell or Toscanini, an essential aliveness of spirit reflexively keeps the body alive, too, in the face of the inevitable physiological catabolisms. Such men create something new every day through their own reactions; in their work as in their general style

of life they exhibit what Erich Fromm calls the "productive orientation."³ It is most important to realize that such men are not necessarily balanced or well-adjusted; they may have terrible tempers, neurotic moods; they may be shut out from whole areas of existence; they may get along well with very few people or prefer dead historians or musicians to living ones; they may relate themselves to the cosmos more through an emphasis on objects and ideas than on social relations. In such cases a passionate interest or preoccupation which has remained alive since childhood—though perhaps newly justified or rediscovered in middle life—may matter much more than the roundedness of interests we are today inclined to encourage among our two vulnerable groups of "clients": children and older people. Professional chess players of distinction, for example, may suffer very little deterioration as a social-psychological process, however constricted their lives may appear to the therapist whose norm is a superficial integration of a bundle of diverse activities.

Such individuals are fairly immune to cultural changes, or to cultural definitions of their own physical changes: they carry their preservative, their "spirits," within. Freud could continue to live with vigor in the face of cancer of the mouth which made eating embarrassing and difficult; as his life went on, he grew steadily more alive and more independent. *Civilization and Its Discontents*, written when he was over 70,

¹ This paper is based on a memorandum, submitted in January, 1953, to the Kansas City Study of Middle Age and Aging being conducted under a Carnegie grant by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago.

² See chap. xiv of David Riesman, with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).

³ *Man for Himself* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1947).

• belies its pessimistic theme by the very vitality of its presentation. Likewise Franz Boas, though he suffered from disfigurement and was in many ways cramped, does not appear to have experienced any decline of powers. The misfortunes brought by nazism could no more shake either man than could the misfortunes brought by their own bodies. Men of this sort exhibit in a dramatic way the specifically human power to grow and develop on a superphysiological level (with, of course, physiological consequences); as long as the body does not actively prevent, these men are immortal because of their ability to renew themselves.

In lesser degree, anyone who can experience anything for himself—whether he is a “man of distinction” or not—staves off, by so much, psychological death. Paradoxically, the premonition of death may for many be a stimulus to such novelty of experience; the imminence of death serves to sweep away the inessential preoccupations for those who do not flee from the thought of it into triviality. We enter here a cultural dimension and raise the question of how death is regarded or disregarded in America as compared with how it is viewed, for example, in existentialist philosophy.

For several reasons we have not paid much attention to these autonomous reactions to aging. Such reactions are rare, and a spurious democracy has influenced both our research methods (I am sometimes tempted to define “validity” as part of the context of a research design demanding so little esoteric gift that any number can play at it, provided they have taken a certain number of courses) and our research subjects (it would be deemed snobbish to investigate only the best people). Moreover, the period of life under discussion and its attendant qualities do not last long: men react productively to waning physical and often social power, only to die shortly thereafter. And we tend to view individuals as we do entire cultures; while we can admire the Hellenistic period, although it was weak and “decadent” and soon perished, we do not on the whole admire declining empires nearer

to us in time. We read their future fate—death—into our present judgment of them.

THE ADJUSTED

The term “adjusted” should be defined culturally. In America the executive or professional man is not supposed to allow himself to age, but by what appears almost sheer will he must keep himself “well-preserved,” as if in creosote. For the most part, he lacks inner aliveness of the sort just discussed; the will which burns in him, while often admirable, cannot be said to be truly “his”: it is compulsive; he has no control over it, but it controls him. He appears to exist in a psychological deepfreeze; new experience cannot get at him, but rather he fulfils himself by carrying out ever renewed tasks given by his environment; he is borne along on the tide of cultural agendas. So long as these agendas remain, he is safe; he does not acquire wisdom, as the old of some other cultures are said to do, but he does not lose skill—or, if he does, he is protected by his power from the consequences, perhaps even from the awareness, of loss of skill. In such a man, responsibility may be a substitute for maturity.

Indeed, one may argue, the protection furnished such people in the United States is particularly strong, since their “youthfulness” remains a source of social and economic prestige, and wisdom might actually, if it brought awareness of death and what the culture regarded as pessimism, count against them. In a way, nothing happens to these people, and this leads them, save possibly in rare moments of self-doubt and self-questioning, to regard themselves as well-off. They prefigure in complex and often imperceptible ways the cultural cosmetic that makes Americans appear youthful to other peoples. And, since they are well-fed, well-groomed, and vitamin-dosed, there may be an actual delay of the usual physiological decline to partly compensate for lack of psychological growth. Their outward appearance of aliveness may mask inner sterility.

Like the women of an earlier day who

were held up by stays, such "adjusted" people of the middle and later years are held up by endoskeletal (mesomorphic?) tensions. They are literally held up; nothing advances, save their careers, their responsibilities. This sort of energy must surely be ranked among the world-conquering assets of Western man: it impresses Indians to find Englishmen, as well as mad dogs, out in the noonday sun—they are gods of a sort, who tell the sun to stand still. Only at night, perhaps, when they are coming home from a party, does the mask drop or crack, to be ritualistically reorganized the following day. We who are the beneficiaries of such accumulated energies in the past cannot lightly scoff at the perhaps slowly vanishing group of those who still possess them.

Nevertheless, many of the suggestions currently made for improving the adjustment of the elderly seem aimed simply at finding ersatz preservatives, not at any inner transformations that would permit self-renewal. Thus, a retired doctor or executive may be persuaded to take up golf or fishing with the same undiscerning ferocity he once threw into his work and its social context; someone from the hunting club or Kiwanis may transfer into the Golden Age Club, and so on. It would be unjust to criticize too severely these ameliorative measures in the absence of understood and institutionalized ways of assisting more basic transformation—ways often, one fears, too late by the time of retirement. (In principle, it is never too late; but, as with other therapeutic questions, it is a matter of available help, of the allocation of scarce resources.) In occasional dilemmas too quick an effort to assure a smooth adjustment results in this merely substitutive activity, whereas allowing a person to be confronted for a time with nothingness might save him—or destroy him—depending on what inner resources he could muster to the challenge.⁴

Our usual social-psychological discussions of roles and role theory too easily assume that people *are* the roles they play, the willing or unwilling puppets of the social drama. But the ability to play roles involves, in a great many instances, not only some rewriting of the socially provided script but some saving grace of potentiality not bound up in the role; the role clarifies one's economy of affects. Hence there are reservoirs of inner life in a great many individuals whose roles, almost by definition, do not wholly absorb them. (The same is true, as Toynbee observes, of many cultures and what had been thought to be their "roles" in world history.) In war or other social emergency the great efflorescence of unsuspected potentialities in people which it provokes is unsuspected often enough by the very individuals concerned. Where do these potentialities come from? It is hard to say, though we are tempted to refer them, as we refer so many mysteries, to childhood and to say that the cultural preservative is a deepfreeze in the sense, too, that childhood potentialities, though long neglected, are seldom wholly crushed. (Very few projective test experts focus sufficiently on the discovery of such potentialities; the "deeper levels" they look for are ordinarily those that foreshadow trouble rather than liberation; they are understandably more fearful of missing a hidden flaw than hopeful of a buried treasure.)

Professor Martin Loeb, the field director of our Kansas City Study of Middle Age and Aging, questions my making such explicit value judgments, the positing of an ideal of aging as the basis for setting up a typology, lest my own dream that the autonomous person does not "really" age, at least in any deleterious way, be projected into a typology. And he asked what was wrong with the way of aging of a grandmother who had had a hard life and now preferred to sit passively on the porch and watch her grandchildren and the passing

⁴ Dr. Martin Gumpert, in "Old Age and Productive Loss," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, XVII (May, 1953), 103-9, stresses that the very bodily defeats and impairments of the aging person may be

and often are more than compensated for by inner growth.

traffic? Who was to tell her she should be spontaneous?

Perhaps this was meant as a warning less against value judgments as such, for they are unavoidable, than against shallow and ethnocentric ones. Still, middle-class social scientists are today almost too ready to throw over their own values as class-biased, while accepting values from groups whose life-conditions have permitted them fewer alternatives. Our circle of sympathy should not be too narrow, it should perhaps include even the lower-middle-class grandmother who wears too much grease paint in a pathetic effort to look like a cover girl. And certainly a grandmother who decides to observe her progeny and the passing show and who is capable of observing people as individuals and not entirely as stereotypes is reacting productively to aging—spontaneity and aliveness are of course not to be equated with activity and “hepness.” In general, we can sharpen our scientific awareness of what aging does to people, and vice versa, by bringing into play our preference for more creative as against more stultified ways of meeting it in individuals and in cultural groups.

The developing Eisenhower administration is supplying an unusual opportunity to observe the working-out of some of these ways. Some military and business leaders newly drafted into government will be unable to grow and develop when robbed of the protective surroundings their social systems gave them; they may even age rapidly and decay. (Others, sufficiently high up, can try to re-create analogous protective systems, down to the secretary, the staffs, the shape of the desks and perhaps of the subordinates too, so as to avoid leaving “home.”) Still others, however, will prove to have, or to gain, the quality of inner aliveness that enables one to adapt to radically new surroundings; fear does not prevent their seeing that these are new or force them simply to curse the newness as “bureaucracy,” “politics,” or what not; rather, they will be stimulated.

Consider the consequences of different

occupational experiences which men have had before entering the government. Are the department-store executives whom William E. Henry has described as having a tropism toward decision-making better off than bankers who are in the main accustomed to constrict decision-making? Is it a question of the nature of different preservatives in different occupational groups, as these mix or refuse to mix with the occupational experience of government officials? Can we develop tests that will help answer such questions, not for young people early in their careers, but for middle-aged people suddenly given a new lease on a new office, if not on a new life?

The difficulty of predicting which of these several “careers of aging” an individual will pursue is presented by the notorious misjudgments teachers make of their students’ prospects. Some who appear to have spark and originality lose it very shortly. Then, retroactively, one can see that while young they were kept alive partly by physiological changes and that aging started for them at 25 if not before; nothing new has happened after that. It depends hardly at all on these individuals whether the culture keeps them going until death or does not prevent their obvious and grievous deterioration. In contrast, other individuals who in their twenties appeared quite set in their ways, without much ability to have new experiences, turn out to have been harboring reserves which slowly come to reshape their whole orientation. Whereas power protects some and perhaps most men from having to develop (others are compelled to adapt to *them*), there remain a number of men whom power stimulates to late flowering.

Thus, it is plain that for the “adjusted” group it matters decisively what institutions they hitch or are hitched to and whether such institutions incapsulate them or awaken them or destroy them. Their one-and-only life-cycle gets fatally mixed with the larger institutional cycles. And, to recur to our image, it sometimes seems as if the aging business or professional person’s tenacious

efforts to keep himself from sagging into a flabby or relaxed age provide much of the motive power of our entrepreneurial expansion, combined with institutional conservatism.

THE ANOMIC

Real decay sets in when the physiological vitality is lost and when the culture does not carry the individual onward but drops him. Sudden decomposition appears to be the fate of some men who are forced to retire, where it becomes evident that the job and its emotional ambience kept the jobholder together: they held a job less than the job held them. A spouse, though he or she did not greatly love the other spouse, may not be able to survive him or her but dies shortly in a metaphorical suttee. (This is also true among the "quasi-families" of people who are not married but are tied to each other in a similar symbiotic way.) Such people live like cards, propped up by other cards.

At first blush, they may look very much like the people who have a better cultural preservative, but the paths soon diverge, and their decay sets in earlier. They are not the lawyers and engineers and businessmen of springy step, but the prematurely weary and resigned. As against those who, in a way, never grow up, never face death, they sometimes appear never to have been young. But in both cases—the adjusted and the anomic—there is a truncation of the "seven ages of man," the variety and contretemps of the life-cycle; there is an insufficient dialectic between physiological decline and psychological increment.

Moreover, the autonomous and the anomic reactions to aging are alike in that the individuals concerned make little use of the standard cultural preservatives—the former because they transcend and reshape them, the latter because they cannot attain them or maintain them. If responsibility accompanies maturity for the autonomous and takes the place of maturity for the adjusted, the anomic find their way to neither. Like a person who is afraid to overshoot the green when he drives from the tee (or, more

probably, gives up acting as if he wanted to make the green at all), they start out in life with aims that will not carry them through a career. And they do not succeed in boarding an institutional escalator that will define for them what it is to have a career.

Our research in Kansas City, having moved out of the clinic and into the community, will probably have to develop typologies less "universal" than the one I have proposed here. For the three types have nothing to do with Kansas City as such, with its conflict of rural and urban ideologies, its history as an entrepôt, its prospective future as an industrial base. Differences of sex and of social station have decisive consequences for the forms of aging felt to be appropriate, but these differences, too, while illustrated in Kansas City as elsewhere, are not peculiar to it. Nevertheless, in examining different occupational groups in the metropolitan area, this typology may be useful as a critique of each group's way of aging. Thus the well-to-do and ceaselessly energetic medical men of Kansas City may buy a cultural preservative at the expense of being run ragged from the days when they did autopsies to the day when they are the subject of one—the more so, the busier, the more successful, and the more traditional. As against this, Kansas City high-school teachers, Warren Peterson suspects, think they are "old maids" at 30 and for forty years thereafter (they must retire at 70) do not appreciably age, being kept alive by their young charges, their community obligations; their summer-school courses, and the diurnal round to which this helplessly exposed target of community hopes, fears, and envies is committed.

Even here, the patterns are probably not exclusively Kansas City's or exclusively metropolitan. But it is, in any case, a fortunate safeguard if research is both forced and encouraged to move back and forth between clinical and cultural considerations in search of a typology, or set of them, that encompasses both.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF AGING AND RETIREMENT

ROBERT K. BURNS

ABSTRACT

The new employment-retirement relationship in the American economy is characterized by (1) a separation of income from its traditional dependence upon employment and (2) a variety of forms of income maintenance for the aged. The nature and significance of compulsory retirement and the problem of adequate support of the aged pose new problems.

THE CHANGING EMPLOYMENT-RETIREMENT PATTERN

Up until recent years there was no widespread retirement of older people from work until they were compelled to leave the labor market entirely because of physical incapacity, illness, infirmity, or senility. Consequently, a relatively high proportion of older individuals able to work were actively engaged in work or seeking work. In 1900, for example, more than two-thirds of all men 65 and over were in the labor force.

Compulsory retirement, now a planned, phased, and programmed aspect of the employment relationship, was then not widely prevalent in our economy. The economic base and the employer-employee relationships necessary for the general retirement of older individuals had not yet emerged. Indeed, a number of factors favored continued employment as against compulsory retirement. A high proportion of self-employed people, particularly of farmers, made compulsory retirement quite unlikely, as did the dependence of the employee and craftsman upon continued work as a means of maintaining income and the absence of pension and substitute sources of income to replace earnings.

THE NEW EMPLOYMENT-RETIREMENT RELATIONSHIP

Compulsory retirement means that age sets a limit and restriction on the right of the individual to work. It was accompanied by fundamental economic and social changes and relationships: the separation of income

from its traditional dependence upon employment; the substitution of governmental and industrial types of income maintenance in the form of federal and industrial pensions as an earned retirement right; and public old age assistance based on need.

These profound changes were a consequence of increased industrialization and urbanization, which entailed population and occupational changes, and of continuing increases in industrial productivity which have averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ -3 per cent per year. The greater output per worker obviously made possible a reduction in the hours of work with a corresponding increase in leisure. Less obvious has been the reduction in the life-span of work by compulsory retirement from the labor market and the increase in leisure because of retirement. Since 1900 the years that American citizens have spent in retirement have more than doubled.

The great change in retirement policy began in 1935 with the passage of the Social Security Act, institutionalizing the concept of retirement as part of public policy and establishing retirement on a pensionable basis as a means of partial protection against a major risk of industry—old age. It helped to fix 65 years of age as the normal retirement age. In so far as retirement benefits are payable only if a person retired from the labor market, it laid the basis for compulsory retirement as part of our national labor policy.

The pensionable protection against old age under the Social Security Act was, from the economic point of view, both inadequate

and inflexible, particularly in the period of rising prices and inflation that followed. This stimulated considerable economic and social innovation, including the introduction of employer-initiated private pension systems to supplement Social Security payments and the joint determination and administration through collective bargaining of the entire pension program.

All this represented a considerable change in both policy and practice in the employment of the older worker. In various ways government, industry, and unions began to limit the participation of older employees in the labor market, which raised important problems of income maintenance and support. For older employees the enforced shift from work to retirement also brought social and psychological adjustments for which many were not adequately prepared.

THE CURRENT EMPLOYMENT-RETIREMENT SITUATION

Basic population and employment trends help to explain the current employment-retirement situation and its significance in our economy.

The rapid increase in the proportion of people 65 years and over.—The group aged 65 and over in our population is increasing twice as fast as our total population. In 1900 one out of twenty-five Americans was 65 or over. By 1950 this proportion had risen to one out of twelve. Within the next thirty years it is likely to be one out of every nine.

The increase in the number of people 65 years and over.—In December, 1952, there were 13,400,000 people over 65—approximately 9 per cent of our population. At present there are four times as many people in the United States over 65 as there were in 1900. While our population has doubled since 1900, the aged have increased fourfold. Moreover, they are continuing to increase at the rate of almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year. By 1975 it is estimated that there will be twenty million aged 65 and over.

Participation by men over 65 in the labor force is declining rapidly.—Of all men 65 and

over in 1900, 68 per cent were in the labor force. By 1930 this had dropped to 54 per cent and by 1950 to 45 per cent. Thus a substantially greater number and proportion of population is in the 65-and-over group. As consumers they must share in the total goods and services produced. Yet, their employment, their productive utilization, and, consequently, their capacity for self-support in the retirement years are declining. This means that more people must be supported during a lengthening period of retirement.

WORK AND LIFE-EXPECTANCY

Until 1950 the life-expectancy of people aged 65 and over was about the same as it had been earlier. However, between 1940 and 1950, their life-expectancy increased one and a half years, and the trend is likely to increase. Within another generation, average life-expectancy at birth may increase by another ten years. A child born in 1900 had a life-expectancy of 48 years, while one born in 1950 had a life-expectancy of 68 years. A white girl child has a life-expectancy of 71 years. Thirty years from now the average life-expectancy may rise to 78 years.

The increase in life-expectancy is due largely to the effectiveness of the new drugs, notably penicillin and the sulfas, against diseases prevalent in old age. For example, while pneumonia was the second cause of death among older people only fifteen years ago, it is now the seventh or eighth. Of course, given a fixed retirement age, increasing life-expectancy means that the number of years spent in retirement is increasing. The gap between the number of years a man works and the number of years he lives will also widen. The cost of income maintenance and financial support for the retired worker is increasing, and this powerfully affects individual financial planning, industrial and federal pension policy, employee-employer relations, and broad economic and public policy.

The average man aged 65 today may expect to live thirteen years after retiring. For the average woman it is approximately six-

teen years. These are years when income falls and costs continue, a nonproductive period equivalent to 20–25 per cent of the productive life. (It is forty-five years from the time the average individual enters the labor market until he leaves at 65.) They pose problems of personal saving, capital accumulation, and funding to insure and to maintain consumption, problems which involve not only the individual but also the employing unit and the community.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF PEOPLE 65 AND OLDER

Average net worth at age 65 is very limited, and minimum needs can be considered as relatively fixed, and thus income—its source, amount, and adequacy—is of paramount importance.

Income needs.—In October, 1950, a modest budget for a retired elderly couple amounted to an average of \$1,700–\$1,800 per year. It ranged from \$1,602 in New Orleans to \$1,908 in Milwaukee. Comparable estimates of a city worker's family budget for four persons ranged from \$3,453 in New Orleans to \$3,933 in Milwaukee.¹

Net worth.—The net worth of most older people is the amount of cash they can realize in recurrent income, from the sale of assets, or from the use of assets such as housing, personal possessions, and the like. Studies of net worth of the aged and retired are incomplete and in some instances contradictory. The Federal Reserve Board's survey of consumer finances found that one-fourth of the consumer's spending units headed by retired persons had a net worth of under \$1,000. Similar evaluations were reported by 21 per cent of the spending units headed by persons aged 45–64, by 22 per cent of those units headed by persons aged 55–64, and by 27 per cent of the units headed by persons aged 65 and over. The survey also reported that from 54 to 59 per cent of the units

headed by people in these three age groups reported net worths in excess of \$5,000.²

In contrast, a Federal Security Agency study of the net worth of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance beneficiaries revealed a range of median positive net worth valuation from \$300 in three southern cities to \$3,365 in twelve middle-sized cities in Ohio. This study, a compilation of five surveys made in different areas, showed further that from 17.5 to 41.8 per cent of those interviewed reported zero or negative net worth valuations. Another 13.3–19.7 per cent claimed net valuations under \$1,000.³

More comprehensive studies are needed to ascertain the net worth of older people. For example, an external check revealed that the Federal Reserve Board findings substantially understated consumers' liquid assets. Both studies failed to consider such important assets as holdings of currency, bonds other than United States securities, household possessions, and the reserve value of life insurance policies.⁴

The average annual benefit under Federal Old Age Insurance now being paid to the retired employee with no entitled dependents amounts to somewhat less than \$600 a year. The average annual benefit for a couple is approximately \$975 a year. To supplement this with an annuity income of \$800 a year, sufficient to bring it up to a minimum level-of-living budget of \$1,800 per year, would require a capital fund of more than \$11,000 at age 65, assuming an expenditure of both interest and principal. To buy an annuity income of \$100 per month at 65 and thereafter requires a fund of approximately \$17,000 at age 65 based on the expenditure of both interest and principal.

² *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, XXXVI (1950), 1584–1611.

³ E. Magnus, "Net Worth of Old Age and Survivors' Insurance Beneficiaries," *Social Security Bulletin*, X (1947), 12–27.

⁴ See Robert K. Burns and Leonard B. Brown, "The Older Worker in Industry," in *Cowdry's Problems of Aging*, ed. A. I. Lansing (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1952), pp. 986–87.

¹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Economic Status of Older Men and Women* (supplement to Bull. 1092) (Washington, D.C., 1953).

Income sources.—The major sources of income for persons aged 65 and over as listed by the Institute of Life Insurance is shown in Table 1, where the percentages indicate the proportion of this group receiving income from the specified source.⁶

TABLE 1

MAJOR INCOME SOURCES AND PERCENTAGE OF INCOME RECEIVERS
(PERSONS 65 YEARS AND OVER)

Source of Income	Percentage
Employment.....	34
Investments.....	9
Pensions.....	18
Private assistance.....	17
Public assistance.....	22

Of a total of 13.3 million persons in the population of 65 and over as of December, 1952, approximately 30 per cent, or 4.1 million, received income from employment. This group was made up of 3.1 million wage-earners and 1 million wives of wage-earners. The proportion of older people who receive income from employment is declining. In 1944, 40 per cent of those over 65 received earnings from employment—the highest percentage since 1940. By 1952 the percentage receiving such income had dropped to 30. Approximately 9.2 million, or the remaining 70 per cent, of those 65 and over had no earnings from employment. Two-fifths, or 3.5 million, received Old Age and Survivors' benefits. Another three hundred thousand beneficiaries under the Old Age Insurance program continued in employment. More than one-fourth, or 2.6 million, were on public assistance rolls. The remaining 2.8 million were self-supporting or received aid and assistance from relatives, children, and others.⁶

Income amounts and coverage.—Approximately 3.5 million received Old Age and Survivors' benefits as provided under the Social Security Act. These represented 40 per cent of the aged population with no in-

come from employment. Approximately 2.6 million were retired employees, 0.7 million were aged wives of retired employees, and 5.5 million were survivors of deceased employees—widows, dependent widowers, and dependent parents.

The average monthly benefit paid to retired employees with no entitled dependents amounted to \$47.25 in December, 1952. The average paid to retired couples was \$81.50, and to aged widows, \$40.65.

Under the more liberal computation provisions of the 1950 amendment, based on earnings since 1950, the monthly benefits would be increased substantially. The retired employee with no dependents would receive an average of \$65 per month, the aged couple \$100 per month, and aged widows approximately \$50 per month.⁷

Approximately 48 million workers, or about 80 per cent of the labor force in paid civilian employment, are covered by the Old Age Insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. The main groups not covered include farm operators, self-employed and certain professions, employees covered by staff retirement programs of federal, state, and local governments, and domestic and agricultural employees who do not work regularly for one employer.

The total number insured under the Old Age Insurance program is larger than the number paying or making contributions, since wives and other survivors are covered by the act. In December, 1952, approximately 66.5 million persons were covered or insured for retirement benefits, for survivor benefits, or for both.

The program provides monthly benefits to persons aged 65 or over, payable to the retired employee. In addition, the wife's or dependent husband's benefit is payable to the spouse of an old age beneficiary; and the widow's, dependent widower's, and dependent parents' benefit is payable to the survivor of deceased insured employees. The retired worker's unmarried children under

⁶ See New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aging, *Youth at Any Age* (Legislative Doc. 12 [Albany, 1950]), p. 9.

⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

age 18 and their mother, regardless of her age, may also qualify for benefits.

Benefits are payable in accordance with past covered earnings and the number and relationship of dependents entitled to benefits. Payments range from \$25 to \$85 a month for the worker alone; from \$37.50 to \$127.50 for an aged couple; and from \$18.50 to \$63.80 for a survivor beneficiary. The maximum benefit payable to a family is \$168.75. In addition to any monthly payments, a lump sum is payable at the insured worker's death to his widow or widower or to persons who paid the burial expenses.

Industry pensions.—Industrial pensions currently cover approximately 9 million employees, or about 14 per cent of the working population. The full impact on income maintenance and consumption will not be felt until later on. At present, only about 500,000 persons or less than 4 per cent of older people 65 and over are receiving these pensions. The amounts vary from \$25 to \$50 per person insured. The Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report has estimated that it will be twenty-five years before private industrial pensions will provide payments to as many as 20–25 per cent of the retired.

Old age assistance.—Among older people the demand for public and private assistance comes from three sources—those who either are covered inadequately or are not covered under federal and industrial old age insurance programs and who have inadequate savings or lack other sources of support.

At the present time the number of aged receiving public old age assistance totals 2.6 million, or more than 18 per cent of people over 65. Need is a condition of qualifying under this program. Total expenditures amount to approximately 1.5 billion a year. The average old age assistance payment during June, 1953, was \$48.74 per month. The amounts and percentages of needy aged receiving these payments vary substantially by state. They range from a low of \$26.74 in Virginia to a high of \$78.70 in Colorado.

Approximately one-third of the aged over 65, mostly women, have no income at all, and more than one-half over 65 have less than \$500 cash income from all sources. Only one-sixth have incomes in excess of this, and some have considerable wealth and income. However, of the older people in the total population as a group, a relatively high proportion have little or no income.

The needy aged must be supported out of the current output of goods and services. Many are physically and occupationally unable to support themselves or are denied the opportunity to do so because of compulsory retirement. Consequently, support from some other source is required.

Savings as a principal source of income provides for less than 10 per cent of the total number of older people. While it is true that total savings and the number of savers are high, the great proportion are not able to save the amounts required for supporting themselves in the lengthening period of life after 65. Consequently, as a matter of public policy these needy aged have become largely dependent upon the government for old age insurance and old age assistance and more recently upon industry for supplementary pension payments.

Support by the children or other members of the family appears to be declining. This is partly a consequence of the decline of the family itself as a social institution, the weakening of the bonds of members of the family to the family and its members, and the substantial mobility and movement away from the family geographically, socially, and financially.

EMPLOYMENT AND COMPULSORY RETIREMENT

If coverage for the needy aged by pension programs is restricted, if benefits are low, and if individuals lack appreciable savings and assets, it is to be expected that many older people will resist compulsory retirement and prefer to work instead of retire. Indeed, many work as long as they can and retire only when forced to do so. In 1951 the Social Security Board in a nation-wide sur-

vey of old age beneficiaries found that only 4 per cent of the men and women left their jobs of their own accord, while in good health, to enjoy a life of leisure. In that year one-quarter to one-third had some employment. Those with the lowest net incomes tended to work more frequently than those with higher. Of those who were not employed, approximately three-fourths said that they were unable to work, while one-fifth of the men unemployed actively sought and wanted work.

The great majority of employers have no fixed retirement date for their employees. There is in fact no fixed retirement date in the Social Security Act, nor is there any provision for compulsory retirement. However, entitled beneficiaries do not receive their benefits if they continue in employment after 65 and have earnings of \$75 or more a month. Fixed retirement ages are provided in the public employee retirement systems and in some industrial pension plans, but in many of the latter there are exceptions that provide for postponed retirement under rather liberal conditions.

There are no strong and compelling reasons why fixed retirement, when it does prevail, should necessarily be set at 65. This age limit was set in depression years when there was a substantial surplus of manpower, which is not the case now. Moreover, since the passage of the Social Security Act, the life-expectancy after 65 has increased by more than one and a half years. In setting a retirement age, it should be remembered that people vary markedly in their individual capacities, while jobs and occupational specialties differ markedly in their demands and requirements. People probably vary as much in their capacity and ability to perform a job at age 65 as they do at other ages.

CONTINUING EMPLOYMENT AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO COMPULSORY RETIREMENT

Of 3.4 million eligible for old age insurance under Social Security in December, 1951, approximately one-third chose to continue in employment or return to employ-

ment after age 65 rather than cease work and claim the retirement payments. Why?

The Social Security benefits in comparison to needs, as has been noted, are inadequate. Moreover, the sharp drop in income and standard of living when an individual shifts from employed to retired status constitutes a major problem of economic readjustment. The median income of male income recipients aged 55-64 in 1951 amounted to \$2,840, while that of those aged 65 was only \$1,008, a decline of 64 per cent. Continuing employment is one way of avoiding lowered retirement income and maintaining higher employment income. Moreover, continued employment after 65 increases substantially the benefits when payable under both the Social Security and the industry pension programs.

The duration of continued employment after 65 declines rapidly and steadily with each year as a higher proportion receive benefits. By the end of the sixty-sixth year 42 per cent of the eligibles were receiving old age benefits. At the end of the sixty-eighth year, this had risen to 59 per cent, and by age 70 it was 70 per cent.

Of the 700,000 who were awarded old age benefits for the first time in 1951, the average age was 69.5 for men and 68.5 for women. Of these, more than one-third were beneficiaries aged 70 years or older.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF THE AGED

Continuing employment is an important means of income maintenance for almost one-third of beneficiaries 65 years or over. However, employment is by no means an answer to the problem. The people in this group can best be considered in two subgroups: the younger, aged 65-75, and the older, aged 75 and over. One-half of those 65 years and older are in the last-named category, and at least two-thirds of them are not employable. They are the hard core of the aged and retired group. Moreover, at least one-quarter to one-third of them require actual physical care and assistance.

Continued employment for those who can continue working appears to be economically beneficial—particularly to the employees themselves. This is the only way that an adequate retirement income can be provided for the great mass of physically able and occupationally qualified older people. Retirement income, particularly that from the Federal Old Age Insurance plan, can never be as adequate as earned income. The deficiency can be partially offset by industrial pension payments for those who are covered and by private annuities and income. The monthly benefit to the insured beneficiaries from old age benefits now averaging \$47.25 per month for an individual and \$81.50 for a couple, and the income to the needy aged individual in the form of old age assistance now averaging \$48.74 per month, can only provide the barest of necessities for retired people. Consequently, the longer older persons can continue in employment, the better can they maintain their established incomes and living standards. The less also will be their problem of economic adjustment, and the greater their income in retirement. Less of personal savings and in Social Security and industry pensions will be required, and

the economic burden of providing retirement income over the lengthening period of retirement will be smaller.

In the absence of widespread and prolonged unemployment, economic forces are likely to discourage earlier retirement and to encourage later retirement. The cost per dollar of benefit is 40–50 per cent greater to retire an employee at age 60 than at age 65. It is unlikely that Social Security or industry can bear such a substantial cost. By postponing retirement from age 65 to 68 or 70, pension costs could be reduced by one-third, assuming no loss in the level of productive efficiency. Moreover, each year of continued employment after 65 makes possible a substantial increase in the amount of the retirement benefit. Using a straight life annuity basis, without death benefit, a pension of \$100 per month at age 65 is the actuarial equivalent of \$108 at age 66 or \$130 at age 68. Economic forces may be expected to exert a powerful influence, together with other factors—medical, psychological, and social—to raise normal retirement age and to modify its compulsory character.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A NOTE ON THE ENGLISH LITERATURE ON IBN KHALDŪN

September 21, 1953

To the Editor:

In the March, 1953, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* (pp. 532-33), there is a sympathetic review by Howard Becker, of the University of Wisconsin, of Dr. Annemarie Schimmel's translation of passages from this fascinating and remarkable Arab sociologist of the fourteenth century—perhaps the first writer to whom the name "sociologist" can correctly be ascribed.

In this review Mr. Becker says: "In spite of the importance of the Arabic world for the British, there are no English translations—indeed, virtually no articles or book chapters, with the outstanding exception of Robert Flint's thirty pages at the end of the last century." This statement is not strictly accurate. In 1950 John Murray published, in London, Professor Charles Issawi's *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn of Tunis (1332-1406)*. In this book of less than two hundred pages, Professor Issawi has translated some of the most important passages from the *Prolegomena* and has provided a useful, but too brief, introduction and a short bibliography. This little book, which costs 6 shillings, is easily the best English introduction to Ibn Khaldūn's thought.

In addition, some of the following works in English may be of interest: S. K. Bukhsh,

"Ibn Khaldūn and His History of Islamic Civilization" in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1927) (a translation from the German of A. v. Kremer); N. Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldūn, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher* (New York, 1930) (mentioned by Mr. Becker); H. A. R. Gibb, "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VII (1933-35); E. Rosenthal, "Ibn Khaldūn: A North African Muslim Thinker of the 14th Century," in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. XXIV (1940); M. A. Enan, *Ibn Khaldūn, His Life and Work* (Lahore, 1941) (translation from the Arabic original); M. Syrier, "Ibn Khaldūn and Islamic Mysticism," in *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1947); and Cedric Dover, "The Racial Philosophy of Ibn Khaldūn," *Phylon*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1952).

In addition, a number of works are believed to be in preparation, including what may well be a definitive study from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Mr. Enan's book contains a fairly full bibliography.

It would, of course, as Mr. Becker is clearly aware, be possible to multiply references about this tantalizing figure three or four times if one were to include the whole literature in English, French, and German from the 1820's.

D. G. MACRAE

*London School of Economics and
Political Science*

NEWS AND NOTES

American University at Cairo.—The establishment, under a Ford Foundation grant, of a new Social Research Center has been announced. Its objectives are to gather, appraise, and make available accurate and scientifically determined information about social conditions in Egypt and the adjacent Arab world; to train Near Eastern students in the techniques of social research; and to encourage, guide, and assist social research scholars, both Near Eastern and foreign, in specific research projects.

Two village studies are now in progress under the direction of American anthropologists with the assistance of Egyptian interviewees.

Hanna Rizk, Egyptian demographer, is director of the Center, and Frank Dorey, on leave from Howard University, is research chairman. The Center would like to be in communication with American graduate students and scholars interested in doing social research in the Middle East.

University of Arkansas.—The department of sociology and the Institute of Science and Technology have undertaken the editing and publication of the *1953 Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Society* under the joint editorship of A. Stephen Stephan and Donald D. Stewart. A limited number of copies are available to nonmembers upon request.

University of Chicago.—William F. Ogburn, professor emeritus of sociology, is at present lecturing at Florida State University. Early in the year he will go again to Nuffield College, Oxford, to offer courses in sociology.

The third edition of the *Local Community Fact Book*, compiled by the Chicago Community Inventory and edited by Philip

Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, has just been published. The new issue, which is dedicated to Louis Wirth, contains a number of new features: expanded histories of the seventy-five communities of Chicago; historical tables; and maps and tables showing annexations and accretions.

Funds are still being raised for the Louis Wirth Fellowship for Advanced Studies in Urban Living, in memory of the late Professor Wirth. Contributions may be sent to the following persons for transmission to the fund: Ernest W. Burgess, Philip Hauser, or Everett C. Hughes, department of sociology, University of Chicago, or Herbert Blumer, department of sociology, University of California at Berkeley.

District of Columbia Association for Public Opinion Research.—A local chapter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research has been organized in the District of Columbia. Its main purpose is the interchange of information on developments in opinion research. At the first meeting of the group, held in October, the following officers were elected: Martin Kriesberg, United States Department of Agriculture, president; W. Phillips Davison, RAND Corporation, vice-president; and Robert T. Bower, Bureau of Social Science Research, American University, secretary-treasurer.

University of Florida.—The Institute of Gerontology is holding its fourth annual conference on "The Economics of Aging," January 27-28, 1954, at Gainesville. John S. Allen is chairman. Meeting with it is the National Committee on Aging of the National Welfare Assembly. Inquiry should be addressed to George B. Hurff, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Foundation for the Study of Cycles.—The Foundation has announced the receipt of a grant from the L. Peter Cogan Foundation, Inc., which it will use for a cycle-research fellowship during the summer of 1954. Research is the analysis of rhythmic fluctuations in animal life, weather, disease, and other social, economic, biological, physical, and geological phenomena which occur at reasonably regular time intervals.

Applications from candidates with training in statistics and in botany, zoölogy, medicine, economics, or sociology should be addressed to the Foundation for the Study of Cycles, 9 East Seventy-seventh Street, New York, New York. The selected candidate will work under the direction of Edward R. Dewey, director of the Cycle Foundation, and the country's leading authority on cycle research.

University of Frankfurt.—In the course of the summer the Institut fuer Sozialforschung held two two-day meetings at which research reports were presented. The first, held in May, focused on the field work undertaken by members of the Institut and their students, notable among which was the presentation, by means of tape recordings, of data revealing the opinions of members of small gatherings on postwar issues of the greatest public concern, such as war guilt, democratic government, and anti-Semitism. Papers were read describing techniques and analyzing the material. Social scientists of the universities of the German Federal Republic, government officials concerned with the assaying of public opinion, and newspapermen were among the participants.

The second was the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialwissenschaftlicher Institute ("Workshop of Social Research Institutes"), conducted in collaboration with the Soziographische Gesellschaft. Representatives of research bodies in eleven universities of the German Federal Republic and of private market survey and opinion polling organizations, together with sociologists from France and the United States, were in-

vited. Americans at the sessions included Max Rheinstein, Everett and Helen Hughes, Sam Stoljar and Eugene Litwak, University of Chicago; Joseph Maier, Rutgers University; and Kurt Wolff, Ohio State University.

Gerontological Society.—The annual meeting will be held at the University of Florida, Gainesville, December 30–31, 1954. The president is Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago, and the secretary is Nathan Shock, City Hospitals, Baltimore, Maryland.

Human Resources Research Institute.—C. A. McMahan, formerly associate professor of sociology at the University of Georgia, joined the Institute as chief of its Manpower Research Division last June.

John K. Folger, chief of the Institute's Technical Services Division, was granted a three-month leave during the summer to work on a project for the Southern Regional Education Board in Atlanta, Georgia.

Jerry W. Combs, Jr., assistant professor of sociology at Emory University for the last two years, joined the Institute's Manpower Research Division in September. Thomas R. Ford, formerly of the department of sociology and anthropology of the University of Alabama, joined the staff in October.

The Human Relations Division of the Institute has recently added Glenn C. McCann, of the University of Washington, to its staff. He will continue an analysis of attitudes of airmen of the Air Defense Command which he initiated at the University of Washington.

The research staff now consists of Abbott L. Ferriss, chief; Major Robert L. Beers, executive officer; Stuart N. Adams and George W. Baker, assistant program officers; Robert W. Hites, Daniel L. Camp, and Alfred S. Moore, project officers; Lieutenants James J. Boylan, Jr., and Louis M. Herman, assistant project officers; and Master Sergeant Angelo Orlandella and

Staff Sergeant Frederick H. Esch, research technicians.

During the summer the staff was augmented by E. William Noland, of the University of North Carolina, and Edward E. Cureton, of the University of Tennessee. Both have now returned to their respective universities.

A report, "The Research Program of the Human Relations Division," and an annotated bibliography on military leadership have recently been published. Copies of these publications are available upon request.

Institute of International Education.—Werner S. Cahnman has been appointed adviser to the newly established Italian-American Student Exchange Program of the Institute.

International Congress of Gerontology.—The Congress will be held July 19–23, 1954, in London, England. Correspondence should be addressed to the president of the Congress: E. V. Cowdry, 660 South Kingshighway, St. Louis, Missouri.

International Sociological Association.—The Association held its Second World Congress at the University of Liège, August 24–31, 1953, under the auspices and with the support of UNESCO and the Belgian government. The congress was attended by 281 registered participants from thirty-four countries—65 from Belgium, 34 from the United States, 32 from France, 28 from Germany, 23 from the United Kingdom, 22 from the Netherlands, 8 from Italy, and 7 from India, with smaller contingents from countries as widely scattered as the Argentine, Australia, Iceland, and Yugoslavia.

A full account of the proceedings of the congress will appear in a special issue of the *International Social Science Bulletin* for winter, 1953. The scientific sessions were divided in four principal sections: "Social Stratification and Social Mobility" (*rap-*

porteur, David Glass, London School of Economics), "Intergroup Conflicts" (*rapporteur*, Arnold Rose, University of Michigan), "Recent Developments in Sociological Research" (*rapporteur*, Donald MacRae, London School of Economics), and "Professional Activities and Responsibilities" (*rapporteur*, Jean Treanton, Centre d'Études Sociologiques de Paris).

The newly elected executive committee is composed of Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan, president; M. le doyen Georges Davy, member of the Institut de France; Morris Ginsberg, London School of Economics; and Leopold von Wiese, University of Cologne, vice-presidents. New members of the committee are Pierre de Bie, University of Louvain; K. A. Busia, University College of the Gold Coast; L. A. Costa Pinto, University of Brazil; G. S. Ghurye, University of Bombay; Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo; Torgny Segerstedt, University of Uppsala; and H. Z. Ulken, University of Istanbul. T. B. Bottomore, London School of Economics, has been appointed executive secretary for 1953–56.

Plans were discussed for the Third World Congress to be held in 1956, whose theme is to be social change.

The Association will continue its collaboration with UNESCO and the International Committee on Documentation in the social sciences in the publication of *Current Sociology*, and trend reports will be published in this series during the next three years, on urban sociology, the sociology of religion, electoral sociology, criminology, the methods of the social sciences, and other subjects.

University of Kentucky.—The full-time professional staff in sociology and rural sociology now numbers eleven, in addition to one part-time and one emeritus professor. To further integrate the work in the departments of rural sociology (College and Agriculture and Home Economics) and sociology (College of Arts and Sciences), joint college assignments have now been

made to Howard W. Beers, James S. Brown, A. Lee Coleman, and Irwin T. Sanders, so that each has duties in experiment station research and in general teaching.

C. Paul March, a graduate student at Cornell, has joined the staff as assistant rural sociologist.

Sidney Kaplan, who recently received the Ph.D. degree from Washington State College, has joined the department as instructor in sociology.

Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, has resumed his duties at the University, after a year in Greece.

James S. Brown and A. Lee Coleman have been promoted to the rank of associate professor and associate rural sociologist.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, attended the Berkeley meeting of the American Sociological Society and was a speaker at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Stillwater, Oklahoma.

At the August commencement the University granted the first Ph.D. in sociology to Abdul Monem Nour, who has returned to his native Egypt as a United Nations employee. Nour's thesis was a translation and interpretation of the sociological theory of Ibn Khaldūn.

During August, Willis A. Sutton, Jr., assistant professor of sociology, was engaged in a field analysis of the process whereby Cairo, Illinois, changed its school system from one that was segregated to one in which Negroes were integrated into white schools. The study, one of a series in a larger project, was financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education to secure information helpful to the South and the nation on all aspects of segregation and desegregation in Education.

University of Massachusetts.—Frederick B. Lindstrom has accepted an assistant professorship at Arizona State College.

Thomas O. Wilkinson and Gertrude

Wright McPherson have been appointed instructors.

A Master of Arts program in sociology has been approved by the board of trustees.

University of Michigan.—Robert C. Angell was elected president of the International Sociological Association during the Second World Congress of Sociology, which met at Liège, Belgium, in August.

Amos H. Hawley, chairman of the department of sociology, is spending the year at the University of the Philippines, after which he will spend two months in research in Japan.

Horace M. Miner is acting chairman of the department for the academic year 1953-54. Ronald Freedman served in this capacity during the summer.

Theodore M. Newcomb has received a research grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the study of small group properties, including the testing of a series of hypotheses concerning interrelationships among communicative acts, common attitudes, perceived consensus, and interpersonal attraction.

Basil G. Zimmer has been appointed director of the Social Science Research Project, replacing J. Douglas Carroll, who was recently appointed director of the Detroit Metropolitan Area Traffic Study.

Harlan W. Gilmore, of Tulane University, has been appointed visiting associate professor of sociology during the academic year. Earl Johnson, of the University of Chicago, was visiting professor during the summer session. Morris Axelrod, director of the Detroit Area Study, has been appointed lecturer in sociology, as have Leonard Blumberg, Donald Trow, and Basil G. Zimmer. Robert O. Schulze has been appointed instructor. Ronald Freedman and Morris Janowitz have been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Michigan State College.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of John B. Holland on June 28, 1953, in Havana, Cuba, at the age of forty-three.

Dr. Holland, a social scientist on the staff of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Science, was associate professor at Michigan State with a dual appointment in the department of sociology and anthropology in the School of Science and Arts and in the department of social science in the Basic College. He was a graduate of the University of Tulsa and was granted the Ph.D. by Michigan State College in 1950. In addition to teaching, he participated in research projects including the studies of minority groups and community health action.

Dr. Holland was on the threshold of a very promising career. His brilliant mind and unusual ability to direct his energies in fruitful channels were readily recognized by his colleagues and students. All who knew and worked with Dr. Holland have suffered a great loss in his untimely death.

The School of Graduate Studies is now in a position to offer the following appointments to qualified predoctoral and postdoctoral students:

Graduate assistantships.—Stipends range from \$1,000 to \$1,400, with a few at higher values depending upon the nature and extent of service required. Inquiries should be directed to the appropriate department heads.

Tuition scholarships.—These appointments carry remission of fees and, in the case of some foreign students, an additional award of \$75 per quarter.

Predocctoral fellowships.—About twenty appointments each year. Stipends range from \$500 to \$1,200, and in most but not all cases fees are waived. No service to the College is required.

Postdoctoral fellowships.—One fellowship, carrying a stipend of \$3,000, is awarded each year for research in a field for which the College has appropriate facilities.

Correspondence should be directed to the Dean, School of Graduate Studies, Michigan State College, East Lansing, unless other directions are given.

University of Minnesota.—F. Stuart Chapin has retired from the staff and has

taken up residence at Asheville, North Carolina.

Lowry Nelson is serving this year as chairman of Section K and vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He has completed *American Farm Life in the Twentieth Century* for the Library of Congress series of volumes on American civilization, published by Harvard University Press.

Arnold Rose was appointed to the Research Committee of the International Sociological Congress. His book, *Theory and Method in Social Science*, will be published by the University of Minnesota Press this winter and will include his essay on "A Theory of Social Organization and Disorganization," which won the \$1,000 prize for essays in social theory given by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Dr. Rose is the recipient of a grant for a three-year program of research from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Theodore Caplow received a grant from the Graduate School to continue research on internal orientation as a dimension of large-scale organization begun in June, 1952, under the sponsorship of the Air Force. Dr. Caplow's book, *The Sociology of Work*, will be published by the University of Minnesota Press this winter.

John Sirjamaki, formerly at Yale, has joined the staff of the department as associate professor. Dr. Sirjamaki's new book, *The American Home in the Twentieth Century*, has been published by Harvard University Press.

Henry W. Riecken, formerly at Harvard, has joined the staff as associate professor and will assume his duties in February, 1954.

Roy Francis, assistant professor, has returned from a one-year leave of absence as a Social Science Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow in mathematics at Harvard.

George A. Donohue has been appointed instructor in the department.

Richard Emerson and Sol Haberman have been appointed half-time instructors.

Elio D. Monachesi, chairman of the de-

partment, is co-author with Starke R. Hathaway of a new book, *Analyzing and Predicting Juvenile Delinquency with the MMPI*, published by the University of Minnesota Press.

Benjamin N. Nelson, associate professor in the department of general studies, has been appointed chairman of the European Heritage sequence in the humanities program. He returns to Minnesota after a year's leave as Carnegie Intern in Contemporary Civilization at Columbia.

National Social Welfare Assembly.—The Committee on Aging held its annual meeting in New York, November 10–11. Reports were made by two advisory committees: one to implement standards for shelter care; the other, project on criteria for the continued employment of older workers. Subjects presented were the American Airlines policy of preparation for retirement; a labor union's responsibility for its older workers before and after retirement; and the psychiatric work at the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews, New York City.

The Population Council, Inc.—This new organization has recently been established as a nonprofit corporation to encourage research and education on the relationship of the world's population to its material and cultural resources. The Council plans to study problems of the increasing population of the world, to support research, and to make known the results. Serving as a center for exchange of facts and information on population in co-operation with individuals and institutions having similar interests, the Council does not plan to conduct research or educational activities with its own staff. It has already made a few research grants to universities and other established organizations and has established several fellowships for the training of students in the field of population.

The purpose of the Council's fellowship program is to assist students in the social and natural sciences at the predoctoral or postdoctoral level to achieve advanced training in the study of population. Ap-

proximately six fellowships for study in the United States and elsewhere are to be awarded during the academic year 1954–55, to be divided between students from the United States and from other countries. Fellows will normally receive support for full-time work for one year. The basic stipend at the rate of \$2,500 per year may be supplemented to provide for maintenance of dependents and, especially in the case of foreign students, for travel or exceptional expenses or be diminished to take account of lesser needs or partial support from other sources. Larger stipends may be granted to postdoctoral than to predoctoral fellows. Preference will be given to candidates not over forty years old.

Trustees of the Council are Frank G. Boudreau, Detlev W. Bronk, Karl T. Compton, Frank W. Notestein, Frederick Osborn, Thomas Parran, John D. Rockefeller III, and Lewis L. Strauss.

For information or application forms write to Frederick Osborn, executive vice-president of the Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. Applications for fellowships for the academic year 1954–55 should be received before February 1, 1954.

Queens College.—Hortense Powdermaker, who is spending the current year as a Guggenheim Fellow, is engaged in the field research in Northern Rhodesia. She has been replaced by Natalie Joffe, who was associated with the Columbia University Project on Contemporary Cultures.

Sidney Axelrad, chairman of the department, is continuing work on the validation of the Glueck scale and completing a study of the social and psychological characteristics of unmarried mothers. He is also serving as consultant to the Jewish Board of Guardians in a program of research in mental hygiene and delinquency.

Elizabeth K. Nottingham is spending her sabbatical leave in the British West Indies and is planning to complete her manuscript on the sociology of religion. She has been replaced by Tamara Obrebska.

Paul Neurath, who is in charge of the

statistical training program, participated in the summer Institute of Mathematics of the Social Science Research Council at Dartmouth.

Erich Rosenthal is developing work in urban community studies.

George Grosser, formerly of Harvard University and the University of Indiana, has joined the department and will teach courses in criminology and social psychology.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council announces the following fellowships and grants to be offered in 1954: research training fellowships, undergraduate research stipends, faculty research fellowships, and grants-in-aid of research. (Area research training fellowships and travel grants for area research are no longer offered.)

The closing date for applications is Monday, January 4, 1954. Inquiries, which should indicate age, academic status, vocational aims, the nature of the proposed training or research, and the type of assistance desired, should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Southern Illinois University.—William H. Harlan, associate professor, resigned his position to accept an appointment at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.

Arthur Trelstad, formerly at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, has joined the sociology staff.

Herman Lantz, assistant professor, was elected second vice-president of the Illinois Council on Family Relations.

Herman Lantz and Jack McCrary are currently completing a research project on social characteristics of selected student commuters and noncommuters.

Louis Petroff, assistant professor, has initiated a research project on the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency in southern Illinois.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—For the third year the proceedings of the Society

have been published. Publication was made possible by the University of Arkansas Institute of Science and Technology.

The editors are Donald D. Stewart, Institute of Science and Technology, and A. Stephen Stephan, department of sociology, University of Arkansas.

Stetson University.—Melvin J. Williams was appointed professor and head of the department of sociology in the last academic year.

Andrew Wade has been appointed assistant professor in the department of sociology of the College of Liberal Arts.

United Nations.—Robert Cuba Jones has gone to Mexico to engage in the private practice of technical assistance in the economic and social field. He may be reached through the United Nations Information Office, Paseo de la Reforma No. 1, Mexico, D.F., Mexico.

Vanderbilt University.—Harold McDowell has been appointed research associate in the department of preventive medicine and lecturer in the department of sociology.

Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, rejoined the department after a year of teaching and research in the department of anthropology at the University of Michigan.

Jay W. Artis joined the department as an assistant professor in the fall, offering course work in demography and rural sociology and directing the sociology laboratory.

Alan C. Kerckhoff joined the department in the fall, offering course work in social psychology. He spent two years studying personality adjustment among Chippewa Indian adolescents under fellowships from the Ford Foundation and the Social Science Research Council.

Wayne University.—Stephen C. Cappannari has been advanced to the rank of assistant professor. For the past year he has

served as anthropological consultant and lecturer to the psychiatric staff of Northville (Mich.) State Hospital.

James Boyd Christensen gave an area course on Africa at the Mission Institute at Fordham University during the summer. He had previously done field work in West Africa among the Fanti of the Gold Coast. In addition to teaching courses in general anthropology at Wayne, he has added a course on "Negro Africa," offered in the fall semester, and one on "The Negro in the New World," in the spring, to the anthropology curriculum.

Norman D. Humphrey taught a seminar in personality and culture during the spring quarter of 1953 at Mexico City College. He participated in the conference on findings of domestic and foreign staff members of the Social Science Research Council Committee held at Ithaca during August, 1953.

Harry H. Josselson, associate professor of Slavic languages, is the author of *The Russian Word Count*, which has just been published by the Wayne University Press. The study was subsidized by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. He was recently appointed American member of the Committee on Quantitative Linguistics of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists.

Gabriel Lasker and Bernice A. Kaplan have returned from a brief summer field trip to Mexico. With Charles Leslie, Dr. Kaplan made a study of the methods of mescal manufacture in Mitla. Dr. Lasker collected demographic data in connection with his studies of the size of breeding populations. *Human Biology*, a quarterly journal of research devoted to human genetics, growth and aging, bioanthropology, demography, and the like, is edited by him.

University of Wisconsin.—William W. Howells has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology for the year 1953-54.

Ralph Thomlinson, of Columbia Uni-

versity and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, has joined the staff, replacing Theodore Anderson, who has accepted a position at Yale.

T. C. McCormick has returned to teaching after a semester's research leave.

John H. Kolb has returned to the University after six months in Brazil as a technical assistant to the government of Brazil for the Food and Agricultural Administration of the United Nations.

Douglas G. Marshall has been appointed chairman of the department of rural sociology for the coming year.

Milton Barnett has returned from a year's research in the Venezuelan Andes.

Burton Fisher will be at the University of Oslo on a Fulbright research grant during the year 1953-54.

William H. Sewell was elected president of the Midwest Sociological Society. Douglas G. Marshall was elected second vice-president.

Eugene Wilkening has been appointed book-review editor of *Rural Sociology*.

David A. Baerreis has been appointed co-editor of the *American Anthropologist*.

George Herzog, of Indiana University, was visiting professor of anthropology during the second semester of the past year. John P. Gillin was visiting professor during the summer session.

Character and Social Structure by Hans H. Gerth, of the University of Wisconsin, and C. Wright Mills, of Columbia, has just been published by Harcourt Brace and Company.

James Silverberg has accepted a position at the University of Venezuela in Caracas; Alan C. Kerckhoff and Jay W. Artis joined the staff at Vanderbilt University; Gene W. Carter is now at the Pacific School of Religion; Kenneth G. Lutterman is with St. Olaf College; Donald J. Newman is with St. Lawrence University; and William G. Dyer is with Iowa State College.

Donald L. Quatsoe has been appointed sociologist at the Illinois State Reformatory.

BOOK REVIEWS

Age and Achievement. By HARVEY C. LEHMAN.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
Pp. xi+358. \$7.50.

This is a definitive piece of work presented with neatness and thoroughness. Its significance is great for social policy-making, for employers, and for ambitious youth. The conclusion most interesting to most readers is the relatively young age at which most contributions and those of highest quality are made.

The data on age periods of maximum achievement for various occupations, read in about three minutes, took the author and his staff twenty years to compile, at a cost of many tens of thousands of dollars. The careful, analytically minded who are particular about definitions of terms, accounts of measurement techniques, and statements of qualifications are invited to consult the book.

In general, poets, chemists, and physicists are most productive early; social scientists later. Distinguished leaders, receivers of large incomes, and recipients of honored appointments are found quite late in life—very optimistic suggestions for the increasing number of aged. Athletes do their best somewhat later than is usually thought.

The author in this volume is concerned with discovering facts, not causes. However, he does list a number of speculative suggestions, suitable for further research, in trying to explain early creativity and its decrease in later maturity. Briefly they are: decline in physical vigor and sensory capacity, illness, glandular changes, unhappy marriage, bereavement, preoccupation with practical concerns, less favorable conditions for concentration, contentment with early prestige, apathy because of nonrecognition, inflexibility, weakened intellectual curiosity, mental disorders, and accumulative effect of bad habits. Of these hypothetical causes, the social more than the biological will interest the gerontologist.

In many activities the author has been able to determine the period for the highest quality of achievement also. Thus a jury of observers, as, for instance, chemists, have selected the best

piece of research of each contributor in chemistry from his list of contributions; and then the age, at which this most important research was done, has been ascertained. The age period for the highest quality of research was then found to be quite close to that of the greatest quantity.

The information so far presented has concerned the average (here the mode) age of the contributor. But there are many contributors above and below this average. The variation in ages (as measured by the standard deviation) around the arithmetic mean (here larger than the mode) is about eleven years. Though the distribution is skewed, this means that some will be most prolific at, say, twenty-five or thirty years older than the average. This range is clearly seen in looking at the curve of the frequency distributions. It rises rapidly to its maximum height at, say, 30–35 years, and then falls much more slowly. I have averaged the percentages of maximum achievement for all the physical sciences taken together and have expressed these averages of achievement at different age periods as percentages by five-year periods of the peak achievement, here 35–39 years, beginning at the ages 25–29 and ending at the ages 65–69 years. The relatives are: 26, 73, 90, 100, 65, 47, 43, 34, 25, and 15.

Those making their maximum number of contributions at the ages of 60–64 are one-quarter of the number who reached the maximum at 35–39 years. But it should be noted, too, that those reaching their maximum at 20–25 were also one-quarter of those whose maximum was at 35–39 years. Nearly as many attained their greatest number of contributions at 30–34 as at 35–39 years. For athletes the curves of ages of best achievements fall off much more rapidly after their peaks than do the curves of nonmuscular records. There is an encouraging chapter of twenty-one pages of distinguished names of producers who made their most famous achievements in late old age.

The age of fame for leaders such as college presidents, industrial and commercial heads of business, United States judges of the Supreme Court, congressmen, and presidents of the

United States is much later than the age of achievement in other fields. Such leaders deal largely with people, and fame may lag behind achievement. Regarding income, while there are many old persons receiving government pensions, the holders of great property seem to be older men.

The implications of Professor Lehman's study are many and touch various phases of life. For instance, the age of promotion to full professorship is later than it should be in our universities, if promotion should parallel success in research. Also the hiring of professors at 45 or 50 years of age may be expected to be followed by decreasing productivity. Some universities relieve older deans (leaders) of their administrative duties to continue as professors (researchers). This policy seems irrational in view of the findings of this book. They should continue as deans—or retire from the university completely.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Criteria for Retirement: A Report of a National Conference on Retirement of Older Workers.

Edited by GENEVA MATHIASSEN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1953. Pp. xix+233. \$3.50.

This book reports the results of a three-day conference held under the sponsorship of the McGregor Fund and the National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly. Unlike many conferences on problems of old age, the attendants were sharply selected, and the agenda was kept strictly to the one topic, retirement.

The heart of the book lies in three monographs prepared before the conference for the use of members. Each monograph is a competent presentation based on the authoritative knowledge of the author or authors and summaries of research findings. The first, prepared by a faculty committee of the Graduate School of Public Health of the University of Pittsburgh, explores the merits and disadvantages of retirement for the worker who is still able to continue in his employment. Concerned primarily with the effects of employment on physical conditions and health, the monograph discusses physiological changes that come with aging and their relation to job requirements. The second monograph, by Harland Fox, is

devoted to the responsibilities of employers, individual workers, labor unions, and government for retirement policies and practices. Here the theoretical gives way to practical consideration of problems of retirement as seen by employers, labor unions, and workers. The position and problems of the employer are ably presented. Many employers cling to a fixed age of retirement because the policy is easy to administer, it rids the employer of men unable to maintain standards of production, and it eliminates the costly procedures of individual testing for fitness. Employers have developed a series of stereotypes to support their position and regard continued employment of old people as a kind of hidden pension. In the third monograph, Sumner Slichter presents the burden placed on the community by such situations as retirement of old people still able to work and by various types of support of the old. The three monographs bring the problems of the old out of the laboratory reports, statistical tables, and clinical findings and place them in a real and functioning social situation.

Three conference talks printed at the end of the book and the summaries of discussions with which the book opens attempt to bridge the gap between the laboratory and clinical reports with their statements of abilities and needs of the old and the operations of industry in a competitive situation where costs must be carefully calculated. Numerous practical suggestions are made to make possible continued employment of the able-bodied old.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Rockford College
Rockford, Illinois

Effective Use of Older Workers. By ELIZABETH LLEWELLYN BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: Wilcox & Follett Co., 1953. Pp. xiv+224. \$4.00.

This study, under the auspices of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, reports the results of a national survey of the retirement practices of ninety corporations.

The participating companies, largely engaged in manufacturing, were those that had exhibited the greatest initiative in introducing programs and procedures for older workers. Those most frequently in use, with number of companies reporting them, were: little or no restriction on hiring age, 56; pre-retirement interviewing, 52;

reassignment, 51; service club, 44; no fixed retirement age, 40; health maintenance, 38; counseling, 37; testing to determine fitness for work, 28; visiting program, 24; craft or recreation program, 16; hobby show, 15; educational program about aging and retirement, 14; committee to determine employability after 65 years of age, 11; turnover analysis, 10; absenteeism analysis, 8; decreased hours, 8; productivity analysis, 5; lower rates for lower production, 5; vocational retraining, 3; section for older workers, 1. From one standpoint this diversity of procedures seems to be chaotic and confusing. Certainly, no general pattern of retirement has emerged. From another viewpoint, the variety of practices represents different attempts to solve the problem. The survey made by the author is the first systematic attempt at comparison and appraisal.

The topics in the book are: hiring the older worker, fixed age at retirement, flexible retirement plans, placing the older worker, individual and group counseling, maintenance of health and morale, preparation for retirement, materials to aid retirement, and post-retirement program.

The author is to be commended for essaying the difficult task of constructing a tentative pattern for a company program for older workers. No company at present has such a program. Yet every part of it is in existence in one or more of the ninety participating companies.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

Retirement and the Industrial Worker: Prospect and Reality. By JACOB TUCKMAN and IRVING LORGE. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. Pp. xvi+105. \$2.75.

This volume reports the findings of a study of the attitudes to retirement of 660 workers 55 years of age and over. Comparisons were made of three groups: 204 men and women still on the job, 216 workers who had applied for retirement, and 240 who had already retired on a pension. The New York Cloak Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union supplied the subjects; the federal security agencies provided the volunteer field staff; and Teachers College, Columbia University, planned, supervised, and published the research.

Two-thirds of the subjects stated their op-

position to 65 years as the fixed age for retirement. For those still working, 77 per cent of men 55-59 years, 52 per cent of those 60-64 years, and only 30 per cent of those over 65 years prefer a younger age. The three groups of workers of 55 years and over report slowing up at work as indicated by lower efficiency, greater effort, and worrying about not keeping up with younger workers.

Although health is given as a chief reason for retirement, almost one-half of the retired report better health since retirement, one-third no change, and only one-sixth are worse. A higher proportion of those in better health than in same or worse health state that they like retirement, see their friends more often, and enjoy nonsedentary activities.

There is a marked lack of preparation for retirement and even less planning of activities. With retirement interests grow narrow, except in religion, health, and economic security.

Large majorities favor a union center for retired workers, a housing project exclusively for retired union members, and the privileges of using the union health center for medical care, of receiving union literature, and of attending union meetings.

About half the wives like the idea of the husband's retirement because of his illness or fatigue. Those disliking it explain that the retired husband disrupts their daily routine, makes them more work, and is around the house too much.

The wealth of findings is only barely indicated by the above summary. Especially valuable is the chapter on "Factors Related to Retirement Attitudes," in which factors—health, attitude of spouse, children's attitude, preparation for retirement, kind of activity after retirement—are analyzed for their association with looking forward to retirement or liking it, and those factors associated with not looking forward to retirement or disliking it. The following recommendations are made:

1. Both labor and management should give more attention to maintaining and conserving the health of workers at all ages and to the possibility of reassigning and redesigning jobs and reducing hours to meet the needs of older workers.

2. The government should encourage workers to build toward economic security in their later years by permitting tax exemption for systematic savings set aside for retirement.

Workers should be helped to prepare for living on a reduced income.

3. The eligibility requirements for pensions and the process of securing a pension should be explained to the worker in language he can understand.

4. The union should establish day centers for social, educational, and recreational activities of retired workers, permit them to attend union meetings without the right to vote, provide them with honorary life-memberships, and maintain them on the mailing list of union literature.

5. Consideration should be given by the union to establishing a counseling program for workers designed to help them prepare for stresses well in advance of retirement.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

Older People. By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and RUTH ALBRECHT. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953. Pp. xvi+415. \$5.00.

Part I of this newest addition to the growing literature on social gerontology is a popular discussion of recent trends and conditions affecting the status of older people, and of their special problems, addressed to older people and other interested laymen. Illustrative material descriptions of the physical, economic, and social changes in old age are drawn from intensive interviews, from demographic data, and from the authors' study of older people in a small midwestern community. The lucid discussion of the transitional functions of the Old Age Assistance Program in the light of demographic trends and changing functions of the urban family might have benefited from a more systematic treatment of the conflicting attitudes of older people, their children, and the community toward this form of assistance. While correctly emphasizing the need for preparing people to cope with the increased leisure that accompanies aging, the authors do not explicitly consider the constraints that current assistance practices place on the constructive use of leisure.

The emphasis on social factors in the adjustment to old age, and the presentation of evidence that old age is not intrinsically problematic but results from the absence of social arrangements to meet it, is commendable.

There is a cogent discussion of the historical shifts that have occurred in the social evaluations of work and of their persistence in the variety of attitudes toward work found even within the same industry among people performing similar jobs. A flexible retirement procedure which permits the worker to choose from among several alternatives is recommended.

From time to time, but especially in the last chapter of Part I, the authors lapse into inspirational clichés that might more properly be left to Dale Carnegie. Recommendations to older people to use "little affectations such as pocket handkerchiefs and colored socks" or that "blue is definitely kind to the mature woman" seem inappropriate in a sociological discussion of rational defenses.

Part II, a report on a study of one hundred older people in a small midwestern city, is intended for the social scientist. A considerable amount of repetition might have been avoided by integrating the two parts and consigning to appendixes the description of sampling procedures and construction of the various scores. In large part the study concerns itself with the relationship of health, age, sex, marital status, socioeconomic status, and role activity to adjustment in old age, the last named variable being established as the most highly correlated. However, since at least two of the dimensions in the measures of adjustment are duplicated in the role-activity score (primary and secondary social contacts), the findings are not clear. In studying the relationship between activity and adjustment, these concepts should be independently defined.

The authors tend to construct multidimensional measures without fully exploring the significance of the relationships between the component dimensions. For example, they report that, "in general, a high degree of activity in one role is associated with a higher degree of activity in other roles" (p. 280). Yet, Table 30 reveals a correlation coefficient of only .19 between parental role activity and activity in a social clique, although each shows a relatively high relationship to adjustment (.53 and .57, respectively), which may indicate that these are alternative means of adjustment. This is only one instance of the sparseness of interpretation and secondary analysis. Many interesting data are presented, but their implications often remain unexplored.

The authors, aware of the importance of

social expectation in determining the status and self-attitudes of older people, have developed two suggestive measures of social approval: (1) the public approval value was found for various modes of behavior of older people, and (2), by applying the public approval score to respondents' behavior, a social approval score was derived for each respondent. A high social approval score was found to be highly correlated with personality adjustment.

The chapter on social mobility through a lifetime based on an analysis of this older sample is also very suggestive. Table 47, "Net Mobility of Elders," is particularly interesting and deserves more comment than it receives, although here, as in other tables, too many class gradations are presented, considering the small number of cases. Their measure of mobility is admittedly crude, but it is to be hoped that the authors will continue in this significant and neglected area of old age research and develop more refined instruments for its study.

Sociologists working in the field of old age will be interested in the empirical findings and will find suggestive several measures developed for important concepts.

ZENA SMITH BLAU

Chicago

Helping Older People Enjoy Life. By JAMES H. WOODS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xiii+139: \$2.50.

This handbook on recreational activities is written for the volunteer who is acting as leader of an old age club. Questions of a practical nature that puzzle the volunteer are discussed in nontechnical language. Leaders are cautioned against encouraging old people to become dependent upon them or putting pressure on the timid old person to enter actively into the program before he is ready to do so. Old people are pictured as individuals of many types and with varied needs. The book should help the volunteer who has become aware of the recreational needs of the old but does not know quite what to do about it. The author writes from long experience with the Recreation Project for Older People of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Rockford College
Rockford, Illinois

Administrative Practices and Personal Adjustment in Homes for the Aged. By PHILIP TAETZ. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1953. Pp. 39.

The study reported in this bulletin attempts to test the generalized hypothesis that "there is an association between the policies and practices of a home for the aged and the adjustment of the residents in it." Three homes in New York State were selected on a judgmental basis. All three homes were matched with regard to sex composition, median age, and socioeconomic background. Every person in the homes who was not senile or very sick was interviewed during the period June 1 to August 15, 1950. A total of 217 individuals was interviewed.

Home adjustment was operationally defined in terms of six items which formed a Guttman scale. These items covered the extent to which the individuals felt that the home was interested in their opinions, how the individuals felt about the rules and regulations of the home, the extent to which the home was better than they had expected, etc.

The housing policies of the home were classified by "experts" according to: "(1) selective admissions policy; (2) provisions of spending money to those without income; (3) provisions of counseling services; (4) private accommodations." Each home was rated by the experts and ranked. The hypothesis was tested by determining the extent to which the highly ranked homes also had the most highly adjusted residents. The findings indicate that housing policies relate to housing adjustment.

Several aspects of the study require further clarification. It would have been better if the author could have indicated more clearly the relationship between his findings and what he refers to as the relevant aspects of the social structure, as well as the recommendations he makes for increasing the efficiency of the homes. There are several tables where the findings are not so clear cut as the author would suggest. For instance, there is some indication in his data that the happiness score is more important for individuals who are highly adjusted than are the housing policies.

However, the major concept which needs most clarification is that of housing adjustment. The author states: "Home adjustment is viewed as the combined satisfactions that the resident finds in the living arrangements provided by the home." This definition has several aspects.

First, there is the notion of "conscious" self-evaluation by the individual. This is illustrated in the way the author operationally defines the term "housing adjustment." It is fairly well known that a person's assessment of a housing situation is to a large extent a function of his knowledge as to what is available to him. A person will be completely satisfied with an outdoor privy and only cold water if the alternative known to him is no privy at all and no running water at all. To reduce the argument to an absurdity, a moron is capable of being satisfied in any situation because of his inability to judge the efficiencies of various alternatives. Ignoring the variable of knowledge tends to create the status quo as the ideal for the individual.

This notion of conscious self-evaluation also ignores technological invention and sociological invention, or what has been referred to as "progress." Because a person will frequently make his evaluations on the basis of what he imagines to be available to him, he might evaluate any given situation at a given time period as being very good. If we were to accept this as a mandate to perpetuate this situation, we would accept the status quo as being ideal. Self-evaluation of the given situation does not take into account the changing circumstances of the respondent (e.g., his health). For which age group does one try to design his housing policies?

Finally, it ignores the role of conflicting values within the society. Thus, there can be a highly prejudiced group of individuals who would be satisfied with a homogeneous group (economic, educational, and occupational homogeneity) situation which Taietz describes as ideal, yet we would think twice about perpetuating such a group. There is a strong indication in this bulletin that it is exactly such a value as prejudice which tends to be perpetuated, if we are to take self-evaluation as the ultimate criterion of housing adjustment.

Need is another dimension of housing adjustment which tends to be introduced. It is by the notion of need that the social scientist usually distinguishes between the moron's and the non-moron's evaluations, between the expert's advice and the client's evaluation where they conflict, between the "immoral values" and the "moral" values when these both lead to high self-evaluations of the situation.

It is suggested that, in order to supplement the present study, further research be done on the ambiguous concept of need. In fact, the

notion of need with its biological connotations might well be dropped in favor of the idea of purpose or ideal goals (e.g., desire to increase longevity). The job of the sociologist would then be to determine what these ideals are and what the organization is of these ideals when there is conflict between individuals or between ideals within the same individual. The best housing policy would be that which would maximize the achievement of these ideals.

The statement of an ideal such as perfect health is not so much a function of knowledge or status quo conditions. The role of knowledge is much more important in determining which of several procedures might be the best for achieving a given ideal.

Unfortunately, the major part of this review has been devoted to a discussion of the ways in which the study might be supplemented. However, it must be pointed out that this study has done a highly significant job in clearing away some of the underbrush in the study of old age institutions and their policies.

EUGENE LITWAK

Family Study Center
University of Chicago

Living in the Later Years. Edited by T. LYNN SMITH. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1952. Pp. x+176. \$2.50.

The Institute of Gerontology of the University of Florida was organized in 1951 for the purpose of planning conferences, of studying problems of aging in the state, and of assisting in the publication of significant contributions in this field. Its Second Annual Conference, reported in this volume, considered the demography of the aged in the United States, housing for aged and retired persons, finances for living in the later years, conditions making for healthful living, and activities of older people. Papers were presented on each subject followed by panel discussions. Of particular interest to sociologists are the paper by Homer L. Hitt on the distribution and pattern of change of the aged in the population, eight short contributions on patterns of community living of retired persons in Florida, and a major paper on finances for living in the later years followed by four brief reports on income and employment of elderly people.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement. By HOWARD H. QUINT. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953. Pp. ix+409. \$6.00.

The history of organized socialism in the United States, long a neglected subject, has recently received careful study in many of its aspects by Bestor, Bell, Kipnis, Shannon, and Quint. Quint's book covers the fifteen years from 1886 to 1901, culminating in the formation of the Socialist party of America. It was a restless and confused period, in which several relatively unrelated movements sought to organize the discontented and to provide a coherent program of reform. These included the Socialist Labor party, representing orthodox Marxism; Bellamyite Nationalism; Christian Socialism; several American versions of Fabianism or gradualist socialism; anarchism; and communism. The history of each of these movements during the period is traced, and their relationships with trade-unionism, populism, and the single-tax crusade are examined.

Quint writes in accordance with the traditional canons of academic historical scholarship. He is concerned chiefly with providing an accurate and dispassionate account of events and opinions, an institutional history rather than an analysis of issues in conceptual or ideological terms, and is scrupulously judicious in dealing with all topics. The book is, in fact, an excellent example of the continuing vitality of the tradition of scholarly objectivity in a controversial area.

Questions may be raised, however, as to the adequacy of the general framework on which the study rests and thus, by inference, as to the utility of the historical judgments which underlie it. Quint attempts, in a culminating chapter entitled "American Socialism Comes of Age," to draw together many of the scattered strands of socialist activity in his account of the formation of the Socialist party. The new party was the result of union between the Social Democratic party, essentially a midwestern movement, and the Kangaroo faction of the Socialist Labor party, composed chiefly of New York rebels against the bureaucratic tyranny of De Leon. If the mutual suspicions and petty squabbling accompanying the union, which Quint recounts in detail, constituted political maturity, then the socialists had certainly come of age. A generation ago it might have seemed appropriate to regard the emergence of the Socialist party as marking the "unification" of American social-

ism. It was, after all, a party ostensibly imbued with the democratic spirit, dedicated to the achievement of the co-operative commonwealth in a thoroughly American manner, and one could disregard elements which did not fit this convenient pattern. However, it is apparent by now that with respect to factional quarrels and the great question of tactics, short of the achievement of socialism the history of the Socialist party was to be no different from that of the authoritarian parties of De Leon and the Communists. Instead of seeking the "origins of the modern movement," would it not have been more instructive had Quint inquired whether the same early period would not yield insight into the reasons why American socialism was to remain, in a famous phrase of Gompers, an "embryonic phthisical dwarf?"

STOW PERSONS

State University of Iowa

The Younger American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins. By ROBERT H. KNAPP and JOSEPH J. GREENBAUM. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, Inc., 1953. Pp. xiii+122. \$3.00.

This monograph presents a companion study to Knapp and Goodrich, *Origins of American Scientists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952). Where the earlier work concerned itself with the undergraduate "origins" of Ph.D.'s listed in the third and seventh editions of *American Men of Science*, whose baccalaureate degrees were taken in the years 1924-34, the present volume details the results of a similar investigation into the undergraduate institutions of younger scholars—"best bets" (p. 3) for inclusion in rosters of scholarly fame at some time in the future. The authors, professors of psychology at Wesleyan University, conducted this research under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The major problem of this work is to discover the characteristics of undergraduate institutions associated with differential rates of production of young scholars. Young scholars are defined as those who have been awarded university fellowships and scholarships, governmental fellowships, private foundation fellowships, and Ph.D.'s. Persons were included on the roster of scholars only if their awards exceeded \$400 in value for an academic year and if their awards

called for no service. The analysis is limited to "awardees" in the above categories dating from 1946.

The major analytical tool utilized is an index relating the number of awardees to a base of 1,000 graduates of any given institution. Data are analyzed primarily by types of institutions (liberal arts, university, technical, women's, and residual categories of "small" and "miscellaneous"), by types of awards (science, social science; humanities), and by source of awards (Ph.D., government, private). The "independent variables" investigated are cost of attendance, geographic location, type of administrative control, and size of the institution. With respect to these variables, the data indicate that it is the privately controlled, nondenominational institutions of high cost, located in New England or the North Central region, which present the highest indices of productivity. The results of the analysis by type of institution and award and by source of award are too complex to be summarized here.

The authors make "no pretense to high and profound scholarship" (p. v), and the modest tone of this disclaimer is maintained throughout. Within the limits of their unpretentious aspirations and motivations, they have succeeded in presenting a workman-like product. However, one must register some major criticisms. The most important one, perhaps, has to do with the "principle of creativity," which the authors invoke to explain the higher rates of scholar-production among their first 50 institutions. This principle, which asserts that "creativity is probably so distributed among institutions as among human individuals, that a few possess it in the high degree while the great majority possess it but slightly" (p. 32), remains essentially meaningless without data regarding the probable differential caliber of students enrolling in institutions of high and low productivity, without data concerning the selective processes which move incipient scholars to particular schools. The obtaining of these data the authors ruled out on grounds of inaccessibility and expense.

Further, the authors are not always careful in interpreting the significance of their tabular materials. Thus, in discussing the 50 institutions of highest scholarly production, they point out that 18 of these have some religious affiliation and that "this figure is very striking when we

realize that these 18 schools all come from the liberal arts group of 31 institutions" included in the top 50 (p. 17). The implications of this statement become quite different in the light of the revealed fact that, of the 138 colleges in the total liberal arts sample, 108 have some religious affiliation—18 Catholic and 90 Protestant (p. 44).

One last critical remark may be in a sense unfair to the authors, in view of the limited aims of their research. The implication of their presentation is that it would be desirable to raise the productivity record of the great "barren" mass of institutions to a level commensurate with that of the 50 most productive institutions. This implication raises the unasked and thus unanswered question: What would "we" (society) do with the scholars so turned out? Simply to ask this question would seem to suggest certain doubts concerning what appears to be an underlying but unstated assumption of this work.

SHELDON STRYKER

Indiana University

Background for Tomorrow. By KATE FRANKENTHAL, M.D. New York: Vantage Press, 1953. Pp. 108. \$2.50.

Dr. Frankenthal was born in Germany, received her education through the M.D. degree, and practiced medicine and psychiatry there; she became a refugee during the Nazi regime. She has since lectured in several European countries and in the United States and appears to be now a resident of this country. The present small volume is an expression of the interpretations she has arrived at of a number of related topics and problems of our times, particularly population, marriage, and the family. Informed sociologists will find in this book little that they will regard as new and perhaps little that they will violently disagree with. Readers not hitherto familiar with the literature of population study and related topics may find what Dr. Frankenthal has to say here informative and provocative. The book is written in a rather exclamatory and hortatory style. It lacks an index.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

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THE THEORY OF GAMES OF STRATEGY AS A MODERN SOCIOLOGY OF CONFLICT¹

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ABSTRACT

A statement about, not of, the theory of games of strategy as a basis for a modern sociology of conflict is presented in terms of six key concepts: rational behavior, strategy, the payoff matrix or function, the "rules of the game," coalitions, alliances, and imputations, and, finally, the concept of a solution. The operation of the theory is probably not independent of material culture. Illustrative examples, of pure strategy, of mixed strategy, of statistical inference, and of coalitions are presented, and a critique in terms of conceptual, technical, practical, and ethical difficulties is offered.

The theory of games of strategy² is both a general theory and a specific method for answering concrete questions, especially when combined with statistical inference. As a general theory it should be helpful in

interpreting and "explaining" social organization and social conflict. So far it has been worked out most carefully for theoretical application to economic behavior.³ But it has

¹ In 1949 I wrote an article asking "Where Is the Modern Sociology of Conflict?" At that time I was not familiar with the theory of games of strategy. My attention was called to it shortly thereafter, however, and it seemed to be in many respects an answer to the question I had raised. The present statement of the theory of games of strategy as applied to sociological conflict situations is *about* the theory rather than a presentation *of* the theory itself. Without some such introduction to the sociological public, the theory may be delayed in making its contribution; moreover sociologists ought to be enlisted in the conceptualization of the theory. As a field of mathematics it is only now emerging. The formidable mathematical apparatus required to prove the mathematical theorems of the theory may intimidate some students. Ability to follow the difficult mathematics is not necessary for an appreciation of the theory itself, any more than ability to derive statistical formulas is necessary for an appreciation of statistical methods. In both areas, of course, mechanical and automatic application of techniques is to be avoided. The present paper was read in its original form by a mathematical colleague and by

Dr. Oskar Morgenstern, of Princeton University, and by his assistant, Dr. Martin Shubik. Editorial comments were also made by Dr. Philip Hauser, of the University of Chicago. All editorial comments quoted in the paper are by him. Since this article was written, my attention has been called by Stein Rokkan, of the Oslo Institute for Social Research, to Karl W. Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication*, in which the possibilities of applying the theory of games to intergroup conflict are considered, and to a multigraphed paper by the same author at the Center for International Studies at Princeton, "Applications of Games Theory to International Politics: Some Opportunities and Limitations."

² The theory of games of strategy is contrasted with the theory of games of chance. The latter theory is well worked out; the mathematical theory of probability which applies to games of chance has been many years in development. The theory of games of strategy, on the other hand, involves more than chance, although chance is not excluded. It is based on combinatorics, on probability, on matrix algebra.

³ John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).

great potentiality for application to social and political conflict as well, once social scientists have learned to formulate their problems in game form and to apply the techniques worked out by the mathematicians. It "will throw light on all kinds of situations in which various people have opposing goals and in which each of them, although he may exert some influence on the outcome, cannot completely dominate the course of events."⁴ The theory is also applicable to competitive situations; indeed, so far as economists are concerned, it is actually more a theory of competition perhaps than of conflict. As a practical technique it can be applied to the solution of such problems as: What is the optimum behavior in an air duel? What is the optimum way to plan an advertising campaign? What is the optimum way to dispose of military resources? My colleague, Robert Clark, is applying it to problems of parole prediction.

In this paper we shall discuss the theory in its general aspects in terms of six of its fundamental concepts and in its applied aspects in terms of four kinds of applications to specific problems. But, first, a brief introductory statement.

Although mathematicians are now in process of working out the theory of games for any number of players and for games in which gains and losses do not cancel one another, the model for which the mathematics and conceptualizations are most adequate for the present and on which there seems to be the greatest consensus are two-person zero-sum games. We shall therefore use this model as the basis for our presentation here.⁵ "Zero sum" means that all losses and gains

by the players cancel one another. In a two-person game what one gains the other loses. This is, of course, the very essence of conflict and often of competition also. There is cost involved. And loss in the theory of games includes the gains one did not make but might have made by rational behavior. It also includes "opportunity" costs, the values which must be sacrificed in order to achieve some other value. In some cases, in order to overcome the limitations of the zero-sum requirement in the model, a dummy player is introduced to absorb gains or losses. Yet it is not too incongruent with the conditions of social conflict to accept the zero-sum requirement of the model. It is this mutually exclusive condition which renders the situation one of conflict.

For many years economists begin their analyses with a single individual and on the basis of this so-called "Robinson Crusoe model" erected a system of theory in which individuals tended to maximize their gains in a world in which they had control over most of the factors involved. Such a model, however, did not fit the facts of life very closely. Actually people are rigorously and even rigidly limited in their behavior. They have to plan their behavior with the knowledge that they may be checkmated at any point by opponents. They do not have a free situation in which they can maximize their benefits. They are in a system in which every choice of behavior on their part may be nullified by some choice of behavior on the part of someone else.

The sociological or group situation which corresponds to the individual Robinson Crusoe model is one in which a social system seeks—by isolation, by autarky, by schism, by secession, by independence, by withdrawal; or by liquidation, purging, destruction of opposition—to rid itself of the necessity of modifying its own behavior by reference to the behavior of other systems. If it is successful in such attempts, it has withdrawn from the game, and the logic of simple max-

⁴ J. C. C. McKinsey, *Theory of Games* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), p. 3.

⁵ A mathematician makes this comment here: "It seems to me that, in restricting interest to the two-person game, you lose much of the potentiality of the theory for sociological use. It is precisely in defining 'conflict' and 'rational behavior' in a situation involving more than two people that both the mathematician and the sociologist run into difficulty. To an extent, it is precisely in the allegiances, combinations, discriminations, etc., formed in 'playing the game' and assigning and distributing the payoff that form the 'conflicting' groups with which sociology

must deal." An attempt to deal with this point will be made below in the discussion of coalitions, alliances and imputations.

imization holds. The system can now plan policy under conditions which, in so far as they are controllable at all, it alone controls. In such an isolated system no game exists; policy problems are not strategic but are engineering. No other system can now force moves or deflect policy. No concessions must be made to the probable behavior of an opposing system. It is for this very reason that some systems seek such isolation.⁶

If, however, isolation is impossible for any reason—and it is increasingly as impossible as Robinson Crusoe himself—so that the conflicting systems must somehow or other live in the same social world, then the theory of games of strategy becomes applicable. Now decisions on policy are not simple problems in maximization but problems of maximization under adverse conditions, that is, under conditions in which other parties are also attempting to maximize their gains, so that their behavior may interfere with and limit one's own. Now a long-term optimum is sought rather than a maximum in any one move. The question is: "What is the best I can do, expecting the rational from my opponent?"

The six concepts in terms of which we shall discuss the theory of games in its theoretical aspect are: (1) the concept of rational behavior; (2) the concept of strategy; (3) the concept of the payoff matrix or function; (4) the concept of "rules of the game"; (5) the concept of coalitions, alliances, and imputations; and (6) the concept of a solution.⁷

⁶ At the present time withdrawal from a game is not encompassed in the mathematical formulations. However, models are now in process of construction which will permit players to withdraw (letter from Dr. Shubik). A mathematician points out here that the present theory, although it does not allow players to withdraw from the game, does allow for new alliances and coalitions and that it is under such a formulation that withdrawal should be conceived. Game theory does apply when man is assumed to be playing against "nature" (see McKinsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff.).

⁷ Editorial comment: "There are a number of features of the theory which are not emphasized. The ones listed below constitute the ones I think are most important in their implications to application in soci-

THE CONCEPT OF RATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The theory of games of strategy applies only to rational behavior. It presupposes that players are attempting to "win," that is, to do the best they can in a world that cannot be supposed to be on their side. They follow the course of action which will get them what they want with the least cost.⁸

This concept of rationality at once distinguishes the sociological from the social-psychological conceptualization of conflict. The theory of games does not apply to conflict conceived as bickering, quarreling, hostility, aggression, tension reduction, interpersonal violence, prejudice, adverse stereotyping, pugnacity, etc. Conflict so conceived is essentially nonrational, even irrational. As such it does not fall within the scope of the theory of games of strategy. This does not mean that the theory ignores irrationali-

ology. (I am well aware of the selection problem in writing translational articles.) (1) The reduction of extensive games to normal games. (2) If one is going to talk about the use of game theory in statistical inference, the 'conservative' aspect of the solution—playing safe against nature. (3) In n -person game theory the reduction of the general situation to one in which subsets of players act completely co-operatively action-wise (though not payoff-wise because of side payments). Stated differently, it is one of the major assumptions that the characteristic function of an n -person game is sufficient to determine the solutions. (4) The concept of solution in the n -person game involves not a single way of dividing the payoff but a set of such payment agreements (imputations). Thus, within the theory there is no way of saying who will get what—only a number of possibilities. These possibilities are interrelated in an interesting way. (5) The theory asserts that people will use mixed strategies."

⁸ Editorial comment: "Game theory is a formulation in terms of goals. Anything (activity) that can be so represented has a chance of being considered within a game theoretic framework. The concept of rationality in this context means only that, given the goals people have, they operate in terms of these rather than anything else. The concept of rationality described in the article views it as some kind of narrow self-interest, so that there are large segments of behavior (emotional on the one side, unselfish on the other) which cannot fit. There are some fairly respectable theoretical systems in sociology which conceive of all behavior as goal oriented; for instance, the work of Parsons, Shils, and Bales."

ty or nonrationality. The existence of nonrationality or irrationality is taken into account in the concept "rules of the game," to which we shall refer below. But the theory itself describes and explains only rational behavior, that is, behavior which is designed to pursue an optimum course with respect to a goal.

Nor does the theory apply to people who are better than rational, that is, nonrational in the sense of not pushing their own advantage. Unselfish, generous people who do not try to win are not necessarily rational; they may be better than that. They may not do well in games of strategy because they do not wish to maximize their opponent's losses or minimize his gains. They are more likely to act like a mother playing checkers with a small child; she never forces moves or maneuvers the child into a choice contrary to his interests.⁹

The emphasis on rational behavior is in marked contrast to the prevailing emphasis on nonrational behavior among social psychologists and to the currently fashionable emphasis on culture among sociologists. Whether or not the theory of games is, however, independent of culture, as Sjöberg claims,¹⁰ might well be mooted.

THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGY

Strategy in the theory of games refers to a rule of behavior which takes into account the behavior of others, including the expectations of others with respect to one's own behavior. Strategies are plans or policies or choices of behavior, always involving some expectation regarding the behavior of others.¹¹ They may be of two kinds, depend-

ing on the nature of the game, as we shall see presently, namely: pure and mixed. We shall illustrate these two kinds when we present our examples of application.

The theory of games assigns probabilities to these plans or policies or choices in terms of their relative long-time contribution to the attaining of certain rational ends. It does not create or invent concrete or specific plans of action. This original invention or creation of plans or policies is not inherently a scientific problem, although scientists may engage in it. Like any other form of inventiveness or creativity, it is doubtless an art. It can probably be taught only to the same extent as that to which chess or bridge or poker can be taught. Creativity probably depends on something more than teaching. Hitler was a great creator of plans or strategies; so was Gandhi. Neither one was in any sense a scientist. Imagination, insight, intuition, ability to put one's self in another person's position, understanding of the well-springs of human motivation—good as well as evil—these are required for the thinking-up of policies or strategies.¹²

¹² As in the case of the other concepts basic to the theory of games of strategy, some modification may be called for when the theory is extended to sociological situations. In the models so far developed the emergence of new strategies is not provided for. Editorial comment: "The impression that the reader will probably carry away from this section is that the number and the nature of strategies are independent of everything except the creating genius and that only a few strategies will be created for a situation. Actually, just the opposite is true. Game theory assumes that within the limits of the situations (rules of the game) one has an *exhaustive* statement of all the things that can be done both by you and by your opponent—each in complex reaction with the other. It requires that you enumerate each and every possible sequence of actions that can occur. To show the intimate connection between the fixed aspects of the situation (which do not seem subject to creativity in the sense described) and the strategies, we can (rigorously) define the rules of the game to be those restrictions to play which allow all the enumerated strategies to be played and no others."

However, as we shall point out below in referring to the relationship between culture and theory of games, science sometimes changes the rules of the game; a new invention may remove certain restrictions and thus increase the number of strategies. It is said, for example, that military men usually begin to fight the next war with the technology of the last

⁹ A mathematician's comment: "Not even for 'unselfish, generous' people, does God change the rules; just adds a 'constant' to the payoff matrix; this phase also discoverable perhaps in putting vector values to payoff."

¹⁰ Gideon Sjöberg, "Strategy and Social Power: Some Preliminary Formulations," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXXIII (March, 1953), 297-308.

¹¹ The recent volume called *The Policy Sciences* (1951) edited by Bell and Lasswell might well have been called "The Strategic Sciences," since it dealt with policy in a strategic sense.

It may even be that the scientist is peculiarly unfitted for inventing good strategies in a conflict situation. He is not accustomed to dealing with forces that fight back, try to deceive, or deliberately becloud the situation. The story is told that a medium once invited the distinguished Harvard psychologist, Dr. William McDougall, to investigate her performance in order to demonstrate the validity of her supernatural skills. The magician, Houdini, stepped in and volunteered to do the investigating instead, on the grounds that a scientist could not detect the tricks but that he, a fellow-trickster could. It may be that the scientific habit of thought which the profession of science selects and cultivates operates on a plane where a moral and intellectual and philosophical atmosphere unfits the scientist for the creation of conflict policies.¹³

THE CONCEPT OF THE PAYOFF MATRIX

The theory of games of strategy for two players begins—in the so-called “normalized form”¹⁴—with a table called a “payoff matrix,” as in the example of pure strategy below. This table specifies the gains and losses to players A and B resulting from each combination of strategies of A and B. The figures in this table should be read as follows: If A uses strategy A-1 and B uses strategy B-1, then A wins 2 and B loses 2. If A uses strategy A-1 and B uses strategy B-2, then A wins 1 and B loses 1, etc. Payoff matrixes are, by convention, interpreted in terms of

A's gains and losses; B's gains and losses in the zero-sum game are identical but with signs reversed.

This payoff matrix, or function, is basic. Everything depends on it. It may be of many kinds. The function may be discrete or continuous; the number of strategies involved may be finite or infinite; the game may be separable or not separable. Sociological “games” may be classified in terms of the kinds of payoff functions which define them.

THE CONCEPT OF “RULES OF THE GAME”

In parlor games of strategy the concept of “rules of the game” is easy to understand. They include all the instructions which specify what is allowed, not allowed, or demanded. In addition, in any specific play of the game, the players themselves may incorporate, by informal agreement among themselves, any modifications they wish. They also specify what the payoff is to be. It is agreed, for example, in matching pennies that, if B matches A, then A pays so much to B, or vice versa. The payoff matrix in parlor games is a human creation.

In sociological “games” or conflict situations, however, the situation is quite different. The rules of the game are now the “laws of nature,” including the “laws” of “human nature.” It is, for example, a “rule of the game” in sociological conflict that, if you drink certain poisons, you die. It is contrary to the rules of the game to operate from the moon. The distribution of natural resources is part of the rules of the game. The law of diminishing returns in agriculture is also. Climate, fauna, flora—all are part of the rules of the game. The unequal distribution of talent among human beings is part of the rules. The geographical, biological, and psychological “factors” once so popular in sociology textbooks specify the “rules of the game” in sociological conflicts. All strategies must operate within such rules.

The theory of games does not assign the values in the payoff matrix, any more than it creates the plans or strategies which it evaluates. It begins with the values. They are set up in the rules of the game. In socio-

war. Psychological inventions may have the same effect of altering strategies as physical inventions. An exhaustive statement of strategies may be impossible in a dynamic world.

¹³ A mathematician comments: “I do not know any scientists, but on their behalf I resent the stereotype. Much of ‘science,’ or at least planning and design, will in the future be precisely in these fields. Conflicting science is already a fact in war, economics, and competition of nations. Only for short periods has the ‘open game,’ that is, universal publication, etc., been used; and then only in limited situations.”

¹⁴ The normalized form is contrasted with the game in extensive form, in which it is laid out like a tree. The extensive form can always be transformed into the normalized form.

logical games we may not always know what the payoff function actually is.¹⁵ We do not even know what the rules of the game are in many instances. In fact, most of the research which social scientists engage in is an effort to determine just what these rules are. Thousands of correlation coefficients, of coefficients of association, of chi squares, of analyses of variance, are computed every year by social scientists in an effort to find out just how the social system operates, what the rules of this game of social life are. Some of the rules are fairly well established and clear cut. But probably a great many more "sociological laws" or rules are as yet unknown.

The hardest work, so far as the social scientist is concerned, is probably already completed by the time the theory of games takes over. That is, the strategies must already have been created or discovered or delineated and the payoff function calculated or discovered.¹⁶ The invention or discovery of the strategies may have involved creativity of the highest order; the calculation or discovery of the payoff function may have required a tremendous research effort—by sociologists, economists, demographers, anthropologists, and psychologists.

So far as application is concerned, fortunately, the figures in the payoff matrix do not always have to be known exactly. In every case, however, we do have to know their relative magnitude. We must know, for example, that n is about four times greater than n' or that n'' is, let us say, 10 per cent larger than n' , etc. If we know the relative magnitude of the values of the payoff function, we can assign arbitrary values to them which are relatively if not absolutely correct and then proceed to apply the theory.¹⁷ In

¹⁵ Games against nature and so-called "pseudo-games," discussed by McKinsey, Wald, Nash, and others, "involve lack of knowledge of a payoff matrix, and as yet many of the problems that come up have not been satisfactorily conceptualized" (Dr. Shubik).

¹⁶ One mathematician comments at this point: "Depends on the approach. Could be that the hardest work is in the definitions of the coalitions. The payoff matrix is defined in terms of productive process; sociological classes, on distributions of results, for example."

sociological games this may be the way we have to proceed for some time.

THE CONCEPT OF COALITIONS, ALLIANCES, AND IMPUTATIONS

When the number of players in a game is more than two, new theoretical problems arise, and hence new concepts are needed. The model then includes coalitions or alliances or agreements among players; it makes room for the existence of discrimination and exploitation as well as for the coalescence of interests which leads to co-operation against a common "enemy" or opponent. With suitable modifications, three-person games can frequently be reduced to two-person games and the usual procedures applied to their solution.

From a sociological point of view, the concept of coalition or alliances may be one of the most important in the theory of games. The idea is that often two players in combination can gain more by playing together as a unit. If this is so, the game is said to be "essential." The problem of the players is now to find the particular coalition which nets them most. The gain which is made by a coalition must, of course, itself be divided or shared. The manner in which this gain is distributed is called an "imputation." Player A combined with B gains, let us say, $\frac{1}{2}$; combined with C, $\frac{1}{2}$; in the first case, C loses 1; in the second, C gains $\frac{1}{2}$. Similar payoff functions exist for the other players as follows:

MATRIX SHOWING GAINS TO INDIVIDUAL PLAYERS AS A FUNCTION OF DIFFERENT COALITIONS

COALITIONS	GAIN TO INDIVIDUAL PLAYERS		
	A Gains	B Gains	C Gains
A and B in coalition...	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	-1
A and C in coalition...	$\frac{1}{2}$	-1	$\frac{1}{2}$
B and C in coalition...	-1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

If one imputation is clearly more advantageous to all the players in a given coalition

¹⁷ Von Neumann and Morgenstern, for example, have done this in the "game" between Sherlock Holmes and Professor Moriarity. They assigned a value of 100 to Moriarity's catching Holmes and killing him; a value of -50 to his missing Holmes; and a value of 0 to his missing Holmes at the intermediate station, in essence, a "draw" (*op. cit.*, pp. 176-77).

than the imputation in any other coalition, it is said to dominate the other imputations. In the above "game" this is not the case. Therefore, any one of the three possible solutions (A, B; A, C; or B, C) may be chosen. Whichever one is chosen will have stability, because any attempt to change the imputation in favor of one of the players will have the immediate result of making the other player withdraw from that coalition to join with the third player.

The enormous importance of the concepts of coalition and of imputation for sociological conflict can be readily seen. The relationships among classes, races, nations, interest groups of all kinds may in time be interpreted or "explained" in terms of the theory of games.

The actual process of forming coalitions is a competitive one. "As a rule a great deal of bargaining will precede the determination of the system of gains or profits among the members of the coalition."¹⁸ And the existence of competitive gains possible outside the coalition will prevent violation of the bargain. In a sense, the determination of the distribution of payments within a coalition might be considered an auxiliary game or a subgame. Skill in the prosecution of a conflict may lie in knowing how to disrupt certain coalitions and how to reassemble the players in other coalitions.

THE CONCEPT OF A SOLUTION

There is still a difference of opinion among mathematicians with respect to the conceptualization of a solution. In a two-person game a solution consists of a set of probabilities which tell the player how to play his several strategies in order to maximize his gains. The method of arriving at this set of probabilities may also be called a "process of solution." The procedure for arriving at a solution for a two-person game may be very simple; it may even in some simple matrixes be done by inspection. Other fairly simple methods, such as iteration, are also available. Two-person games, and three-person games involving not more

than two strategies for each player, are susceptible to graphical methods of handling; but, beyond three, graphical methods can no longer be applied. Methods suitable for machine treatment are also possible in some cases.

But when there are three or more players, the concept of a solution is more involved. Now "a solution purports merely to give a set of possible ways in which winnings can be divided at the end of a play," and "the theory consists essentially in a search for solutions and a discussion of their properties."¹⁹ Mathematicians have shown that all three- and four-person games have solutions, but they have not yet shown that all five-person games do.

From a theoretical point of view, this problem of the conceptualization of a solution is basic in sociology. The status quo in any society may be viewed as a solution. Any working accommodation may be viewed as an imputation in a solution. In social and economic organization, says Morgenstern,

"stability" is far more involved than it is in the physical sciences, where a solution is usually given by a number or a set of numbers. In essential games, in economics and in warfare, there is instead a set of alternatives, none of which is clearly better than another or all others. One imputation in a set is not more stable than any other, because every one may be threatened by one outside the solution. But each has a certain stability because it is protected by other potential imputations to the solution against upsets from outside. Collectively they eliminate the danger of revolutions. The balance is most delicate, however, and it becomes more sensitive as the number of players increases. These higher-order games may have many solutions instead of a single one, and while there is no conflict within an individual solution, the various solutions or standards of behavior may well conflict with one another. The multiplicity of solutions may be interpreted as a mathematical formulation of the undisputed fact that on the same physical background of economic and social culture utterly different types of society can be established. Within each society, in turn, there is possible considerable variation in the distribution of income, privileges and other advantages

¹⁸ Oskar Morgenstern, "The Theory of Games," *Scientific American*, CLXXX (May, 1949), 23.

¹⁹ McKinsey, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

—which corresponds to the multiplicity of imputations or distribution schemes in a single solution in a game.²⁰

The fact that five-person games have not been found to have solutions but that three-person games may have “an embarrassing richness of solutions” leads some mathematicians to conclude that “the theory of n -person games is not yet in a completely satisfactory form.”²¹ Confidence has been expressed, however, that the great mathematical discoveries required “to make a break-through into the field of social phenomena” will be forthcoming.²² We may expect that the mathematics required to make a fruitful application of the theory of games to sociological phenomena will emerge in the not-too-distant future.

THEORY OF GAMES AND CULTURE

The position of culture in the theory of games is somewhat equivocal. So far as material culture is concerned, there is little difficulty. Since it is based on physics, chemistry, biology, and the earth sciences, technology may well be admitted as part of the “rules of the game.” A canal has the same significance as a river; an artificial harbor has the same significance as a natural one.

When we come to nonmaterial culture, the problem becomes more complex. So far as application to limited, concrete, specific, technical problems is concerned, the sociologist would be inclined to include institutions as part of the rules of the game. Strategies must always be planned within an institutional framework which, for at least a limited period, operates like other natural phenomena. Application of the theory of games to prediction of marital adjustment, for example, would have to accept certain institutional patterns as given, in the same way as other “natural” patterns are given. Institutions impinge on personality with the same impact and inevitability as the weather.

“Game” theorists are not inclined to ac-

cept this point of view. To them, institutional arrangements fall rather within the conceptual compass of coalitions and imputations, that is, solutions. They are not inclined to admit them to the category of rules of the game. From the point of view of theory, it is not difficult to see their objection. Coalitions and imputations and hence solutions in the Von Neumann sense are shifting, not fixed; they vary from time to time and place to place. They do not have the fixity required of rules of the game.

Actually we know that technology can change the “rules of the game.” It renders the formerly impossible possible. It may completely alter the functions in the payoff matrix. Climate may have one payoff under one kind of technology; it may have quite a different one when the technology is changed (e.g., the industrial position of the South before and after air-conditioning). Areas which are worthless may become valuable when their resources suddenly acquire industrial significance. Culture, in brief, is always changing the “rules of the game.”

The solution to the problem of the place of culture in the theory of games may involve reviewing some old theoretical problems. For the present, some ambiguity may be inevitable.²³

The above statement *about* (not *of*) the theory of games of strategy is, of course, so truncated as to constitute almost a travesty on it; it is intended merely to serve as an introduction to the general nature of its approach and to suggest a tie-up with sociological problems. Fortunately, application of the theory to concrete and specific problems does not have to wait for complete conceptual clarification. We turn here, then, to a

²³ Editorial comment: “The impression is that there is some kind of a problem about whether one must include or exclude institutions. To overdraw the picture: ‘If game theorists had their way, those who thought that institutions were fixed, would have to look for another theory.’ Actually, of course, the scientist can set up any assumptions he wants (including institutions as fixed factors in a social situation) if he thinks these reflect the things he is trying to predict. It is to game theory’s credit that it might offer a framework to talk about institutional change.”

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

²¹ McKinsey, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

²² Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

consideration of four kinds of games to which the theory can be applied.

EXAMPLES OF APPLICATION

To illustrate how the theory of games may be used in answering specific problems, as well as in the more theoretical framework just discussed, we present here some simple examples of its application to four kinds of situations.

A GAME WITH PURE STRATEGY


In some games the payoff function is of such a nature that secrecy or bluffing or deceiving or spying would not help either of the players. Knowing what an opponent was going to do would not improve one's own position. Games in which this is true are called games with complete information; and they are said to be determined. In such games it is possible to use what is known as a pure strategy. For example, let us take the following payoff matrix:

A/B	B-1	B-2	B-3
A-1	2	1	4
A-2	2	3	2
A-3	2	-1	-1

Let us suppose that this is the payoff function for a competitive game. That is, each player is trying to manage his own affairs as best he can, but he is not trying to destroy or attack the other player. It so happens, to be sure, that, in trying to manage his own affairs to the best advantage, he has to take the other player into account, since they are both operating in the same social world. Let us suppose this to be a political campaign. A strategy board for both parties is trying to figure out the best issues to play up and the best ones to play down. Researchers have made a great many sample studies and worked out the payoff matrix as shown. This is a case where Party B is clearly on the defensive. All that it can do is to keep Party A from getting too many votes; it can gain only if Party A makes the mistake of using issue A-3. Each party has to be prepared for the use of any issue by his opponent. Party A might be tempted to use its first issue, A-1 ("Korea," for example), because then, if Party B used its third issue, B-3 ("inflation," let us say), it would gain 4 million votes. But, because Party A strategists

are rational, they consider the possibility, even the probability, that Party B will use their second issue ("offshore oil") and hold Party A's gains to only 1 million. Party A will certainly not select its third issue ("time for a change"), because, if Party B used its first issue ("civil rights"), Party A would be no better off than it would be if it used its own first or second issue; and, if Party B used its second or third issue, Party A would lose. Party A's best strategy is to use issue A-2 ("corruption"), because it is sure to win at least 2 million votes no matter what Party B does. And Party B's best strategy is to use issue B-1 ("communism in government"), because then it cannot possibly lose more than 2 million votes, no matter what Party A does.

The solution of a payoff matrix of this kind is very easy; it can be determined by inspection. Player A looks at it and sees that the minimum gain he can make with issue A-1 is 1; the minimum gain he can make with issue A-2 is 2; the minimum gain he can make with issue A-3 is -1. These are the minimum gains B can hold A to in such a payoff function. Player A is prepared for the worst; he expects nothing better than these. But, although he cannot hope to improve these minimums, he can choose the issue which makes these minimum gains as large as possible. In other words, he can maximize these minimum gains. This will happen if he selects issue A-2, for the worst that Player B could do to him with any issue at his disposal would be to hold him to 2. The same logic applies in reverse to the party on the defensive. He examines the payoff function revealed in the matrix and finds that the worst loss he can inflict on A is 2, or 3, or 4, according to which issue he chooses. In order to play it safe, he selects the issue which minimizes these maximum losses to Player A, so that, no matter what issue Player A uses, Player B will not lose more than 2.

In this game the value of the game is 2 for Player A and -2 for Player B, and the game is said to have a saddle-point. A saddle-point (so called because, when the maximums and minimums are graphed, we get two curves which look like a saddle on a horse ) is an element in a payoff matrix which is the maximum in its column and the minimum in its row. In payoff matrixes where a saddle-point exists, both players, if rational, will always play that particular strategy. They decide in advance what they are going to do, since knowing what they are going to do will not help their opponents at all. When this is possible, we have pure strategy.

A GAME WITH MIXED STRATEGY

• Not all games are this simple, however. Sometimes the payoff function is of such a nature that it would make a big difference in one's behavior if he knew which way his opponent were going to act. The matrix for such a function is shown herewith:

A/B	B-1	B-2	B-3
A-1	0	0	-4
A-2	0	-3	-1
A-3	-2	-1	-1

We may illustrate a kind of "game" in which such a matrix might fit as the problem of Mr. Verdant, a member of the green race, visiting as a complete stranger in a country in which some of the people were extremely pro-green, some were indifferent to members of the green race, and some were violently anti-green. He cannot tell from looking at people which of these three categories they fall into. He has three choices in approaching one of them. He can be extremely appeasing, submissive, fawning, inviting abuse from the anti-greens (A-1); he can expect civility but not fight for it if he does not get it (A-2); he can expect civil treatment and fight if he does not get it (A-3). Fortunately, he has been supplied with the payoff matrix shown above. He finds that no pure strategy is optimal for him. That is, he cannot decide on a strategy beforehand. He should not always appease, expect but not fight for good treatment, or expect and fight for good treatment. What he should do is mix his behavior patterns, using now one, now another. In this particular "game" his optimal mixed strategy would be to behave according to A-1 one-ninth of the time, according to A-2 two-thirds of the time, and according to A-3 two-ninths of the time. In this country the people are equally distributed among the three types so far as attitude toward the green race is concerned. If he did this, he would leave the country with the least harm, no matter whom he met.

• It was the discovery of this principle of mixed strategy and its mathematical conceptualization by John Von Neumann which made the theory of games of strategy possible. It applies in cases where one does not know what one's opponent is going to do but where knowing it would make a difference in one's own behavior.

"GAME" THEORY APPLIED TO
STATISTICAL INFERENCE

The game just described is, in effect, an application of "game" theory to statistical inference. It seems that for the present this use of "game" theory will probably be the most common. In this sense, "game" theory may find extremely wide technical application. We may illustrate a hypothetical case as follows.²⁴

Representatives of Nation A and Nation B are negotiating some kind of treaty. Nation A submits two proposals. So far as Nation B is concerned, either one may be genuine or either one may be spurious, involving some joker. A statistician with some training in game theory is called in to work out strategies. He has to guess how many are spurious, so that the negotiators will know how to proceed. If he guesses right, he saves his nation from disaster; if his answer differs from the correct answer by 1 (that is, he guesses that one is spurious when actually both are, or guesses both when only one is), he may confuse the policy-makers or prevent an amicable settlement; if his answer differs from the correct answer by 2, he may lead the nation into disaster. There are eight pure strategies for the statistician to choose from:

1. Make no test and guess that both plans are spurious.
2. Make no test and guess that one is spurious and one genuine.
3. Make no test and guess that both plans are genuine.
4. Test one plan and guess that the other one is the same as the tested one (i.e., genuine if the tested one is genuine, spurious if the tested one is spurious).
5. Test one plan and, regardless of what it turns out to be, guess that the other plan is spurious.
6. Test one plan and, regardless of what it turns out to be, guess that the other one is genuine.
7. Test one plan and guess that the other is opposite to the tested one (i.e., genuine if the tested one is spurious; spurious if the tested one is genuine).
8. Test both plans.

Nation A is in the position of hoping that Nation B will accept both proposals as genuine but cannot be sure. Its best strategy turns out to be to make both proposals genuine or to make both spurious.

²⁴ This example is an adaptation of a problem in McKinsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

If we assume that the cost of testing a proposal is extremely high—involving a great deal of espionage and danger of exposing valuable secrets—then “game” theory informs the statistician that his optimal strategy is No. 2, always to guess that one plan is spurious and one genuine, without making any test. (Interestingly enough, this optimal strategy is to guess wrong, that is, to guess precisely the one plan that Nation A assigns a game strategy of 0 to.)

The basis on which the statistician worked out this choice is illustrated in the accompanying matrix. In this payoff function a guess which is correct for both plans has a tremendous payoff—prevention of disaster—to which we shall assign a value of 100; a guess which is wrong by 1 is assigned a value of 0; and a guess which is wrong by 2 is assigned a value of -100. The value of this game is 0 to Nation B. Inspection of this payoff matrix shows the statistician that, no matter what Nation A has in mind, his nation is better off assuming one plan to be spurious. At least his own nation will be no worse off; at best it will avoid disaster by selecting the wrong plan. The optimal strategy would have been different if the cost of testing proposals were very low.

MATRIX FOR STATISTICIAN VERSUS ENEMY

STATISTICIAN'S STRATEGIES	ENEMY STRATEGIES		
	0	1	2
1.....	-100	0	100
2.....	0	100	0
3.....	100	0	-100
4.....	-100	-200	-100
5.....	-200	-150	-100
6.....	-100	-150	-200
7.....	-200	-100	-200
8.....	-300	-300	-300

GAME INVOLVING COALITIONS²⁵

In the game of three or more persons the restriction that gains must be transferable renders its applicability as yet difficult in sociological situations where such transfer-

²⁵ Editorial comment: “This example involving coalitions does not give the reader any idea what game theory says about this situation. In fact, the implication is that game theory says nothing about which one of many alternative schemes picked more or less at random (so it seems) will be used. Even though a ‘solution’ involves a set of strategies, there are interrelationships between them, which only allow certain sets of strategies to qualify as solutions.” See above discussion of the concept of a solution in this connection.

ability cannot be assumed. Our illustration is therefore taken from a market situation where gains are in terms of dollars, which are transferable.

A will sell the use of his swimming pool for \$9,000 or more. A white club, B, will buy the use of the pool for \$17,000 or less; and a Negro club, C, will buy the use of the pool for \$22,000 or less. If the use of the pool is bought for \$19,000, A gains \$10,000, B gains nothing, and C gains \$3,000. If it is sold for \$21,000, A gains \$12,000, B gains nothing, and C gains \$1,000. If it is sold for \$11,000 to B, A gains \$2,000, B gains \$6,000, and C gains nothing. Now suppose C pays B \$8,000 to stay out of the market and buys the use of the pool for \$12,000. A now gains \$3,000, B gains \$8,000, and C gains \$2,000. If C had paid B only \$2,000, their relative gains would have been reversed. Which one of these “imputations” will prevail will be determined by the accepted standards of behavior. Where there is support for discrimination against Negroes, the imputation which makes the Negroes pay most for the privilege of buying the use of the pool may prevail; where there is not, the imputation which makes them pay least may prevail.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Aside from the advances which must be made in mathematics, and aside from the skill required in learning to state sociological problems in game form, perhaps the basic research challenge in the theory of games as applied to sociological situations is that of determining exactly what the “rules of the game” are. What is the nature of “human nature”? What are sociological “laws”? How can we tell whether certain phenomena are inevitable and which are not? (Corruption in local government, for example; recourse to war; abuse of absolute power, etc.) Are there any sociological “laws” as distinguished from cultural uniformities? The Greeks asked, “Nature or Convention”? Conceptual clarification as well as fundamental research will be called for here.

Of almost equal significance is the problem of determining the nature of the payoff function, of assessing costs. What do we stand to gain or lose if we do this or that and

others do something else? Sometimes we know what the payoff is—war, for example—but we do not know what variables it is a function of, what combination of “strategies” produced or “caused” it. We can only work backward and say that, if A had done this instead of that and if B had done that instead of this, the war might have been prevented. Sometimes we know the variables but do not know what the payoff is. A great deal of research will be involved in dealing with such questions.

Once we have learned how to compute or discover payoffs, perhaps the most immediate use of the theory of games will come, as we stated above, in combining it with statistical inference, especially in the field of prediction. A payoff matrix is in effect a special kind of prediction table. It “predicts” the result of the different combinations of events, some of which favor one “player” and some of which favor another. If students of prediction—of marital adjustment, parole success, population, for example—can learn to conceive their problems in “game” form, gains in applicability of prediction may be confidently anticipated.

EVALUATION

In favor of the theory of games of strategy is the fact that it fits human beings as they now behave. It makes no demands on human nature that present-day conditions do not make on it. It does not ask for a change in attitude, a refashioning of human nature. It does not, furthermore, involve in its application any manipulation in the sense of changing people in the direction of goals set by others. What manipulation there is, is in terms of rationality. It does not envisage an end to conflict; it accepts conflict as a continuing fact. It does not delve into the “causes” of conflict. It might, however, conceivably help in minimizing the use of violence as a strategy in conflict.

In its favor also is its lack of the assumption that decisions are unilateral or that they lie in the hands of one conflicting party alone. A useful theory of conflict, for example, must recognize that decisions are not

made in a vacuum, that they are not made under ideal conditions, and that they are not always the result of free choices. Preaching tolerance and understanding to one party of a conflict implies that one party can decide the course of events. Actually decisions are often forced by opponents. In a checker game an opponent deliberately places his man in the path of yours. You are obliged by the rules of the game to jump him even if this puts you in a position where he can jump two or three of your men. Or he makes a move which obliges you to make one which you did not wish to make but must now make in order to protect your men. Important decisions involving policy of, let us say, the United States, similarly are not in the hands of the United States alone but also in the hands of the presidium of the Communist party in Moscow, and vice versa. In brief, every decision must be made in terms at least partially determined by one's opponent. There are no Robinson Crusoe nations in the modern world. The theory of games recognizes these facts.

On the negative side of the ledger there must, however, be listed at least four kinds of difficulties, namely: conceptual, technical, practical, and ethical or moral. The first two are so closely related that we shall deal with them together.

Conceptual-technical difficulties.—“Game” theorists want to know how conflict situations are going to be conceptualized, so that they may know what kind of mathematical theorems are going to be needed. They want directives; they want to know how to extend the theory to make it most useful “as a tool for dealing with situations involving conflict among rational agents.”²⁶

So far as the sociologist is concerned, one of the most serious difficulties is that involved in assessing costs. Unlike economic costs, which can often be translated into monetary units, or even military costs, which can often be translated into quantitative units—lives, square miles, strategic points, matériel, or even sheer time—the costs in many sociological conflict situations

²⁶ McKinsey, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

are in terms difficult to state quantitatively. They may be in the nature of "honor," "face," status, or subjective psychological mechanisms such as compensatory devices or escape mechanisms. What, exactly, is the unit of measurement in such cases? A great many sociological payoffs are of this nature.²⁷

Even, however, when such payoffs can be expressed in quantitative units, a further difficulty is encountered in the problem of the transferability of the units. When non-transferability is one of the restrictions of the model, the situation has been called a "pseudo-game."²⁸

It can happen that the values of the payoff function are, for instance, sums of money . . . [but] that the various players differ so greatly in their financial status that a dollar is much more important to some of them than to others; it can even happen the values of the payoff are things such as the glow of satisfaction that comes from winning a chess game or the death that comes from losing a game of Russian roulette, which are not transferable at all. Thus we are left with the difficult problem of how to define a solution of a game where restrictions are placed on the transferability of goods.

How can one compare the loss which Negroes suffer from discriminatory behavior with the competitive advantages which white persons gain? So far the theorems for pseudo-games have not been worked out.

The conceptual confusion with respect to the nature of solutions of games with three or four players is also a difficulty so far as theory is concerned, although it does not prevent practical application to specific situations. What constitutes a solution? And how do solutions change? The theory seems better adapted to explain organization than, let us say, revolution. It does not make altogether clear why any one solution will be chosen rather than any other; or, once chosen, how it may be discarded for another. One must, perhaps, import such things as

changes in technology, which, in effect, change the rules of the game and hence the payoff function, in order to account for changes in solutions.

The game is limited to rational behavior; but sometimes optimal strategy, however "rational," might not be the best. In some circumstances rational behavior as defined in the theory might be "wrong." As Neisser has pointed out, the theory of games would not be useful to a player in a game where even the best he could hope for on the minimax or maxmin principle was death.²⁹ Suppose, for example, that the payoff function were of such a nature that his choice was (a) death by torture or (b) death by euthanasia or (c) escape with no shame attached to it. Suppose the minimax theory came up with an optimal strategy of *b*. The best he could safely hope for was a comfortable death. The odds against choice *c* would be great, according to minimax; he could win only if his opponent made a wrong play. In such a payoff situation it would not be rational to settle for the safest bet. The "rational" thing would be to take the slender chance that one's opponent would make a mistake.

We have already referred to the fact that non-zero-sum games and games with more than three players present great technical problems to the mathematician, so that, "despite the great ingenuity that has been shown in the various attacks on the problem of *n*-person and non-zero-sum games, we have not yet arrived at a satisfactory notion of a solution of such a game. This whole aspect of the theory presents a challenging problem to the mathematician—and an extremely important one—since the application of game theory to a very wide class of practical situations must wait for such a definition."³⁰

Practical difficulties.—Even where the theory of games is satisfactory and can be

²⁷ Von Neumann and Morgenstern face the problems in their discussion of measurement of utility (*op. cit.*, chap. i).

²⁸ McKinsey, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

²⁹ Hans Neisser, "The Strategy of Expecting the Worst," *Social Research*, LVIII (September, 1952), 167-75.

³⁰ McKinsey, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

applied without conceptual or mathematical reservations, the computational difficulties involved are enormous. For example:

Two competing automobile manufacturers may each have a large number of strategies involving the choice of various body designs, the addition of new accessories, the best times to announce new models and price changes, and so on. It has been estimated that the calculation for a game in which one manufacturer had 100 possible strategies and his competitor had 200 (a not uncommon situation) would take about a year on an electronic computer.³¹

A game of poker with only three cards, two players, and three bids among them would involve a payoff matrix with 1,728 boxes, and computing a single-best-possible strategy for each of the three players to an accuracy of about 10 per cent would require almost two billion multiplications and additions.³²

Ethical difficulties.—To some students the theory of games of strategy may look like a modernized, streamlined, mathematical version of Machiavellianism. Idealists might point out that it presupposes a low conception of human nature. It expects nothing generous, nothing noble, nothing idealistic.

³¹ Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³² Dr. Shubik comments: "You are probably being optimistic in your estimates. A chess game, which is a simple enough situation, involves many trillions of pure strategies."

It expects people to bluff, to deceive, to feint, to withhold information, to play their advantages to the utmost, to make the most of their opponent's weaknesses. Although it does seem at first glance to leave little room for ethical considerations, there are two points at which such considerations can enter. One is by way of the concept "rules of the game," and the other by way of the concept "accepted social standards." There can be no game at all without rules, and—although there is disagreement on this point on the part of some mathematicians—some of these are institutional. More important is the application of the concept "accepted social standards" when several solutions are possible. The assumption is made that if several solutions, all of them equally good from a strategic point of view, are possible, the one will be selected which is most nearly in conformity with accepted standards of conduct.³³

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³³ A mathematician comments: "The dualistic conflict of the two-person game has some of the troubles of the sort of which you speak. It is precisely in coalition that the sacrifices, concessions, etc., occur. They do not to me seem to make the problem easier . . . but much more complex. It seems to me that, *after* a more complete formalization of the concept of coalition, perhaps definite ethical contributions can be formulated—in the light of a more complete social description."

THE RELATIONSHIP OF LITERATURE AND SOCIETY

MILTON C. ALBRECHT

ABSTRACT

In most theories of the relationship of literature and society reflection, influence, and social control are implied. Literature is interpreted as reflecting norms and values, as revealing the ethos of culture, the processes of class struggle, and certain types of social "facts." "Influence" is not strictly the reverse of reflection, since social stability and cultural ideals are involved. Social control, however, articulates closely with one version of reflection, though to a limited extent in complex, dynamic societies.

As Mueller pointed out fifteen years ago,¹ sociologists in the United States have paid little attention to literature and art; they, like other social scientists, have focused primarily on the instrumental aspects of social life.² Perhaps this is because practical social problems have grown so urgent—but, whatever the reason, some interest in the arts has persisted and in recent years has increased, however sporadically.³ Of literary and social histories as well as of more limited investigations there are, of course, an untold number. Our purpose in this paper is to examine critically some of their characteristic viewpoints and theoretical assumptions. One hypothesis is that literature "reflects" society; its supposed converse is that literature influences or "shapes" society. A third hypothesis is that literature functions socially to maintain and stabilize, if not to justify and sanctify, the social order, which may be called the "social-control" theory.

The idea that literature reflects society is

at least as old as Plato's concept of imitation.⁴ Systematic application of the idea did not appear, however, until about a century and a half ago. The "beginning" might be said to be Madame de Staël's *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*,⁵ published in 1800, in which the author offered a social and historical interpretation of the literature of several nations. Her outlook was romantic and idealistic, expressed in terms of individual and social perfectionism. Apparently, the theory of reflection arose out of the spirit of nationalism spreading throughout Europe and from the environmentalism of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinkers.⁶ In general, the idea is a manifestation of a change in man's perspective, crystallized during the nineteenth century in philosophies of history, in the formulation of the theory of evolution, and in the sociological conceptions of societies and their changing character through successive ages.⁷

The essential function of the reflection theory was to "explain" in social and historical rather than individual terms the quality and greatness of literature, as well as its content, style, and forms. In effect, it emphasized social and cultural determinism

¹ J. H. Mueller, "Is Art the Product of Its Age?" *Social Forces*, XIII (March, 1935), 367-76; "The Folkway of Art," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (September, 1938), 222-38.

² Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 392.

³ Bibliographies may be found in A. S. Tomars, *Introduction to the Sociology of Art* (Mexico City, 1940), pp. 418-21; in H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1940), pp. 889-92; in James H. Barnett, *Divorce and the American Divorce Novel, 1858-1937* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 146 ff.; in Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz, *Public Opinion and Communication* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950). For many other sources see Hugh D. Duncan, "An Annotated Bibliography on the Sociology of Literature" (University of Chicago thesis, 1947).

⁴ *The Republic*, in *The Works of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett (4 vols. in 1; New York: Dial Press, n.d.), II, 378 ff.

⁵ 2 vols.; Paris, 1800. See also *De l'Allemagne* (Paris, 1813).

⁶ Max Lerner and Edwin Mims, Jr., "Literature," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), IX, 538-39.

⁷ Floyd N. House, *The Development of Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936).

instead of personal inspiration, and it became the broad orientation of innumerable works dealing with the arts. To be sure, other phrases were often used, such as "expression of society" or "mirror of life," but their meaning is practically identical with "reflection." These phrases were applied to nearly everything social and cultural as well as biological and geographical. At one time or another literature has been thought to reflect economics, family relationships, climate and landscapes, attitudes, morals, races, social classes, political events, wars, religion, and many other more detailed aspects of environment and social life.⁸

This diversity results, apparently, from the fact that literature embraces a wide variety of subject matter, representing "settings," behavior patterns, and ideas in their complex interrelationships. It has led some, like Mueller, to believe that the reflection theory is "too all-embracing" to be useful.⁹ Nevertheless, it has traditionally been applied in a few major forms, sometimes stated explicitly but often merely implied or assumed—by literary and social historians as well as by sociologists and anthropologists. Probably the commonest conception has been that literature reflects predominantly the significant values and norms of a culture. As DeVoto says, "Literature is a record of social experience, an embodiment of social myths and ideals and aims, and an organization of social beliefs and sanctions."¹⁰ These

"social beliefs and sanctions" have usually included religious beliefs and customs, as manifested in myths and other art forms, both of primitive societies and of earlier historical periods of civilizations.¹¹ Boas finds, for example, that the conditions of life in a number of Indian tribes can be abstracted from their traditional tales: "Beliefs and customs in life and in tales are in full agreement."¹² Whether this is fully as true in complex civilizations such as our own seems less clear, and it is uncertain whether the situations used as vehicles for illustrating or emphasizing important social values are those actually occurring in a society or truly typical. On these questions there seems less general agreement, but the use of literature as an index of significant beliefs and values in a society has been widespread.¹³

In psychology a recent variant of this conception is that stories, at least as presented in movies, reflect the stress patterns and emotional needs of audiences, arising out of shared cultural and social life. Wolfenstein and Leites, for instance, believe that "the common day-dreams of a culture are in part the sources, in part the products of its popular myths, stories, plays and films."¹⁴ As a consequence, the plots of the drama of a particular time or period show a distinctive configuration. Other investigators assume that a kind of collective unconscious is

⁸ Cf. Lerner and Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 524. Franz Boas maintains (*General Anthropology* [New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938], p. 594) that "the contents of poetry are as varied as the cultural interests of the people." Henry Commager insists (*The American Mind* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950], p. 56) that imaginative literature could faithfully replace the documentary record of the contemporary scene.

⁹ "Is Art the Product of Its Age?" *op. cit.*, p. 373.

¹⁰ W. E. Lingelbach (ed.), *Approaches to American Social History* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1937), p. 54. Cf. David Daiches, *Literature and Society* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938); Irwin Edman, *Arts and the Man* (New York: New American Library, 1949), pp. 122-29; Ruth Benedict, *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), pp. 100-133; Hortense Powdermaker,

"An Anthropologist Looks at the Movies," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLIV (November, 1947), 83-84.

¹¹ Consult E. Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art* (New York: Appleton, 1897); Y. Hirn, *The Origins of Art* (London, 1900); Jane Harrison, *Ancient Art and Ritual* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1913); Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (Oslo, 1927); Herbert Read, *Art and Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937); Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York: Penguin Books, 1948).

¹² *General Anthropology*, p. 600.

¹³ See also studies of national character, surveyed by Otto Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), pp. 49-58.

¹⁴ Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, *Movies: A Psychological Study* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 12-13.

reflected, or, in psychoanalytic terms, that literature presents a manifest and latent content, as in dreams, both derived from stresses in society, and both given symbolic meaning.¹⁵ However, as Fearing states, there is no indication as to how makers of films gain access to the collective unconscious of a population for whom they are intended, or whether films actually carry the symbolic meanings to a mass audience.¹⁶ Nevertheless, literature or motion pictures may present interpretive frames of reference, as Wolfenstein and Leites suggest, which have their counterpart in real-life attitudes. Although the relationship of movie or literary patterns to the larger culture is complex and not well understood, it is assumed that these patterns reflect in significant and characteristic ways the attitudes and shared experiences in society.¹⁷

By students of culture, literature and other arts have been used as reflections of the fundamental reality of a culture, variously called "culture mentality," "Weltanschauung," "spiritual principle," or "soul," and of the different stages in the development of a culture.¹⁸ These conceptions are derived largely from Hegel and other historical philosophers of the early nineteenth century as well as from the sociologists, Comte and Spencer. Taine, for example, attempted to account for the characteristics of English literature and their historical changes by applying his famous triad: race, environment, and time. Although regarding "mind or spirit" as the master-idea inherent

in "race," he was enough of a positivist to look forward to the quantification of his formula for successful prediction of future literary trends.¹⁹

More recent representatives of this tradition, who are concerned with the unity and change of civilizations, include Spengler, Toynbee, and Sorokin. Of these, Spengler is the most closely identified with Hegelian thought, both in the principles of spirit and destiny and in regarding history as proceeding through phases of growth, maturity, and decay.²⁰ Other differences in ideology and method between these representatives lie beyond the scope of this article, but there are certain general agreements. All of them identify two main phases in the history of societies, called "culture" and "civilization" by Spengler,²¹ "yin" and "yang" by Toynbee,²² "ideational" and "sensate" by Sorokin, although the latter also distinguishes several mixed forms, of which the "idealistic" is a special type.²³ Each set of terms refers to contrasting types of societies, the one stable and slow to change, the other dynamic and rapid in change. Each society is characterized by a number of other qualities, which are reflected in literature and art. Toynbee finds that art styles more accurately establish the time span of a civilization, its growth and dissolution, than any other method of measurement.²⁴ Sorokin, however,

¹⁹ H. A. Taine, *History of English Literature* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1886), pp. 1-21. For comment see Albert Guérard, *Literature and Society* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1935).

²⁰ Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (2 vols.; New York: A. A. Knopf, 1926-28), Vol. I, Introduction. Cf. G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History* (New York: Collier & Son, 1900), pp. 61-99, 115-34, 300-302.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 31-35.

²² Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934-39), I, 201-4; III, 196 ff., 390; IV, 33-34. Dismissing Spengler's organic concept of cultures, Toynbee accepts the idea of dominant tendencies or bent (III, 382-90).

²³ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (4 vols.; New York: American Book Co., 1937-41), I, 55-102; IV, *passim*. He surveys various "phase" concepts of cultures in IV, 389 ff.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, III, 378-79.

¹⁵ J. P. Mayer, *Sociology of the Film* (London: Faber & Faber, 1946); Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); Parker Tyler, *Magic and Myth of the Movies* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947).

¹⁶ Franklin Fearing, "Influence of the Movies on Attitudes and Behavior," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLIV (November, 1947), 76-78.

¹⁷ Wolfenstein and Leites, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 306-7.

¹⁸ Cf. Radhakamal Mukerjee, "The Meaning and Evolution of Art in Society," *American Sociological Review*, X (August, 1945), 496: Art reveals "the soul of a culture and social milieu in a more significant manner than religion, science, and philosophy."

has described and elaborated on these qualities probably more systematically than either Spengler or Toynbee. According to him, in the literature and art which reflect ideational culture the subjects deal with persons and events of religious significance, the attitudes are ascetic, otherworldly, the style is symbolic, formal, and conventional, and the techniques are relatively simple. Sensate literature, on the other hand, selects secular, commonplace topics and events, is sensational and erotic, individualistic and skeptical; the style is sensual, realistic, and naturalistic and the techniques are elaborate and complex.²⁵ Tomars, although more sociological than cultural in orientation and avoiding the theories of change of the above trio, comes to almost identical conclusions as these expressed by Sorokin.²⁶

This conception that reflection reveals the essential world outlook of a culture obviously overlaps the idea expressed earlier that it represents norms and values and the stress patterns, but reflection of ethos emphasizes the integrative character of cultures and their organization around dominant activities or beliefs—the concept of cultural focus recognized and developed by a number of anthropologists, though without the philosophic overtones so conspicuous in Spengler.²⁷ It is questionable whether literature and the arts are always as reliable indexes as usually assumed. Probably they are only one index among many, whose rele-

vance and significance vary with the society or culture.²⁸ Between literature and other cultural products there also seem to exist specific interrelationships, without any systematic attempt being made to designate the principles governing their interaction. Consequently, literature and other arts may be an index of cultural change, but they apparently cannot account for shifts in "mentality."²⁹ They are a symptom, not a cause. As such, they are passive, essentially static agents—a conclusion that hardly seems as inevitable as this formulation implies.

Another version of reflection derives from the dialectical materialism of Marx and his followers, who select the economic system rather than ethos or soul as the independent variable. Literature and art, along with other "ideologies," are determined by "the mode of production in material life,"³⁰ and by the ideas of the ruling class, which are in every epoch the ruling ideas.³¹ But in the dialectical process, manifested in the class struggle, "art expresses the tendencies of a rising, and therefore revolutionary class."³² The relationship of economic structure and ideological forms, however, is not causally direct and mechanical, as Engels points out.³³ Especially is this true of artistic greatness, which Marx admits has no direct rela-

²⁵ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, I, 679.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 300–306, 392–95. See also Herbert A. Bloch, "Towards the Development of a Sociology of Literary and Art Forms," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (June, 1943), 310–20. Bloch presents a classification of literary patterns or themes which result when artists lack a common social idiom.

²⁷ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: New American Library, 1948); Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 164–68; A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944), pp. 820–23, 826–28. Repudiating the idea of a master-plan, Kroeber uses the hypothesis that any notable cultural achievement presupposes adherence to a certain set of patterns which are limited and which may develop and become exhausted.

²⁸ Spengler regards the arts as "prime phenomena," while Sorokin includes other cultural aspects, all of which show essentially the same trends. In 1934 Elliott and Merrill regarded literature as probably "the most significant index" of social disorganization, but the latest edition of their text fails to mention literary indexes (Mabel Elliott and Francis Merrill, *Social Disorganization* [3d ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1950], pp. 45–48).

²⁹ Toynbee, *op. cit.*, IV, 52.

³⁰ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Literature and Art* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1947), p. 1. Cf. Louis Harap, *Social Roots of the Arts* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1949), p. 16.

³¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1939), p. 39. Cf. Harap, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40.

³² Harap, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Marx and Engels, *Literature and Art*, pp. 25, 45, 52–55, 116.

³³ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846–1895* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1936), p. 475. Cf. Harap, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.

tion to either the degree of social development or the type of economic base.³⁴

Among the numerous followers who have elaborated, interpreted, and applied these ideas are Veblen, Caudwell, Fox, Calverton, Parrington, and Hicks. Some are strict Marxists, others adapt and select Marx's ideas, of which the class influence on literature has been the most suggestive. Veblen shows the intrusion of economic motives, conspicuous waste, and expensiveness on the character of aesthetic objects.³⁵ Caudwell and Fox, dealing with poetry and the novel, respectively,³⁶ attempt to relate economic conditions and bourgeois ideas to the forms as well as the content of literature, and presume that artistic greatness will arise in a future classless society.³⁷ Parrington, a liberal rather than a Marxist, describes the economic background from which spring the regional and class differences that distinguish the main periods of American social and literary history.³⁸ More comprehensive and less doctrinaire than Calverton³⁹ or Hicks,⁴⁰ he traces the class and economic position of writers and shows how these "determine" their economic theories and their religious and political philosophies as well as the

character and form of their literary productions.

One need not, of course, follow the Marxian system in investigating the influence of social classes on literature. Tomars, for example, adopting MacIver's concepts of corporate and competitive classes, describes and illustrates their differential influence on the subject matter and style of literature and other arts and examines interclass relationships as well.⁴¹ More recently Gordon has been impressed by the accuracy with which novelists have represented the cultural traits that distinguish several social classes in the United States.⁴²

In general, the Marxian orientation has been widely influential, though subject to a number of difficulties. Whether, for example, "proletarian" literature actually contributes to lower-class solidarity is questionable, and how in other respects it fosters the class struggle has not been systematically explored. Much of the Marxist writing is full of doctrinaire and negative judgments rather than thorough analysis or objective testing of hypotheses. The concept of classes seems of limited applicability to American society, and the system fails to include other types of groups from which certain variations of literary form and expression may be derived or to consider the influence on drama, for instance, of groups with conflicting or divergent interests.⁴³ The problem of how bourgeois writers and artists succeed in reflecting the ideas and aims of the proletarian class remains obscure. As for the notion that the classless society will provide the ultimate basis for the development of literary and artistic greatness, there is obviously no basis; it is either wishful thinking or hopeful propaganda—unless, of course, one accepts wholeheartedly the Marxian system. De-

³⁴ *Literature and Art*, pp. 18-19.

³⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Heubsch, 1924), pp. 126-66.

³⁶ Christopher Caudwell, *Illusion and Reality* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1947); Ralph Fox, *The Novel and the People* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1945).

³⁷ Caudwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-98; Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 125-26. Cf. Harap, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-82, and Lenin, in Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (New York: International Publishers Co., 1934), p. 13.

³⁸ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols. in 1; New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1930). In method Parrington was influenced by both Taine and J. Allen Smith, from whom he derived the concept of economic determinism (III, vii).

³⁹ V. F. Calverton, *The Newer Spirit* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925); *The Liberation of American Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

⁴⁰ Granville Hicks, *The Great Tradition* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933); *Figures of Transition* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939).

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-223.

⁴² Milton M. Gordon, "Kitty Foyle and the Concept of Class as Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (November, 1947), 210-18.

⁴³ Levin L. Schücking points out how heterogeneous audiences influenced Elizabethan drama (*Sociology of Literary Taste* [London: Kegan Paul, 1944], pp. 11-13).

spite these and other limitations, the fact remains that Marx's concepts are dynamic and have focused attention on social rather than on the more strictly cultural aspects of literary reflection.

Within the last fifteen years several sociologists have explored or implied another variety of reflection which has arisen evidently from accumulated sociological data and a concern for social problems. Their basic assumption is that literature, mainly fiction and biography in "popular" forms, reflects social "facts": vocational and divorce trends, population composition and distribution. This hypothesis is perhaps the most mechanistic version of all, since it postulates that literary data somehow correspond to certain types of statistical data; that heroines in popular fiction, for example, are portrayed as having the same occupations, proportionately, as actually exist in society at a particular time.⁴⁴ Although the hypothesis seems hardly promising, the results have been somewhat profitable, for they indicate the direction of the distortion of statistical facts.⁴⁵ Story content, indeed, seems to be slanted in the direction of widespread interests and ideals. Inglis, for instance, discovers that popular fiction mirrors not actual jobs of women or their circumstances but rather "certain typical American attitudes and ideals."⁴⁶ Barnett and Gruen show that "divorce" novels are sensitive to "wide-

spread attitudes toward marriage, love, and divorce."⁴⁷ These conclusions are largely in line with the first type of reflection described above, centering on norms and values, though dominant public interests and attitudes may not be identical with social norms.⁴⁸ Edgar Dale, for example, analyzing the content of fifteen hundred movies current in the twenties and early thirties, finds the distortion in the direction of sensational subjects, mainly crime, sex, and love, rather than desirable social values or even typical or "average" situations.⁴⁹ In this case the theory of emotional needs and stresses seems implied. Berelson and Salter, concerned with majority and minority Americans, observe that popular stories are biased in favor of the elite and the economically powerful—a bias which they believe to be characteristic in literary history.⁵⁰ In effect, therefore, they agree with Marx that the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, although they emphasize ideas less than certain traits of hero and heroine. Statistical facts, then, are not reproduced in fiction. On the contrary, these studies, even though indirectly, support the argument for other types of reflection, described earlier.

In view of these several versions of reflection

⁴⁷ James H. Barnett and Rhoda Gruen, "Recent American Divorce Novels, 1938-1945: A Study in the Sociology of Literature," *Social Forces*, XXVI (March, 1948), 332-37. Barnett's earlier survey shows more extensive use of divorce statistics and legislation and less awareness of "distortions," except a historical lag between "public attitudes" and their representation in fiction.

⁴⁸ Francis L. K. Hsu believes that literature is an index to repression in Western cultures as compared with suppression in Eastern cultures ("Suppression versus Repression," *Psychiatry*, XII [August, 1949], 224-27).

⁴⁹ *The Content of Motion Pictures* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933). Like Inglis, Dale finds fictional representations favoring unmarried, youthful people and wealthy rather than poor. Barnett and Gruen (*op. cit.*) discover a bias toward professional people in urban settings.

⁵⁰ Bernard Berelson and Patricia Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, X (summer 1946), 188.

⁴⁴ Ruth Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship between Fiction and Society," *American Sociological Review*, III (August, 1938), 526-31. Cf. Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in *Radio Research, 1942-43*, eds. Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, 1944), pp. 507-48. Lowenthal examines leading characters in popular biography in relation to a "cross section of socially important occupations."

⁴⁵ Guérard, like many literary critics, recognizes that artistic literature is "a dangerously distorting mirror," but he fails to perceive patterns in the direction of distortion (*op. cit.*, p. 20).

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 530-31. Cf. Richard and Beatrice Hofstadter, who show that Churchill's novels reflected humanistic values in revolt against acquisitive and business goals ("Winston Churchill: A Study of the Popular Novel," *American Quarterly*, II [spring, 1950], 12-28).

tion, it would seem that the theory is not entirely useless but that more extensive investigation is needed. The reliability of literature and art as indexes of the state of society and culture might be checked against other indexes, so that the danger is avoided of deducing the "spirit of the age" from its art and then rediscovering it in its art⁵¹—the danger which DeVoto calls "the literary fallacy."⁵² It seems evident, also, that to some extent the phrase "reflection of society" is a misnomer, since much of what literature presumably reflects is specifically cultural rather than social, as Sorokin explicitly states.⁵³ Marx and others have called attention to the influence of social classes, but many other social aspects might be explored. It is not clearly understood, for example, what social processes develop and sustain differences in aesthetic taste or determine what is called artistic greatness. At present the reflection theory seems to account for some of the content and certain broad aspects of literary and artistic styles, without coming to grips with the problem of what social conditions are responsible for the existence and popularity of specific literary and artistic forms. And inevitably it stresses the external product as an artifact, so that some investigators minimize or deny the possible role of the arts in social change.

Despite gaps and uncertainties, these general orientations show some possibilities of ultimate agreement. It should be kept in mind, also, that historically the reflection theory has done valuable service in challenging older insights and established traditions. It has directed attention to the social and cultural characteristics of literature in addition to its more narrowly formal aspects. It has emphasized the conception of artists as agents of social forces rather than as individual geniuses or great men with inventive imaginations. It has provided social and historical modes of analysis as alterna-

tives to exclusively biographical and aesthetic approaches and offered concepts of cultural relativism in place of absolutist aesthetic principles and social determinism in place of artistic individualism.

The historical emphasis on reflection has naturally tended to distract attention from the question of the influence of literature on society, but the two concepts have frequently been regarded as mutually influential or as opposite sides of the same coin.⁵⁴ Mukerjee holds that "art is at once a social product and an established means of social control."⁵⁵ Inglis, finding no evidence that popular literature "shapes" society, believes that it results in a measure of social control by supporting the status quo of American attitudes and ideals.⁵⁶ In brief, one can formulate the proposition that, if literature reflects, then it also confirms and strengthens cultural norms, attitudes, and beliefs.

This "social control" function of literature is suggested in the article by Berelson and Salter,⁵⁷ and Betty Wang finds that it applies to the folk songs of China.⁵⁸ More systematically and directly, however, it is supported by Warner and Henry's investigation of *Big Sister*, a radio serial drama.⁵⁹ They conclude that this drama is essentially a minor morality play adapted to a secular society. Psychologically, it does not just "entertain" its listeners, but it releases their antisocial impulses, anxieties, and frustra-

⁵⁴ See Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Paul Meadows, "Social Determination of Art," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXVI (March-April, 1942), 310-13.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 496.

⁵⁶ Inglis' use of "social control" as a form of "influence" seems to lead to some confusion. It seems preferable to restrict the term to its more limited and precise context.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁵⁸ "Folk Songs as a Means of Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, XIX (September-October, 1934), 64-69; "Folk Songs as Regulators of Politics," *ibid.*, XX (November-December, 1935), 161-66.

⁵⁹ W. Lloyd Warner and William E. Henry, "The Radio Daytime Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," *Genetic Psychological Monographs*, XXXVII (February, 1948), 3-73.

⁵¹ Schücking, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

⁵² Bernard DeVoto, *The Literary Fallacy* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1944).

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, IV, 124-28.

tions and provides them with both a feeling of being instructed and a sense of security and importance. Socially the program promotes understanding of the ideals and values of family life, and it strengthens and stabilizes the basic social institution of our society, the family.⁶⁰

Although no mention is made of Malinowski in this study, these conclusions recall his statements on the role of myth among the Trobriand Islanders. Myth comes into play, he says, "when rite, ceremony, or a social or moral rule demands justification, warrant of antiquity, reality, and sanctity."⁶¹ Psychologically, myths help to still doubts and calm fears. Myths of death, for example, bring down "a vague but great apprehension to the compass of a trivial, domestic reality."⁶² Myths of origin are not "explanations," as some anthropologists have thought, but ways of instruction in and justification of the social system. Such a myth "conveys, expresses, and strengthens the fundamental fact of the local unity of the group of people descendent from a common ancestress."⁶³ It thus contributes to social solidarity and supports the existing social order.

Malinowski's findings and those of Warner and Henry are apparently consistent and essentially the same, both in psychological and in social functions of certain types of literature. Both investigations uphold the theory of social control. It should be recognized, however, that *Big Sister* applies to only a single social institution, the family, whereas Trobriand myths affect the total society. Moreover, the radio listeners to *Big Sister* are confined to the "common man" of modern American society; they do not include career women from the upper middle class (the control group), for whom the program has little or no appeal. Presumably

these women would prefer programs expressing different values, as may other subgroups, such as members of the upper and lower classes. In short, different social classes or groups in our society may select and emphasize distinct social and aesthetic values, ranging from comic books to stories in the *New Yorker*, or from popular fiction to classical art.

In our complex society, then, as contrasted with Trobriand society, social control through literature may either be limited to those norms and values common to all groups or applied to class or group control, each class or group responding to the art and literature that confirms its own set of values, customs, and beliefs. In the latter case, if these sets are to some extent in conflict, one may logically expect literature in some degree to further their antagonism and thus contribute not to social solidarity but to intergroup conflict and to social disunity. Group differences, for example, may be exposed and attacked. Writers satirize businessmen and business ethics, opposing certain widespread social beliefs and practices. Or, as Marxian theory indicates, literature may tend to perpetuate the status quo of the "common man," yet operate simultaneously, though perhaps unintentionally, to confirm and strengthen an entrenched economic power elite. Maintaining the status quo in the family system and in other institutions at various social class levels may also help to impede or reduce social changes that are adaptive to new conditions, so that the literature which supports the older, traditional social forms may serve as a conservative rather than as a dynamic force.⁶⁴

Some literature, however, may minimize

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁶¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Myth in Primitive Psychology," in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1948), pp. 84-85.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 93; cf. pp. 85-89, 109.

⁶⁴ This conservative effect of literature may be conspicuous in periods of rapid social change, as seems demonstrated in L. K. Knight's *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1937) and in Walter Taylor's *The Economic Novel in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942). Conservative aspects of radio programs are pointed out by Paul Lazarsfeld in *Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy*, ed. Douglas Waples (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 66-78.

or reconcile intergroup conflict, like humor for different racial groups,⁶⁵ and some may contribute to social mobility, which is an important cultural value in our society. Literature and art, as Fearing states, may reveal to an individual a wide variety of patterns of behavior which he may accept or reject.⁶⁶ In either case, his awareness of the range of possibilities, the degree of freedom for action, would be increased, the areas of significant meanings enlarged, and his horizon expanded. It seems possible that, if accepted, some of the new values would promote social mobility rather than reconciling one to his "place."⁶⁷

In these and probably other ways the social control theory seems inadequate for explaining a number of direct and "hidden" social effects of literature in a complex society—effects that await further testing. Nevertheless, recognition and support of this theory, particularly by Malinowski and the Warner-Henry study, indicates its importance to students of the general problem of the function of literature and art in society. Its significance is increased by the fact that it articulates so closely with what is probably the commonest version of reflection, so that each tends to reinforce the other and to uphold in part the proposition stated earlier.

The concept of social control, then, may well be considered as separate and distinct from the influence theory which emphasizes literature as "shaping" society. Actually, the idea of literature as shaping or molding society seems to have taken two broad forms, depending on whether the influence has been regarded as beneficial or detrimental to society. Both are obviously value

judgments rather than theories, but they have been widely held. The theory, for instance, that some literature, if not all, tends to disrupt or to corrupt society has been a hardy perennial in the history of Western civilization. Its traditional form was set by Plato in *The Republic*, where he feared that the fundamental laws of the state would be altered by shifts in modes of "music."⁶⁸ This concept was later adopted by the Christian church, remained current throughout the Middle Ages, and found its strongest expression in sixteenth-century Catholicism and in Puritanism.⁶⁹ Today, in similar fashion, the Soviet Union strictly controls the character of aesthetic output, while in the United States censorship is more limited.⁷⁰ All such measures have been direct attempts to prescribe artistic production or prevent its circulation, on the assumption that some works extend and perpetuate values antithetical to an emerging social order, as in Russia, or introduce and display values disruptive of an existing social order, as in the United States.

This was the orientation of the series of investigations on movies sponsored in the 1930's by the Payne Fund and of a number of more recent independent studies. Since many of these are well known, we shall confine our discussion to a few aspects. In general, it was assumed that people, especially children, are more or less passive and can easily be swayed by the stimuli of the movies or other artistic forms to act in given directions, usually toward immoral or criminal behavior. A popular account pictured children as "molded by movies," as "movie-made criminals," though a few were influ-

⁶⁵ Milton Barron, "A Content Analysis of Intergroup Humor," *American Sociological Review*, XV (February, 1950), 88-95; Richard Stephenson, "Conflict and Control Functions of Humor," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (May, 1951), 569-75.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶⁷ Cf. Richard Wright, *Black Boy* (10th ed.; New York: World Publishing Co., 1945), pp. 217-22, 226-28: "I hungered for books, new ways of looking and seeing. . . . It had been my accidental reading of fiction and literary criticism that had evoked in me vague glimpses of life's possibilities."

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 140, 186-87.

⁶⁹ Lerner and Mims, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-38.

⁷⁰ For Soviet control of the arts see Tomars, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-301, 370-71; Max Eastman, *Artists in Uniform* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1934), pp. 33-38; Juri Jelagin, *Taming of the Arts* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1951), p. 76. For American censorship see Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947); Charles A. Siepmann, *Radio, Television and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950).

enced to adopt more ideal attitudes and goals.⁷¹

The bulk of the evidence from the Payne studies, however, is to the contrary. That movies do have measurable effects on attitudes of children Thurstone and Peterson clearly demonstrate,⁷² and that conduct may also be affected is evident from several of the investigations.⁷³ But the influence is not a simple cause-effect relationship, as commonly assumed; it is selective, being determined primarily by an individual's background and needs.⁷⁴ A person may focus on particular items such as hair or dress styles, manners, methods or robbery, or courtship techniques, but opposing forces may also be present to cancel or modify the effect of these influences. The consensus of all these studies seems to be that movies have differential effects depending on movie content, on an individual's needs, and on his social and cultural background.⁷⁵ When Hulett attempted to discover the net effect of a commercial motion picture, *Sister Kenny*, upon public opinion in a whole community rather than on specific individuals, he obtained negative results.⁷⁶

It must be admitted that the larger ques-

tion of the negative impact of films on society or culture is still unanswered, to say nothing of the influence of literature or art. The complexity of the problem as yet defies adequate testing, although certainly the naïve assumption of a one-directional type of influence is thoroughly discredited, at least among social scientists. Among laymen and some "experts" the idea persists and has again found expression recently concerning television.

The very persistence of the idea that movies or other forms of literature and art are socially disruptive apparently indicates an enormous respect for the power of artistic media—a respect deeply entrenched in tradition. The conception also seems to manifest fears which arise and become widespread during periods of rapid social and cultural change, when a society is more or less disorganized. When underlying causes of change are obscured or unrecognized, pervasive anxieties seem to find one outlet by attacking movies or other artistic forms, or by curbing their publishers and producers. That this process is a channeling if not a displacement of anxiety seems possible, but it leaves unresolved the problem of the extent to which artistic products may not only reflect social change but also contribute to it.

If the detrimental effects of movies or literature on society are still undetermined, the beneficial effects are even less so, though the traditional claims have been many and exceedingly great. Historically, one such claim refers to the "moral" value of literature, already dealt with in connection with the social control theory, but the effects of the arts beyond their social control function may more appropriately be classified as influence in "shaping" society, a power which Toynbee and others have denied to the arts.

When one examines various claims, they prove to be a curious mixture. Albert Guérard, for example, states that literary works have set fashions, such as a "fatal pallor," and that Goethe's *Werther* was "responsible for" a wave of suicides.⁷⁷ He be-

⁷¹ Henry J. Forman, *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1935), *passim*.

⁷² Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

⁷³ Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933); Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933); Paul G. Cressey and Frederick M. Thrasher, *Boys, Movies, and City Streets* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

⁷⁴ Mildred J. Weise and Steward G. Cole, "A Study of Children's Attitudes and the influence of a Commercial Motion Picture," *Journal of Psychology*, XXI (1946), 151-71.

⁷⁵ Paul G. Cressey, "The Motion Picture Experience as Modified by Social Background and Personality," *American Sociological Review*, III (August, 1938), 516-25.

⁷⁶ J. E. Hulett, Jr., "Estimating the Net Effect of a Commercial Motion Picture upon the Trend of Local Public Opinion," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (April, 1949), 263-75.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

believes that literature has produced the conceptions of national types and that literary ideas preceded and "guided" political movements and reforms.⁷⁸ Similar claims have been made about particular works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair, which is supposed to have "brought about" the reform of the packing houses in 1906. In fact, however, these claims have not been substantiated.⁷⁹ Essentially, they rest on the same kind of simplified notion of causation as those for the "bad" influence of the movies.

Some of these so-called "influences," indeed, are mainly problems of cultural diffusion as related to social change, which have been dealt with by both Tomars and Sorokin, among others. Tomars has concentrated on interclass currents and fashions of art in a competitive society as contrasted to a corporate society.⁸⁰ Sorokin has more comprehensively stated some approximate uniformities of spatial displacement, mobility, circulation, and diffusion of cultural phenomena, including literature and art.⁸¹ Again, both emphasize the complexity of such processes. As Sorokin points out, whether literary or art forms "penetrate" another social class or a different culture involves a number of conditions, which include at least the degree of "refinement" and complexity of a work, the nature of the culture or subculture being "influenced," the type of communication system being used, and sometimes the amount and character of coercion or force that is applied.⁸² The diffusion of certain types of literature or art may,

then, be involved in social change. However, whether literature or any other kind of art "penetrates" first in time or more successfully than other cultural objects or ideas is doubtful; even if true, it is clearly not the function merely of the work of art itself.⁸³

Much the same difficulty is encountered in other traditional assertions about the "shaping" influence of art, especially those pertaining to personal character and to ideal human existence. John Dewey, for example, insists that, when we enter into the spirit of Negro or Polynesian art, "barriers are dissolved, limiting prejudices melt away."⁸⁴ Developing this thought, Gotshalk declares that the fine arts are "an indispensable foundation of congruity of feeling or social solidarity between individuals and peoples."⁸⁵ Consistent with these judgments is the evaluation of the arts as the crowning achievement of civilization, the chief means of measuring the stature of a society, a symbol of its internal power and worth.⁸⁶

These statements refer to the "highest" cultural ideals for individuals and for humanity, essentially the religious conception of brotherhood. Obviously they are not formulated in ways that would lend themselves to scientific test. Perhaps the arts help to perpetuate such ideals or contribute to their acceptance by other cultures. To the extent that they reinforce these values in our culture, they would presumably perform the social control function, though probably for certain elite groups more than for others. As Eastman points out, the present attempts at maintaining this supreme evaluation of the arts are primarily directed

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-40.

⁷⁹ In *American Outpost* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932) Sinclair acknowledges that he is supposed to have helped clean up the stockyards but insists "this is mostly delusion." Donald Grant came to similar conclusions in "The Jungle: A Study of Literary Influence" (unpublished paper, University of Buffalo). Materials on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are well known.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 141-23.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, IV, 197-289.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 202 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-79, 282-88.

⁸⁴ *Art as Experience* (New York: Minton, Balch & Co., 1934), p. 334 ff. Cf. Albert R. Chandler, *Beauty and Human Nature* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1934), pp. 294-95; Daiches, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁸⁵ D. W. Gotshalk, *Art and the Social Order* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 210, 212-13.

⁸⁶ Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 345; Gotshalk, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Edman, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Auguste Rodin, *Art* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1928), pp. 7-9.

at preserving the high status of embattled men-of-letters, who seek to recapture the position they enjoyed in the past, when their association with religion and "superior" knowledge gave to the arts singular prestige. Today their position is being undermined by the encroachments of experimental science, once rated low in the social scale as "the vulgar pursuit of useful knowledge."⁸⁷

To define the problem in this way would be to investigate the historical origins and the social structures that support and maintain the high cultural value placed on the arts—the fine arts especially, but popular arts as well—and to assess their effects on social behavior in many groups, in comparison to other kinds of cultural interest. Lundberg thinks that "social relations are today managed on the basis of what poets, play-

wrights, journalists, preachers and radio commentators assume, on the basis of folklore, literature, and highly limited personal experience, to be principles of human nature and human relations."⁸⁸ Future research will no doubt determine the truth of this statement, and eventually we may also be able to trace more clearly the extent to which art has become, as Max Weber states, a cosmos of independent values, which are in dynamic tension with religion and which take over "the function of a this-worldly salvation," especially from the increasing pressures of theoretical and practical rationalism.⁸⁹

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⁸⁸ George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947), p. 63.

⁸⁹ H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 342.

⁸⁷ Max Eastman, *The Literary Mind* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 36-53.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF INEQUALITY

RALPH H. TURNER

ABSTRACT

To examine variations among occupations in the degree of unequal white and Negro participation, an "index of concentration" is applied to 1940 census data, with separate computations by region and urban-rural community. Analysis is centered on the variations in inequality associated with variations in educational attainment level. The most general explanatory principle is an inverse relation between equality and occupational desirability. Factors hypothesized to account for deviations from this principle include barriers to interracial competition, institutional controls, differential occupational prestige and alternatives, and differential intra-occupational ceilings.

The objective of this paper is to examine and measure the inequality of participation of white and Negro men in separate occupations. Broad occupational groupings will be treated comparatively, as to *patterns* and *degrees* of inequality, and further analyzed to ascertain whether any general principles may plausibly account for the observed variation. An index will be presented, measuring relative concentration in, or exclusion from, any occupation.

The examination of inequality is rendered meaningful when the factor of "qualification" is taken into account. To note, for example, that Negroes, with their limited educational and other opportunities, contribute fewer than their share of professionals is to offer little to theory or to interest. To note how Negroes and whites of *equivalent qualification* fare competitively is to extend our knowledge and provide leads for further elaborations of theory. No satisfactory *total* measure of qualification for various occupations was available for this study. As a step in the direction indicated, however, we shall present measures of inequality for whites and Negroes of equivalent educational attainment level alone.¹

The participation of Negro and native white males in six major occupational groupings for 1940 is summarized by percentages

in Table 1. A brief explanation of the "index of concentration" employed to interpret these data is necessary before proceeding to a description and interpretation of occupational patterns of inequality.

THE INDEX OF CONCENTRATION

For the present purpose an index is required which will measure Negro participation relative to white participation in individual occupational categories. The index value must enable the reader to tell whether members of a given minority group have more or less than their proportionate share of the jobs in a particular occupation. In order that different occupations may be compared with respect to *degrees* of inequality, (a) there must be upper and lower limits corresponding to monopoly and exclusion and an intermediate reference point corresponding to proportionate participation, and (b) the meaning of the index value must be unaffected by variations in total numbers of persons in the various occupations. In order that different communities or other areas may be compared, it is further necessary that the meaning of the index should be unaffected by variation in the relative size of the minority group.²

² The requirements of indexes for dealing with closely related phenomena have been discussed in Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *American Sociological Review*, XII (June, 1947), 293-303, and in commentaries in the same journal by Richard Hornseth, XII (October, 1947), 603-4, and Josephine J. Williams, XIII (June, 1948), pp. 298-303.

¹ For more extended discussion of the use of "educational attainment" to hold constant the factor of job qualification see Ralph H. Turner, "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Nonwhites," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (November, 1952), 247-56.

TABLE 1
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE WHITE AND NEGRO EMPLOYED
MALES AT SELECTED LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
BY REGION AND COMMUNITY TYPE, 1940*

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	PER CENT IN OCCUPATION							
	Less than 5 Years Grade School		7-8 Years Grade School		4 Years High School		4 Years College	
	Nat. White	Negro	Nat. White	Negro	Nat. White	Negro	Nat. White	Negro
Urban North and West								
Professionals.....	1.7	0.7	1.5	1.2	6.0	4.1	54.6	48.5
Proprietors and farmers....	6.6	2.5	7.4	2.4	15.7	2.7	16.1	6.1
Clerical workers.....	7.7	1.4	12.5	3.8	32.5	11.4	22.6	15.2
Craftsmen.....	18.5	7.8	24.0	8.8	16.5	10.3	2.9	3.3
Operatives.....	36.0	23.5	34.9	22.5	18.8	19.3	2.4	4.6
Labor and service.....	29.5	64.2	19.6	61.3	10.4	52.3	1.4	22.3
Total.....	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0
Urban South								
Professionals.....	0.8	0.4	1.5	0.9	5.4	4.1	53.0	65.0
Proprietors and farmers....	6.2	1.7	9.7	1.6	20.6	3.1	18.8	4.6
Clerical workers.....	4.9	1.3	13.7	2.5	35.4	9.8	22.2	11.9
Craftsmen.....	21.5	6.8	27.4	7.5	15.8	7.6	2.9	2.0
Operatives.....	37.2	21.7	31.7	23.1	15.8	17.6	1.9	3.0
Labor and service.....	29.5	68.2	16.1	64.4	7.0	57.8	1.2	13.5
Total.....	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rural South								
Professionals.....	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.6	3.1	6.2	59.7	80.6
Proprietors.....	1.7	0.1	4.6	0.5	15.3	1.7	16.5	2.8
Clerical workers.....	0.7	0.1	3.2	0.4	17.0	2.6	11.3	1.7
Craftsmen.....	5.9	1.7	12.8	3.1	13.3	5.1	2.9	1.1
Operatives.....	17.4	6.5	19.5	12.2	15.8	17.9	2.0	2.8
Farmers.....	41.4	42.4	38.9	37.0	22.0	17.9	5.5	2.8
Labor and service.....	32.7	49.0	20.5	46.1	13.5	48.6	2.1	8.3
Total.....	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

* From data in Bureau of the Census, *Population: Education: Educational Attainment by Economic Characteristics and Marital Status* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 126-28, 130-32, 134-36, 140-44.

An index meeting these requirements may be built about the difference between the observed number of minority persons in the occupation under investigation and the number expected if participation of the minority were proportional to that of the majority.³ Using Table 2 as a guide, we may define the expected value of a as follows: $a' = b(a + c)/(b + d)$. The index is then defined as, $I_c = (a - a')/(a + a')$ or

$$\frac{a - [b(a + c)/(b + d)]}{a + [b(a + c)/(b + d)]},$$

and has the following characteristics:

when $a = a'$, $I_c = 0$, indicating proportionate participation by the minority;

when $a' = 0$, $I_c = 1$, indicating monopoly of the occupation by members of the minority;

when $a = 0$, $I_c = -1$, indicating complete exclusion of the minority.⁴

The index of concentration is in a sense a measure of correlation between minority status and occupation. Unlike such measures as the *fourfold r* and the *tetrachoric r*, however, its value is necessarily -1 whenever the entry in cell a is 0, and is necessarily $+1$ whenever the entry in cell b is 0. The index of concentration was chosen in preference to Yule's Q , which has these same properties, for two reasons. First, Yule's Q assigns a more extreme numerical value in any given instance than does the index of concentration. The piling up of index values

near $+$ and $-$ unity makes Yule's Q more discriminating in instances close to proportionate participation but less so in cases of marked inequality. For dealing with the statistics of race relations the discrimination afforded by I_c at the ends of the continuum seemed desirable.

The index of concentration was also preferred for ease of computation. For all occupations within any community, region, or other area, the ratio $(a + c)/(b + d)$ is a constant. Hence, indexes can be computed directly from occupational frequency distributions without the preparation of separate fourfold tables for each occupation. Or the index may be computed directly from

TABLE 2
SYMBOLIC DESIGNATIONS USED IN THE
INDEX OF OCCUPATIONAL
CONCENTRATION

OCCUPATIONAL MEMBERSHIP	GROUP MEMBERSHIP		
	Minority Group (Negro)	Control Group (White)	Total
In stated occupation..	a	b	$a + b$
Not in stated occupation.....	c	d	$c + d$
Total.....	$a + c$	$b + d$	N

percentages which would normally be secured in the initial examination of the data by using the following alternate computational form of I_c :⁵

$$I_c = \frac{a/(a + c) - b/(b + d)}{a/(a + c) + b/(b + d)}.$$

In the present investigation, index values have been computed in two different ways. They are presented in Table 3 for selected

⁵ Relationships between Yule's Q and I_c may be seen most clearly when the former is presented in a manner paralleling the two formulae for I_c given above.

$$Q = \frac{a - (bc/d)}{a + (bc/d)} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{a/c - b/d}{a/c + b/d}.$$

³ For circumstances under which a simple ratio of minority rate to majority rate can provide a justifiable index see Ralph H. Turner, "The Relative Position of the Negro Male in the Labor Force of Large American Cities," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 524-29.

⁴ Possible limitations in the use and interpretation of the index are discussed in Ralph H. Turner, "Some Factors in the Differential Position of Whites and Negroes in the Labor Force of the United States in 1940" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948), pp. 74-76. Credit for the foregoing manner of presenting the index belongs to Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Otis Dudley Duncan. Justifications for the use of I_c rather than some other index are, however, entirely the responsibility of the author.

educational attainment levels, so that variations of inequality within each occupation may be noted according to different levels of job qualification. Most of the analysis and interpretation made in the paper is based on this table. In order to secure a simple overall comparison of occupations by degree and direction of inequality while holding education constant, a different measure was necessary. For this purpose the Negro data have been standardized to the white educational attainment distribution, and the resulting theoretical occupational distribution of

Negroes has been related to the actual white distribution in computing the indexes of concentration reported in Table 4.⁶

⁶ The indexes reported in Table 4 are based on all educational levels rather than merely on the four levels used in Table 3. In preparing these indexes it was necessary to exclude from all computations those cases in which information on either occupation or education was not provided in the census tables. The occupation which appears second in the tables is here abbreviated; as stated by the Census it includes "officials." "Craftsmen" in the tables here represents a fuller Census category, including skilled labor.

TABLE 3
INDEX OF CONCENTRATION FOR EMPLOYED NEGRO MALES BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, REGION AND COMMUNITY TYPE, 1940*

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	INDEX OF CONCENTRATION			
	Less than 5 Years Grade School	7-8 Years Grade School	4 Years High School	4 Years College
Urban North and West				
Professionals.....	-42	-11	-19	- 6
Proprietors and farmers.....	-45	-53	-71	-45
Clerical workers.....	-69	-53	-48	-20
Craftsmen.....	-41	-46	-23	+ 6
Operatives.....	-21	-22	+ 1	+31
Labor and service.....	+37	+52	+67	+88
Urban South				
Professionals.....	-33	-25	-14	+10
Proprietors and farmers.....	-57	-72	-74	-61
Clerical workers.....	-58	-69	-57	-30
Craftsmen.....	-52	-57	-35	-18
Operatives.....	-26	-16	+ 5	+22
Labor and service.....	+40	+60	+78	+84
Rural South				
Professionals.....	-33	+ 9	+33	+15
Proprietors.....	-89	-80	-80	-71
Clerical workers.....	-75	-78	-73	-74
Craftsmen.....	-55	-61	-45	-45
Operatives.....	-46	-23	+ 6	+17
Farmers.....	+ 1	- 3	-10	-33
Labor and service.....	+20	+38	+57	+60

* All index values have been multiplied by 100. For source of the data see Table 1.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Regional variation may be noted before we launch into the occupational comparisons. The most frequent pattern is a continuum of index values from rural South to urban North and West, with the urban South between. In most instances, the index values are lowest (most exclusion or least concentration) in the rural South. Among "proprietors and officials" and among "craftsmen and foremen," the sequence of index values corresponds to the foregoing generalization in every instance. For "clerical and sales workers" the generalization applies with one reversal between urban South and urban North and West at the lowest educational level. The pattern for "operatives" is varied.

The two special cases are the "unskilled labor and service workers" and the "professionals," representing opposite extremes of the socioeconomic continuum. While with one minor reversal the index values for the former are highest in urban North and West and lowest in rural South, the positive values indicate the greatest deviation from equality in the urban North and West. For "professionals" the most general pattern reverses that of other occupations, with lower negative indexes and higher positive indexes in the rural South.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS: DESCRIPTION

The description of patterns of inequality will center on the changes in relative concentration which accompany variations in levels of qualification (as measured by education).

The pattern is simple for the unskilled occupations. Negro participation is consistently excessive, and Negro concentration consistently increases with education. The percentage distributions (Table 1) reveal that the participation of both Negroes and whites declines with increasing education, but the index values tell us that Negroes do not escape from these occupations as surely as whites do.

Among the semiskilled (operatives) a

somewhat different pattern may be observed. Except for one minor reversal, the index values show a shift from restriction (i.e., negative concentration) at the lowest grade levels to positive concentration at the highest, the index changing sign between the grade-school and high-school levels. In urban areas of both regions the percentage distributions show the same pattern as they did for the unskilled. The same trends with increased education are revealed for both occupational groups, with, however, the white participation starting out higher than that of Negroes in semiskilled work, but not in unskilled labor.

TABLE 4

INDEX OF CONCENTRATION FOR EMPLOYED NEGRO MALES, STANDARDIZED FOR EDUCATION, BY OCCUPATION, REGION, AND COMMUNITY TYPE, 1940*

Occupational Group	Urban North and West	Urban South	Rural South
Professionals.	-07	+09	+19
Farmers.			-05
Proprietors.	-58	-74	-79
Clerical workers.	-41	-57	-80
Craftsmen.	-38	-42	-56
Operatives.	-13	-06	-23
Labor and service.	+56	+62	+34

* Negro data have been standardized to the white educational distribution. All index values have been multiplied by 100. For source of the data see Table 1.

In the rural South a small increase in the percentage of whites in semiskilled occupations accompanies the step from minimum grade-school to complete grade-school education. More striking, however, are the sizable jumps in Negro participation that accompany increases in education, until the drop at college level. Thus the picture of semiskilled workers in the rural South constitutes yet a third pattern.

A further point of regional difference may be noted for the semiskilled. In comparison with the rural South, the urban North and West show less restriction of Negroes at the lower educational levels but more concentration at the upper educational levels.

At the skilled level (see "Craftsmen" in the tables), we find for the first time some degree of exclusion of Negroes at all educational levels. Regardless of region, exclusion is consistently greater at the grade-school level than above, and consistently highest at the seven- to eight-year grade-school level. Among the urban portions of both regions, white participation increases to the highest level of grade school and declines with more education, while Negro participation increases into high school, declining with college level. The rural South differs in both the pattern of index values and the trend of percentages. Negro percentages follow the same pattern as the other areas do, but the white participation increases through high school. Index values reveal that restriction of Negroes does not decrease with education beyond grade school in the rural South to the degree that it does in the urban areas. In particular, college education, in comparison with high-school education, does not lessen the restriction of Negroes, as it does quite markedly in urban areas.

The pattern for white-collar workers differs with each subdivision of the table. There is little variation in inequality by education in the rural South, although both white and Negro participation increases through high school and drops with college. In the urban South we find the same pattern of greatest inequality at seventh and eighth grades and least inequality at college, as appeared for skilled workers. Percentagewise, white participation increases to high-school level and declines at college level, while Negro participation increases with each increment of education. In the urban North and West there is declining exclusion with each increment of education, while percentage patterns are similar to those in the urban South.

Among proprietors and officials the pattern is one of increasing exclusion with increments of education through high school, but declining with college in both northern and southern urban areas. In the North and West both white and Negro participation in-

creases from least education to most, with one reversal for Negroes. In the urban South the Negro pattern is similar, but the white percentage drops with college. In the rural South, however, restriction declines with education, while the percentage of both white and Negro participation increases.

Indexes for professionals move from restriction toward concentration with increasing education in all instances, negative indexes giving way to positive between high school and college in the urban South and between five years and seven-eight years of grade school in the rural South.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS: INTERPRETATION

No single explanatory principle can be expected to encompass the variations indicated in the tables. To avoid a mere jumble of factors, however, a useful procedure is to attempt to specify the most general explanation and then seek principles to account for deviations from it.

Let us begin by proposing a hypothetical situation in which Negroes and whites compete in the labor market and the business world, with only informal prejudice operating to make the competition unequal. Under these ideal-typical circumstances inequality between whites and Negroes of equivalent qualification should be a determinable function of the desire of whites for any particular job. Those jobs which whites desire greatly and compete for among themselves should show high exclusion rates, while those that whites take only in lieu of success in attaining a better position should show high concentration rates. On the grounds of simple logic applied to a hypothetically "pure" situation we shall propose as our most general hypothesis that Negro "concentration" in an occupation is an inverse function of the degree to which whites seek entry into the occupation.

The percentages in Table 1 provide an approximate way of judging desire of whites to enter an occupation. In general, those occupations in which participation *increases* with education may be thought of as desirable, while those in which participation *de-*

creases with education may be thought of as undesirable. Thus a glance at the percentage shifts for white participation by steps in education enables us to make a preliminary twofold classification.

However, the problem is complicated by the fact that all occupations do not show a consistent increase or decrease over the four educational levels. Some occupations are desired by persons with education up to a certain level but are viewed as second or third choices above that level. For example, in all three subdivisions of the data the percentage participation of whites in clerical work increases with increased grade-school and with high-school education but drops with college training. Apparently clerical or sales work is considered desirable by persons with less than college education but not so desirable for others. Consequently, rather than treating each occupation as a whole, it is proposed to treat each *step in education* within each occupation separately. For each step, then, the occupation will be classified as "desirable" or "undesirable" according to whether the percentage of whites increases or decreases.

As the dependent variable in our formulation we shall take the change in the index of concentration. According to the hypothesis, we should expect the index value to increase with education whenever the interval has been classified as undesirable and to decrease whenever the interval has been classified as desirable. This provides only an incomplete test of the proposition, since it does not take into account magnitude of change, but will serve for this preliminary examination. The results appear in Table 5.

Out of 57 intervals, the hypothesis is confirmed in 34 and not confirmed in 23. The null hypothesis that this deviation from the expected frequency is attributable to chance cannot be rejected at the 5 per cent level.⁷ A

⁷ The following test of significance was used: The number of intervals in which confirmation of the hypothesis could be expected on the basis of chance was computed. Converted into a percentage, this was treated as the universe value and its standard error computed and applied in the standard critical-ratio formula.

glance at the table, however, suggests that the hypothesis is better confirmed in the two urban areas than it is in the rural South. Since our knowledge of the more organized and rigidified character of race relations in the rural South would lead us to expect such a finding, we may be justified in testing the hypothesis for the urban areas alone. When this is done, 26 of 36 possible intervals confirm the hypothesis, while 10 fail to confirm it. The probability of such a finding due to chance is less than .01, so that the null hypothesis must in this instance be rejected.

The patterns of inequality in certain occupations may immediately be considered fully accounted for on the basis of this general principle. For the unskilled labor and service category, Negro concentration is attributable to the undesirability of the occupation to whites at all levels. Each interval in each region gives support to the hypothesis.

Outside the rural South the pattern for skilled workers (craftsmen and foremen) is similarly accounted for in each instance by the hypothesis. The pattern is unlike that of unskilled work, however, because the "pressure" on Negroes increases through the top-level grade school and then declines, though the job desirability remains sufficient at all educational levels to prevent the concentration index from turning positive.

For semiskilled workers (operatives) the hypothesis is confirmed except in two instances, both at the first educational interval, with one in the rural South and one in the urban North and West. In each instance confirming the hypothesis, a declining white participation is accompanied by an increase in the index of concentration.

The hypothesis appears to apply to one other occupation, that of proprietors and officials, but, like the crafts, only in the urban areas. One exception appears, however, at the top level in the North and West. In the instances confirming the hypothesis, relative Negro participation loses out as white participation increases, except for one instance of a gain as white participation

drops at the top educational level in the urban South.

The next step in analysis should be a survey of the exceptions to the hypothesis in search of additional hypotheses which will designate conditions leading to modifications of our central "ideal-type" construction. First of all, the general direction of exceptions to the principle is predominantly positive, i.e., negative indexes approach

equality or positive indexes increase in magnitude in spite of increased participation by whites. In the urban United States 9 out of the 10 instances, and in the rural South 7 of 13 exceptions, are in this direction.

Following the procedure of seeking hypotheses in the order of declining generality, we note that positive exceptions are most common, and the occupation in which they appear most frequently is the professions.

TABLE 5
OCCUPATIONAL DESIRABILITY AND VARIATION IN INEQUALITY
BY OCCUPATION, REGION, AND COMMUNITY TYPE, 1940*

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	INTERVAL BETWEEN LESS THAN 5 YEARS AND 7-8 YEARS GRADE SCHOOL		INTERVAL BETWEEN 7-8 YEARS GRADE SCHOOL AND 4 YEARS HIGH SCHOOL		INTERVAL BETWEEN 4 YEARS HIGH SCHOOL AND 4 YEARS COLLEGE	
	Desirability†	Index Variation‡	Desirability	Index Variation	Desirability	Index Variation
Urban North and West						
Professionals.....	D	+	D	-	D	+
Proprietors and farmers....	D	-	D	-	D	+
Clerical workers.....	D	+	D	+	U	+
Craftsmen.....	D	-	U	+	U	+
Operatives.....	U	-	U	+	U	+
Labor and service.....	U	+	U	+	U	+
Urban South						
Professionals.....	D	+	D	+	D	+
Proprietors and farmers....	D	-	D	-	U	+
Clerical workers.....	D	-	D	+	U	+
Craftsmen.....	D	-	U	+	U	+
Operatives.....	U	+	U	+	U	+
Labor and service.....	U	+	U	+	U	+
Rural South						
Professionals.....	D	+	D	+	D	-
Proprietors.....	D	+	D	0	D	+
Clerical workers.....	D	-	D	+	U	-
Craftsmen.....	D	-	D	+	U	0
Operatives.....	D	+	U	+	U	+
Farmers.....	U	-	U	-	U	-
Labor and service.....	U	+	U	+	U	+

* This table summarizes a juxtaposing of Tables 1 and 3. The meaning of the table is explained in the text.

† Symbols are as follows: "D" for desirable; "U" for undesirable.

‡ Symbols are as follows: "+" means the index of concentration increases with increased education; "-" means the index decreases; "0" means the index is unchanged.

Thus, at every one of the 9 intervals, the percentage of white participation increases with education, but at 7 of these the concentration index increases in value.

Clues to the unusual position of Negroes in the professions may be sought in conditions which protect the Negro to some degree from the free operation of interracial competition.

The professions do provide some such protection for the established Negro because of the unwillingness of many white professionals to accept Negro clients. The generally lower educational attainment of Negroes means also that fewer Negroes are qualified to serve as professionals. Here, then, is an avenue to relative security and high status for the educated Negro. A greater proportion of Negroes than of whites with college education become professionals, and the degree to which this is true increases as we shift attention toward the South and especially the rural South, where the lines of segregation are most sharply drawn.⁸

Elaborated and applied to other minority groups, this interpretation of the data on professions sets a whole series of problems for study. Of the variables already suggested, one is willingness of majority-group professionals to accept members of the minority group as clients and to give them fair treatment. Unwillingness creates a shortage of available professional services. The second variable is educational level of the minority, which further determines whether there will be a shortage of professionals. Variation in either of these factors affects the number of persons with high education who will enter the professions. A third variable, ability of the minority to pay for professional services, probably operates as well. In general, then, as the minority attains greater education, the proportion of college graduates who go into professions should decrease, except as counteracted by a concomitant rise in minority pur-

chasing power and a majority willingness to accept services from minority professionals.

Of the remaining four positive exceptions to the first hypothesis in the urban United States, three are in the clerical and sales occupations. Here there is evidence of conditions regulating competition, but in a somewhat different manner from the professions. Through civil-service regulations, especially in some branches of federal service, such as the post office, Negroes have been granted employment to a degree which would be unlikely if racial preference operated in complete freedom. The findings are not so consistent in the white-collar bracket as in the professions, but there are at least two conditions which might seem to account for this fact. First, the white-collar category is quite heterogeneous with respect to the principle being discussed, and what has been said about civil-service occupations does not apply to sales occupations. Second, in two of three intervals in the urban North which fail to show a positive exception from the first principle, the two principles would operate in the same direction rather than in opposition to each other. We can therefore only ascertain whether this latest principle is operating by noting whether the degree of increase in the concentration index is more than would be expected on the basis of the degree of decline in white participation. Since the matter of degrees of difference is outside the scope of the present analysis, the question must remain unanswered.

With the exception of two other intervals which do not seem to fit into any consistent pattern, the remaining exceptions to the first principle occur in the rural South. Among proprietors and officials each interval is an exception in the positive direction, and the hypothesis applied to professionals may fit. Thus the more complete life-segregation in the rural South may modify somewhat the disadvantageous competitive position of Negroes in this category, though not enough to bring indexes close to equality.

Among farmers there is a consistent pattern of declining white membership with

⁸ A consequence of these facts, the development of vested interests in segregation within the minority group itself, is described by E. Franklin Frazier in "Human, All Too Human," *Survey Graphic*, XXXVI (January, 1947), 74 ff.

education, but Negro participation decreases relatively more rapidly. Here we must note that the occupational category includes both the farm owner and the tenant farmer. We may hypothesize that among whites the ratio of owners to tenants increases with education but that there are severe restrictions on ownership for Negroes. Hence Negroes with higher education "escape" the occupation because of their unequal position *within* the occupation.

White-collar and skilled work in the rural South are hardest to interpret. The patterns of the two are similar, showing conformity to the general hypothesis at the lowest educational interval, a positive exception at the intermediate interval, and a negative exception at the highest level. With so complex a pattern, the explanations suggested will be sheer speculation. First, the moderately high positive index for professionals at the college level may mean relatively more opportunities for the college-educated Negro than for the white in the professions. The protection from white competition added to opportunity makes of the professions an especially desirable occupation. The fact, then, of differential rating of alternatives between whites and Negroes may mean fewer Negroes at the top educational level *choosing* white-collar and skilled work. In addition, the same principle observed for farmers—namely, a markedly lower ceiling for Negroes *within* these occupations—may contribute to the finding at the top educational level.

To account for the positive exceptions at the middle interval, we note that these are consistent in the case of white-collar work with the findings in the urban United States and that the same conditions may be operative but counteracted in the other educational levels. In the crafts the continuity since pre-emancipation days of the tradition of the skilled Negro in the South gives him a modicum of protection of which even the segregated labor unions have had to take account.

The findings at the lowest educational interval, however, tend to cast doubts on the foregoing explanations unless we can ac-

count for their failure to apply at this level also. The relatively higher status these two occupations convey for the middle-educated Negro in comparison with the whites may mean a more intense competition *within* the minority group for these occupations. This in turn would probably tend to make these occupations more distinctively middle-educational for the Negro than for the white and would account for the present findings.

From Table 4 we gain further support for the first general hypothesis, since the index values vary in most instances inversely with the socioeconomic status of the occupations. The notable exceptions are found in the professions and farming, for which explanations have already been adduced. When white-collar and skilled workers are viewed without respect to variation by steps in education, they do not deviate from the basic explanatory principle.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions from this paper must be very much qualified in terms of the limitations of data and procedure. Making inferences from direction of change of indexes and percentages without taking account of magnitude of change is a crude method of analyzing data. Stressing principally variations by education *within* occupation may overlook factors which impinge indiscriminately on Negro participation in an occupation at all levels. This deficiency may account for failure of the data to locate intensifications of Negro disadvantage by formalization and strengthening of racial preference. The general limitations of census data apply, and the analysis can be no better than the homogeneity of census categories which have already been brought into question. Education provides only an imperfect tool for holding job qualifications constant. The equivalence of both educational and occupational categories for whites and Negroes must be greatly qualified. The data have been structured according to only one axis, the relation between white participation and inequality, so that it is not possible to tell whether some other structuring might

have provided more parsimonious and adequate explanations. And the foregoing is but part of a broader observation that in no case have techniques been used which would make decisive tests between alternative hypotheses.

Subject to these qualifications, the procedure may be outlined. First, an index for measuring relative concentration or restriction of a minority group within an occupation was presented. This was applied to census data on employed Negro males, by separate region and community types and selected educational levels. To interpret the data, hypotheses were proposed in order of declining generality. These consisted of a general hypothesis in the form of an ideal-type construct and a series of hypotheses accounting for exceptions to this general principle.

The hypotheses which would explain nearly all the findings, if validated in other ways and not supplanted by more adequate explanations, are the following:

General hypothesis.—Under "ideal" conditions of minority and majority competing freely in the labor market, with racial preference operating informally throughout the labor market, minority "concentration" in an occupation is an inverse function of the degree to which majority persons desire membership in the occupation.⁹

Qualifying hypotheses.—(1) The "ideal" conditions are modified by social barriers which lessen direct competition between members of the majority and minority groups, in which case relative inequality will be determined by other considerations, such as majority-minority differentials in demand, job qualification, and ability to pay for services. (2) The "ideal" conditions are modified by institutional controls which limit the free expression of racial preference, such as enforced governmental regulation or traditional minority rights in certain occupations, in which case minority restriction will be lessened. (3) The "ideal" conditions are modified when minority and majority members with equivalent qualifications are confronted with different occupational alternatives and different prestige ratings attached to the same occupation. Effects in these instances are varied. (4) The "ideal" conditions are modified when minority members of any occupation experience a much lower "ceiling" *within* an occupation than majority members do, in which case the measure of restriction will be increased (or concentration reduced), reflecting minority "escape" from the occupation.

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⁹ The hypothesis refers to "concentration," with the factor of unequal job qualification controlled.

SOME ASPECTS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AS REFLECTED IN LETTERS OF TESTIMONY

R. W. ENGLAND

ABSTRACT

An analysis of published Christian Science letters of testimony provides information concerning the membership, dynamics, and bases of appeal of this religion. Urban females of mature years who suffered from physical or mental ills constituted the largest category of communicants. Christian Science practice involves some quasi-psychiatric mechanisms, with the professional healer playing a role akin to that of the psychotherapist.

Scholars have paid scant attention to the characteristics of members of specific minor religious sects and cults,¹ even though a considerable body of general theory exists (usually oriented around concepts of personal and social disorganization), dealing with the factors presumably responsible for voluntary affiliation with social movements of all kinds.

To what sorts of people do "fringe" religious groups appeal? What factors stimulate and maintain adherents' interest, particularly in such movements as New Thought, Divine Science, Christian Science, Theosophy, Spiritualism, or Bahai—groups which Clark classifies as egocentric and esoteric sects² and which may be regarded as conspicuous departures from the three major religious systems of American culture? It may be perfectly true that the basic stimulus to such membership is some form of disorganization and that most of the adherents

will manifest lives disorganized in some degree, but knowing this throws little light upon the specific appeal factors of particular sects or on the characteristics of their members.

Aside from the participant-observer method, or a deductive approach based upon a study of a sect's history and "theology"—the latter often incomprehensible to the scientifically trained—the use of schedules, questionnaires, case histories, and personal documents is extremely difficult. Followers of these sects are apt to be hostilely sensitive to searching inquiries by outsiders: The "we-they" aspect of group relationships looms large in their behavior. However, in the case of one large sect—Christian Science—there exist in published form several thousand unsolicited documents (letters of testimony) written by its adherents. These letters have, for many years, been regular features of the *Christian Science Journal* and the *Christian Science Sentinel*, periodicals with a wide and respectful circulation among "Scientists."

This study, based on an analysis of a sample of five hundred letters, is an attempt to learn something of the characteristics of those to whom this religion appeals, the bases of the appeal, and the nature of the dynamics of Christian Science as far as its followers are concerned. The study is supplemented by the writer's knowledge of this religion resulting from his one-time participation in it.

The census bureau lists the United States membership of the Church of Christ,

¹ Hadley Cantril and Muzafer Sherif, "The Kingdom of Father Divine," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIII (April, 1938), 147-67; Erdmann D. Beynon, "The Voodoo Cult among Negro Migrants in Detroit," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (May, 1938), 894-907; E. K. Francis, "The Russian Mennonites: From Religion to Ethnic Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (September, 1948), 101-7; John B. Holt, "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization," *American Sociological Review*, V (October, 1940), 740-47; Allan W. Eister, *Drawing-room Conversion* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950); Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York: Wiley, 1941).

² Elmer T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), p. 24.

Scientist as 268,915, with an additional 139,758 Sunday School scholars between five and twenty years of age.³ Christian Science is apparently an urban, middle-class religion. In 1936, 94.9 per cent of the formal membership was reported as living in urban areas.⁴ The average value of the urban church edifices of this group was \$48,818 compared with a national urban average of \$44,583.⁵ Women predominate among the congregations, for the sex ratio of the Church of Christ, Scientist is the lowest of any of the leading denominations in the United States: for each 100 female members there are but 31.3 males.⁶

An extended exposition of Christian Science doctrine is contained in Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures* (Boston, 1906). Only enough essentials will be presented in this paper to permit clearer understanding of later sections of the article. Briefly, Christian Science teaches that the power of Divine Mind can manifest itself at the behest of believers by curing ills, harmonizing interpersonal relationships, providing material needs, and by otherwise ameliorating one's lot upon the mortal plane of existence. The only "reality" is the reality of God; all else is illusion. Traditional Christian virtues are identified with God. Inharmony, such as sickness, poverty, and war, is the illusory product of mortal mind and of error. When a Christian Scientist finds himself in a state of inharmony—ill, unemployed, discouraged—he repeats to himself certain formulas, reads *Science and Health* and the Bible, and may finally consult a practitioner if harmony is not restored. The practitioner, an authorized faith-healer, responds by either coming in person to "assert the Truth" or engages in absent treatment by asserting the Truth

from his home or office. The recipient of such aid is then billed, much as one is billed by a physician or dentist, the amount of the fee depending upon the extent of treatment needed.⁷

LETTERS OF TESTIMONY

The publication of testimonies for Christian Science was first systematized in an early edition of Mrs. Eddy's textbook under the chapter title "Fruitage." Subsequent editions retained this section, although up through the final edition of 1906 the letters were usually identified only by the writers' initials and the names of their home communities. Shortly after the founding, in 1883, of the *Christian Science Journal*, a regular department within this organ was instituted which published testimonial letters. By 1906 the editors were including the full names and community addresses of most of the writers. The *Christian Science Sentinel*, created in 1898, carried then, and still carries, letters of testimony under a similar policy. These written statements (totaling to date about six thousand in the *Journal* alone) are a source of data to the student of religious behavior.

A sample of 500 letters was obtained from Volumes XLVII, LVII, LVIII, and LXIV of the *Journal* for the years 1929, 1939, 1940, and 1946. The letters were read serially within the four volumes. Of the 500, 406 (81 per cent) were from women; 94 (19 per cent) were from men—this is roughly comparable to the sex ratio within the formal membership, where males constituted (in 1936) about 24 per cent of the total.

Of the 406 females, 310 (76 per cent) were married—or had been married—and 96 were single. This was determined from the *Journal's* practice of including "Miss" or

³ Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington, D.C., 1941) II, Part I, 390-91, 399. No later figures are available, since release of membership data is prohibited by the rules of this church.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 390.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 104-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷ Present-day Christian Scientists are not forbidden all medical aid; in situations involving compound fractures, serious hemorrhages, certain dental troubles, and disabling pain, medical or dental care is permissible provided the patient resumes divine treatment as soon as his condition permits. Modifications of this kind have been partly responsible for the elevation of Christian Science to the ranks of the "respectable" sects.

"Mrs." before the women's names. Thus, of all the letters, 62 per cent were from married (or widowed or divorced) females. Internal evidence indicates that the bulk of these married women were between thirty-five and sixty years of age. No estimates were possible in respect to ages of the male communicants or the unmarried women.

FACTORS MOTIVATING AND SUSTAINING INTEREST IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

An examination of the 500 letters indicated that two distinct classes of writers existed: (1) those who mentioned the prevalence in their lives of chronic adverse conditions *prior* to their becoming acquainted

TABLE 1

REASONS FOR BECOMING CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS, BY SEX AND TYPE OF MOTIVE

Type of Motive	Males	Females
To alleviate distressing conditions.....	38 (40.4%)	217 (53.4%)
Other.....	56 (59.6%)	189 (46.6%)
Total.....	94 (100.0%)	406 (100.0%)

$$X^2 = 5.12; P < .05.$$

with Christian Science and (2) those who made no such mention. Since there exists a distinct tendency among Christian Scientists to attribute as many cures as possible to their religion, one might infer that the writers of class 2, since they made no such mention, had not been suffering prior to becoming Scientists. In other words, their reasons for following this faith were originally other than for purposes of alleviating distressing conditions. Some 49 per cent of the writers were in this category, suggesting that approximately half the sample became interested in Christian Science because of specific troubles, while half were motivated by other factors.

A breakdown on the basis of sex in respect to these categories proved of interest (see Table 1). A significantly greater proportion of females than of males was apparently

motivated to become Christian Scientists by reasons of prior distressing conditions.

It was clear that the writers' discussions of their symptoms and diseases were so fraught with confusion stemming from their ignorance of medicine and mental hygiene that classifications within this type of problem would be meaningless. However, a possible classification did appear feasible in terms of the principle troubles (four kinds) which were, in varying degree, instrumental in stimulating an interest in Christian Science:

a) Those involving health: included here are functional and organic disorders and bodily injuries.

b) Those concerned with financial difficulties: these include poverty, unemployment, business problems, etc.

c) Those stemming from the use of tea, coffee, tobacco, and alcohol, roundly condemned by Mrs. Eddy, and the existence of presumably undesirable personality traits or attitudes likewise disapproved by her.

d) Conditions of vaguely defined unhappiness: bereavement, depressed feelings, family discord, worries.

While these four categories are not mutually exclusive, particularly *a* and *d*, they arise empirically from the letters of persons in class 1, those whose problems predated their interest in Christian Science. In terms of individual cases, however, only one of the four types of trouble mentioned above appeared to provide the principal motivation for each writer, even though she may have mentioned troubles in more than one category.

The distribution of males and females of class 1 among the four types of distressing conditions is small except for type *a*. However, none of the men complained of previous troubles of type *d*, while 6 per cent of the single and 8 per cent of the married women did.

A fundamental distinguishing feature of Christian Science theology is its explicit and emphatic denial of the reality of the physical world, the evidence of the senses being merely an illusion resulting from the ac-

tivities of mortal mind. The principal characteristic of applied Christian Science is the denial of the necessity for medical aid except under the circumstances mentioned in footnote 7. The 500 letters indicate, however, that Christian Scientists take a lively interest in their adjustments to presumably non-existent persons and situations and exhibit considerable concern for the well-being of their bodies and minds. The most frequent topics discussed, and the primary subjects of 93 per cent of the 500 letters, were alleged cures of illnesses and the maintenance of health by applications of Christian Science. The curing of sickness and the maintenance of physical well-being appear to be the predominant factors sustaining interest in this religion.

Ninety-six per cent of the letters from women and 79 per cent of those from men concerned matters of health; the proportional difference is statistically significant, suggesting that the medical aspects of Christian Science are more important for females than for males (see Table 2).

ATTITUDES OF MIND

Some significant attitudes and ways of thinking which may be characteristic of Christian Scientists generally are discernible from an examination of the 500 letters.

1. In *Science and Health*, Mary Baker Eddy warns her followers of the dangers attendant upon the possession of knowledge of physiology, anatomy, and medicine:

The action of mortal mind on the body was not so injurious before inquisitive Eves took up the study of medical works. . . . You can educate a healthy horse so far in physiology that he will take cold without his blanket, whereas the wild animal, left to his instincts, sniffs the wind with delight. . . . Treatises on anatomy, physiology, and health, sustained by what is material law, are the prompters of sickness and disease. It should not be proverbial, that so long as you read medical works you will be sick [pp. 176, 179].

The grain of truth contained in Mrs. Eddy's argument cannot be gainsaid, but her fears that Christian Scientists might be-

come prey to such dangerous knowledge were groundless. The medical, anatomical, and physiological knowledge held by the 500 writers was apparently very limited and, in some cases, totally absent.

Perhaps most conspicuous was an apparent ignorance of or indifference to the natural healing powers of the human body. Thus, a vast number of minor ailments, ranging from athlete's foot to the common cold, were treated and cured by the application of Divine Truth. Furthermore, there is, among the 500 communicants, considerable attention given to types of disorders so insignificant as to be of practically no consequence so far as one's daily life is concerned.

TABLE 2

FACTORS SUSTAINING INTEREST IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, BY SEX AND TYPE OF PROBLEM

Type of Problem	Males	Females
Health.....	75 (79.8%)	392 (96.5%)
Other.....	19 (20.2%)	14 (3.5%)
Total.....	94 (100.0%)	406 (100.0%)

$$X^2 = 33.85; P < .05.$$

Chapped hands, lone warts, a burned fingernail, hangnails, vague fleeting pains, and momentary dizziness were not infrequently the "healings" for which testimony was given. Man, like most organisms, is subject to myriad minor and temporary ills which are of little importance to general health. The doctrines of Mary Baker Eddy, however, endow even these pathological minutiae with special meaning, for they become evidence of the workings of mortal mind. When they vanish, as they almost inevitably must, Christian Scientists give credit not to their resilient organisms but to their religion. Thus, by virtue of the peculiar emphases of their faith and the peculiar functioning of the human body, Scientists have a constant and automatic source of evidence confirming their beliefs.

It is, however, the alleged healing of serious disorders with which Christian Science

is associated in the popular mind and upon which are based its more dramatic aspects. The Christian Science textbook, as well as other writings of Mrs. Eddy, contains many descriptions of remarkable cures which have since become an important part of the lore of this religion. These writings constitute a core of illustrative proofs with which every Christian Scientist is familiar.

Humiston,⁸ a physician, has analyzed 84 cases of cures reported in these early writings. His discussion makes it very clear that laymen are not competent to diagnose themselves accurately, to distinguish symptom from disease, or to use medical terms correctly. The doubts cast by Humiston must necessarily reflect on the 500 letters used in the present study. This precludes analysis of them on the basis of types and seriousness of ills treated by Christian Science. Instead, the writer offers two observations based upon impressions rather than upon objective analysis:

a) Married women complained of a greater variety of illnesses than did persons in the other two groups, and their complaints involved more serious disorders.

b) The number of cancers, tumors, broken bones, and cases of pneumonia and acute appendicitis which were self-diagnosed by the writers seemed large. To a devout Scientist, calling in a physician is an admission of failure and of lack of faith, but since a physician's services are often necessary for correct diagnoses of serious maladies, it seems likely that most of the more dramatic cures are due simply to mistaken diagnosis. In scores of letters the writers describe how they broke their skulls, dislocated organs, awoke in the night with pneumonia, decided that mysterious lumps were cancers, or found themselves in other ways serious victims of mortal mind. Their next move was to begin divine treatment, either with or without a practitioner's aid. Elated and gratified when their skulls mended, their organs re-

turned to place, their pneumonia and cancers vanished, they wrote letters of testimony to the *Journal*.

2. Unquestionably, an important aspect of Christian Science theory and practice is its relationship to disorders of psychogenic significance. However confused and contradictory Mrs. Eddy's thinking may have been, she was exploring an early bypath of what we know today as psychosomatic medicine. *Science and Health* contains many references to the role of suggestion, belief, conviction, and emotions (hate, envy, vengefulness) in the genesis of bodily complaints, hopelessly entangled as they were with the author's theology.

There is much evidence, reflected in letters of testimony, suggesting that the curative powers of Christian Science practice involve certain elements of psychotherapy.

a) The practitioner's role seems not unlike that of the psychiatrist or psychiatric social worker.⁹ The following excerpts from two testimonies are typical of the attitudes of most of the 500 writers toward practitioners:

It took three years to complete the healing and I had the help of several practitioners at different times. I am grateful to them all for help and inspiration. It was a great joy and privilege to work with them.¹⁰

I can never express enough gratitude to the practitioner who helped me from the beginning, because during the first three months that I read *Science and Health* by Mrs. Eddy, I did not understand it. I would talk with the practitioner several times each day on the telephone, and I have always had a feeling that if it had not been for her untiring, unselfish, and loving encouragement, understanding and help

⁹ There were, as of 1951, approximately 8,500 practitioners in the United States, most of them women. These persons had received advanced training in Christian Science healing techniques ("Christian Science Practitioners and Teachers," *Christian Science Journal*, Vol. LXIX [1951], Appendix). Practitioners and their addresses are listed yearly in the *Journal*. The number 8,500 is an estimate made by the writer from a sample count of these names.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, LXIV (1946), 515-16.

⁸ Woodbridge Riley, Frederick W. Peabody, and Charles E. Humiston, *The Faith, the Falsity and the Failure of Christian Science* (New York: Fleming H. Revel Co., 1925), p. 322.

during this most trying time, I should have lost my way entirely.¹¹

The practitioner becomes an object of affection, a rock of security, a confessor, and a source of hope, as well as a technical healer. Scores of letters contain effusive praise of practitioners whose care has been loving, kindly, thoughtful, and comforting. Such attitudes are akin to those of patients toward psychiatrists and other psychotherapists, although the phenomenon of transference is probably more clearly present in the latter cases than in the former, where formal psychotherapeutic techniques are absent.¹²

b) One task of the bona fide psychotherapist is to help his patients to recognize the role played by emotional conflicts, to realize that many ills may be functional rather than organic in origin—in other words, to provide his patients with new concepts of the meaning of illness. Among the 500 letters is considerable evidence that Christian Scientists tend likewise to acquire new definitions of illness, which become emotionally as well as intellectually integrated parts of their behavior. Such reorientation is indicated in the following excerpts:

... I saw that Christian Science does not heal matter, but destroys all manner of disease (which is wrong thinking objectified on the body) through the realization of perfect man and perfect God. As I continued to affirm these truths I was healed.¹³

... In fact, it [Christian Science] has changed my whole thinking, and has given me a sure foundation, something I can depend upon in times of trouble, whether it be sickness or lack of any sort.¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.*, LVIII (1940), 346-47.

¹² Indeed, of the 500 letters, only one indicated a definite patient-psychiatrist relationship, although such experiences are probably not rare among Christian Scientists: "So little did I expect relief for my knee that I did not mention it at first *but for weeks poured out my financial and domestic troubles*" (*ibid.*, p. 576; italics mine).

¹³ *Ibid.*, XLVII (1930), 469.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

And from an especially perceptive believer:

I awakened on the morning of the recital with my throat so sore that I felt I should be unable to sing. . . . *I realized that fear was at the root of my difficulty*, and that I needed to keep my thoughts above matter. I read only *Science and Health*, and when I went to the recital that evening and sang . . . my teacher said I had never sung so well.¹⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The data used in this study were prepared from the edited documents of enthusiastic followers of Mary Baker Eddy. It is clear, therefore, that the conclusions must be regarded as highly tentative and are perhaps best presented in the form of hypotheses useful for further studies of this religion, as follows:

1. The largest single group from which the adherents of Christian Science are drawn are urban, middle-class, married females who are suffering from bodily disorders of physical or emotional origin.

2. Over half, but by no means all, of those becoming interested in Christian Science are motivated by specific troubles, with problems of health predominating.

3. The tendency to become associated with this religion because of specific troubles is more characteristic of women than of men.

4. The most tangible return gained from adherence to the faith, and the most significant influence for a sustained interest, centers about the alleged power of the religion to cure bodily disorders.

5. Christian Science practice involves at least two aspects of professional psychotherapy: transference and a hazy perception that illnesses can be of emotional origin.

6. The role of the practitioner is akin to that of the psychotherapist, and much of the alleged effectiveness of this religion in relieving ills rests upon the establishment of a quasi patient-psychiatrist relationship between the sufferer and her practitioner.

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¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LVII (1939), 56. (Italics mine.)

DIVORCE AND DESERTION BY RELIGIOUS AND MIXED-RELIGIOUS GROUPS

THOMAS P. MONAHAN AND WILLIAM M. KEPHART

ABSTRACT

The Protestants of Philadelphia and other areas show a higher incidence of divorce than the Catholics, although there is now considerable divorce among the latter. On the other hand, in the white population, Catholics account for a disproportionate number of desertion and nonsupport cases, and the Jews appear least often of the three groups. Mixed marriages may (or may not) be more prone to end in divorce, but they show no undue tendency toward desertion.

The stability and success of a marriage are often said to be largely related to denominational preference, mixed-religious marriages being particularly hazardous. Two reasons for this have been stated by Mowrer: "First, some religious affiliations because of the emphasis of the church upon the sanctity of marriage lead to greater family stability. Secondly, marriage between persons affiliated with different faiths complicates the problem of marriage adjustment by providing the background for conflict over religion."¹ Sociologists have also found in the religious composition of the population a ready explanation for variation in divorce rates between nations or areas within a country or between certain nationality groups.

Apparently reflecting the viewpoint at the turn of the century, a writer in 1889 stated that divorces were found "almost entirely among the Protestant white population."² Whether or not Catholics rarely got a divorce prior to 1900, it was recognized more and more as time went on that divorce was not a phenomenon peculiar to any religious group. The prevalence of desertion among Catholics continued to be explained, however, as a consequence of the prohibition of divorce by the church.³

Writing in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Colcord averred that mixed-religious

marriages "have been shown to yield a high rate of desertion and divorce."⁴ In a sociological book on the family we find the following opinion on mixed-religious marriages: "[They] present definite hazards which all too often wreck the happiness of those involved. . . . [The] possibilities of misunderstanding which we see in the case of the marriage of a Baptist and an Episcopalian are multiplied many times in a marriage between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant."⁵ Except as hereinafter noted, statistical proof was lacking, but many writers continued to subscribe to the same idea. "After all that has been said," writes Popenoe, ". . . the interesting fact remains that statistically, in a number of [marital adjustment] studies, there is little or no connection between religious faith or affiliation and happiness in marriage."⁶

THE CASE FOR STATISTICAL INQUIRY

The absence of an inquiry on religious preference in social records has precluded a direct and comprehensive study of the sub-

¹ E. E. Eubank, "A Study of Family Desertion" (private edition of doctoral dissertation distributed by the University of Chicago Library, 1916), pp. 6-7, 17.

² J. C. Colcord, "Family Desertion and Nonsupport," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1931), VI, 78.

³ J. H. Howson, "Family Life and Religion," chap. xi, in *Plan for Marriage*, ed. J. K. Folsom (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938), pp. 217, 220.

⁴ P. Popenoe, *Modern Marriage* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 86.

¹ E. R. Mowrer, *Disorganization, Personal and Social* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942), p. 498.

² E. J. Phelps, "Divorce in the United States," *Forum*, VIII (December, 1889), 350.

ject. Indeed, there is relatively little statistical information on the concomitants of religious affiliation in this country.

Our Canadian neighbors, in their population censuses and provincial marriage and divorce records, have regularly obtained data about the *religious denominations* of their people. The director of the Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, O. A. Lemieux, stated in a letter to Monahan, "We have never heard of resentment on the part of the population when it came to stating what religion they belonged to." The religious item is also a part of the statistical system of a number of European and South American countries.⁷

The United States Bureau of the Census has, in the past, conducted a census of religious organizations (not individuals), the last of which was made seventeen years ago; but demographically and statistically the results have been most unsatisfactory. The major religious groups, incomplete though their results must be, have also sought to enumerate and report their membership.⁸ In

⁷ It should be recognized that findings from foreign data cannot be taken to apply to the United States; viz., S. Somogyi, "Differential Divorce Rates by Religious Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (March, 1941), 665-85.

⁸ While Jews reported their numbers only approximately, the Roman Catholics in many sections of the country as reported in church directories and almanacs appear to have been enumerated very reliably. See *American Jewish Yearbook* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America); *The National Catholic Almanac* (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony's Guild); *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons); and *Information Service*, a weekly publication (New York: National Council of Churches, Central Department of Research and Survey). Undoubtedly quite a few nominal Catholics are missed in their enumeration, as well as some active church members who live in mobile city areas or are on the move; hence, some upward allowance should be made for this fact. It was stated in the 1916 *Official Catholic Directory* (p. iii) that about 10 per cent of the Catholic population was not accounted for in church enumerations. The ratio of married Catholics to the total population in a particular area would be lower than their percentage of the total population if the Catholic marriage rate were significantly lower than the non-Catholic rate. A substantially higher birth rate would produce the same result. It is not believed that in Philadelphia

addition, some academic dissertations and special research studies have provided us with occasional information on the religious characteristics of the population, but there is practically no available nation-wide material.⁹

It is remarkable that in a country which prides itself on its religious tolerance there is such a "touchiness" and sensitivity to in-

or Chicago the Catholics are any less married or so much more prolific than non-Catholics as to significantly change the figures placed in comparison in this article.

⁹ R. E. Baber, "A Study of 325 Mixed Marriages," *American Sociological Review*, II (October, 1937), 705-16; T. F. Coakley, "Catholic Leakage: A Factual Study," *Catholic World*, CLIV (January, 1942), 418-25; Sophia M. Robison (ed.), *Jewish Population Studies* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, Inc., 1943); Bishops' Committee on Mixed Marriages, "A Factual Study of Mixed Marriages" (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1943) (unpublished); M. L. Barron, *People Who Intermarry* (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press, 1946); A. B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XV (October, 1950), 619-27; R. Freedman and P. K. Whelpton, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Religious Interest and Denomination," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXVIII (1950), 417-66; and others; J. L. Thomas, "The Pattern of Marriage among Catholics," in *Marriage Education and Counseling*, ed. Alphonse H. Clemens (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951); D. R. Mace, "The Truth about Mixed Marriages," *Woman's Home Companion*, July, 1951, pp. 36, 43-44; H. Cantril (ed.), *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 431; Gallup Poll newspaper release on mixed marriage attitudes, *Des Moines Register*, December 28, 1951; R. Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage in New Haven, 1870-1950," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (July, 1952), 56-59; G. J. Schnepf and L. A. Roberts, "Residential Propinquity and Mate Selection on a Parish Basis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (July, 1952), 45-50; *Catholic Digest's* national survey, "Who Belongs to What Church," XVII (January, 1953), 2-8; "Do Americans Get Along Together?" *ibid.*, April, 1953, pp. 6-12; and other issues; Board of Social Missions, *A Study of Mixed Marriages in the United Lutheran Church in America* (New York: United Lutheran Publication House, 1952). See also the well-known marital adjustment studies of Burgess and Cottrell, Terman *et al.* and Locke, Burgess, and Wallin.

formational inquiries about denominational preference. Whatever may be the reasons for the failure of the United States Bureau of the Census to elicit information on the religious preference of persons enumerated (for statistical analysis), it would seem reasonable that the pros and cons of the matter should be made available to the public. The only acknowledgment of the situation found is a brief remark in a recent government bulletin on fertility, which states, "Religion would be a valuable cross-classification for census type fertility data, and has been among the questions proposed for several censuses but not considered feasible from the viewpoint of *public and administrative relations*."¹⁰ The reluctance of federal officials to attempt a religious enumeration is shared by a number of state vital statistics registrars.

In Iowa the religious belief or preference of the population was specifically requested in the census conducted by the state in 1895, and there was no resistance to it that state officials today can recall, although for other reasons the enumeration in this respect was hardly satisfactory. Subsequent state censuses include a similar question. In 1905 Rhode Island compiled information on the "religious preference" of its inhabitants by denominations; and in 1915 a special study of the city of Providence produced totals on the major religious groups. Since 1915, following a favorable ruling by its attorney-general, South Dakota has been gathering information on (denominational) "church affiliation" of its residents.¹¹

¹⁰ Federal Security Agency, National Office of Vital Statistics, "Statistics Needed concerning Fertility," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XXXIII, No. 11 (February 25, 1952), 195. (Our italics.) It may be noted that our federal censuses have included many kinds of special items of information about the American people: whether they were diseased, insane, or idiotic; whether their dwelling had a flush toilet; the amount of rent they paid, and their income. Such data were gathered notwithstanding objections from part of the public.

¹¹ Office of the Commissioner of Labor, State of Rhode Island, *Report of 1907*, Part I, and *Report of 1916-19* (published in 1921); Department of History, South Dakota State Historical Society, *Census of 1915*. The director of Iowa's Division of Vital

RELIGIOUS DATA ON MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND DESERTION

Except in Iowa, marriage records in this country contain no information on the religious preference of the parties. The denominational status of the person performing the marriage may often be given, but this alone is no certain identification. A Catholic may marry a non-Catholic under his church's auspices or without such sanction—the ceremony being performed by either a civil official or by an officiant of another denomination. As the Reverend John L. Thomas has demonstrated, the proportion of mixed marriages with church approval varies from place to place and is undergoing some change, but those without church sponsorship are only roughly estimated.¹² How some research workers are able to determine the religious characteristics of both parties from old records (which contain no such designation) is surprising.¹³

In some jurisdictions a face sheet or factual summary of the personal and social particulars of the defendant and plaintiff in a

Statistics, L. E. Chancellor, concurred with the suggestion made by one of the writers that religion be placed on the Iowa marriage and divorce forms when they were redesigned in 1952. Hence, since January, 1953, the item "religious denomination" of bride and groom has appeared on Iowa's marriage and divorce forms. Marriage and divorce statistics, and in the long run demography as well, may move into a new era if this pioneering development in Iowa succeeds. A. C. Clarke ("An Examination of the Operation of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection," *American Sociological Review*, XVII [February, 1952], 17-22), who interviewed marriage applicants in Columbus, Ohio, in a letter to Monahan reported, "There was practically no blockage on the part of the respondents to this question which was phrased simply: What is your religious preference?"

¹² J. L. Thomas, "Are They Marrying Their Own?" *Catholic World*, CLXXIV (November, 1951), 124-29.

¹³ The clergy, interestingly enough, were at first prohibited from performing a marriage ceremony in Puritan New England, whereas today in Maryland, Delaware (except for ceremonies by the mayor of Wilmington), and West Virginia all marriages must be performed by a member of the clergy.

divorce suit is required, whereon appears the religious denomination of each party. However, the value of this kind of record is not generally recognized in the legal profession. In Philadelphia, for instance, no such face sheet for divorce records is in use, and the religion of the parties can be determined only from reading the testimony or other documents offered in evidence. Iowa's statistical reporting form for divorce is the only one of its kind showing religious denomination.

The desertion and nonsupport records of the Philadelphia Municipal Court were well designed at the court's inception, and for nearly 40 years the religion of both husband and wife has appeared on the face sheets of practically all the records, along with other descriptive characteristics of the parties. In Chicago, judging from Mowrer's studies, and in some other areas, the religion of both parties is similarly recorded.

In studies of marriage, desertion, and divorce, supplementary information on religion can also be obtained by interviewing the parties concerned and, when available, from church directories and similar sources. This is costly and time-consuming, and follow-up studies are sure to be incomplete, especially in large communities or scattered populations. The absence of the needed information on the original record presents an obstacle which very often cannot be resolved.

PRIOR STUDIES

The current literature on the subject often refers to three questionnaire studies that have been made.¹⁴ All three have a common acknowledged weakness: the results were obtained from children, whereas most divorces do not involve children. The children were asked to classify their parents' marital situation, and the percentage of

"broken homes" in each of the major religious groups was thus determined. Bell surveyed a broad cross-section of Maryland youth aged sixteen to twenty-three; Weeks analyzed data obtained from public and parochial high-school students in Spokane, Washington; and Landis polled Midwest college students in marriage courses at Michigan State College. The Bell study included divorce, desertion, and separation; Weeks's table pertains to divorce only; while Landis refers to both a "divorce rate" and a "divorce and separation rate." There also

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES BROKEN BY DIVORCE,
OR DIVORCE AND SEPARATION, BY MAJOR
RELIGIOUS GROUPS

RELIGIOUS AFFIRMATION	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES BROKEN		
	Bell (Mary- land)	Weeks (Wash- ington)	Landis (Michi- gan)
Both Catholic.....	6.4	3.8	4.4
Both Jewish.....	4.6	10.1	5.2
Both Protestant.....	6.8		6.0
Mixed Cath.-Prot.....	15.2*	17.4	14.1
Both none.....	16.7	23.9	17.9
No. of cases.....	13,528	5,490	4,108

* Includes all mixed types: Catholic-Protestant, Protestant-Jewish, Catholic-Jewish, Protestant-none, etc.

seems to be some question regarding the handling of marital status in cases of remarriage in these studies. Nevertheless, in view of the great scarcity of information on family stability in religious groups, these three are significant factual investigations.

In all three studies there appears to be some agreement about the low "rate" for the both-Catholic families and the high "rate" for the mixed-Catholic families, the latter figure exceeding even the both-Protestant group's position (Table 1). The Maryland and the Michigan studies are in disagreement about the relative position of the Jewish and Catholic groups, although the inclusion of all separations in the Maryland figure

¹⁴ H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1938), pp. 21, 193-94; H. A. Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation," *Social Forces*, XXI (March, 1943), 334-37; J. T. Landis, "Marriages of Mixed and Non-mixed Religious Faith," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (June, 1949), 401-7.

but possibly not in the Michigan percentage could explain such a result. The Maryland study, because it includes separations, does not show any important difference between the both-Catholic and both-Protestant percentages. Another oddity is that the Spokane figures (divorces only) for all groups except the both-Catholic are higher than in the other studies, but again regional variation might account for this.

Sullenger believed that mixed marriages "caused" many of the divorces in Douglas County (Omaha), Nebraska, although, unfortunately, he did not fully explain his procedure in studying over 1,415 divorce records between 1922 and 1926. If we compare the percentage of Catholics in his sample with the proportion in the Omaha archdiocese for 1920 and 1930, and if a corresponding comparison is made with the estimated Jewish population of the city, it appears that both Catholics and Jews were less likely than Protestants to obtain a divorce at that time, with Catholics probably least so. Sullenger's figures show that, of all divorces in which either or both parties were Catholic, 40 per cent were mixed-Catholic marriages.¹⁶ Since marriages of Catholics under church auspices in this archdiocese were only about 20 per cent mixed-Catholic, it would seem that here mixed marriages were more fragile, *unless* there were an equal number of nonchurch (civil ceremony) mixed marriages in this archdiocese—which would completely nullify the contrast.

The Court of Common Pleas of Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio, has tabulated divorces by major religious denomination, although this item was not stated for about 40 per cent of the wives and 60 per cent of the husbands. For what it is worth, their data point in the same direction: Catholics and Jews are well in evidence in divorce decrees but hardly to the degree their proportion in the population of that area would suggest.¹⁶

¹⁶ T. E. Sullenger, *A Study of Divorce and Its Causation in Douglas County, Nebraska* (2d ed.; Omaha: Municipal University of Omaha, 1932), p. 7; and above, n. 8.

Statistics of desertion and nonsupport, as presented by Mowrer for Chicago, show a pattern which did not change essentially from 1921 to 1935.¹⁷ In the years just prior to 1935, both parties were Catholic in 37 per cent of the desertion cases, while mixed-Catholic couples comprised an additional 16 per cent. By comparison, about 33 per cent of the population in the Chicago archdiocese was Catholic in 1940, and a similar proportion probably obtained in the city itself (according to the 1950 enumeration for the city and the archdiocese).¹⁸ However, allocating to the "Catholic" group a fair share of the 16 per cent mixed-Catholic marriages, the net result is that Catholics appear to be overrepresented in Chicago desertion cases. On the other hand, Mowrer's data suggest that mixed-Catholic marriages have shown no more than their expected proportion of desertions, perhaps less. In comparing the percentage of Catholic marriages in the archdiocese which were mixed marriages (23 per cent in 1944), some upward allowance must be made for the mixed-Catholic marriages not in the church's figures. Hence, although religious differences are frequently alleged to be a cause of desertion, these mixed religious marriages of Catholics in Chicago do not support the conclusion. The Jews, who are estimated to comprise from 8 to 10 per cent of Chicago's population, account for less than 6 per cent of the desertion cases.

In Baltimore, Maryland, nonwhites are unduly represented in nonsupport cases. By eliminating this predominantly Protestant group, we find that in 1935-38 the Jews had

¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Court of Common Pleas, Division of Domestic Relations, Dayton, Ohio, 1947 to 1950*; and above, n. 8.

¹⁷ E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 103-7; *The Family, Its Organization and Disorganization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 165-68; *Family Disorganization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 310-11; and *Disorganization, Personal and Social*, pp. 499-501, 653, 656.

¹⁸ See above, n. 8.

fewer and the Catholics more nonsupport cases than expected.¹⁹

The Reverend G. J. Schnepf made an intensive house-to-house study of a Catholic parish in a metropolitan area on the Atlantic seaboard in 1937. Upon this sample of 1,115 Catholic families (3,720 persons) he reported: "The chances of divorce are more than twice as great in the case of mixed marriages. . . . There seems to be evidence here that mixed marriage plays a part in separation." Among these Catholic families he found twice as many separations as divorces. On the other hand, the Reverend J. L. Thomas, who made a study of 2,000 cases of the 7,200 appearing in the Chicago archdiocesan Separation Court of the Catholic church in the period 1942-48, found mixed-Catholic marriages to be somewhat underrepresented in these requests for church-sanctioned separation (not divorce). Although cautioning about the special character of the cases, he found no support in the data for the theory that mixed religious marriages were unstable.²⁰

THE PHILADELPHIA DATA

Divorce by religious groups.—Parties to a divorce in Philadelphia are not readily identified according to religious affiliation, since information on religious preference is not required by law. However, some judges and lawyers make it a practice to ask about the religion of the parties, and this fact appears in the divorce testimony. In addition, a copy of the marriage certificate or satisfactory "proof of marriage" is required by law, from which it is usually possible to deter-

mine whether a priest, a minister, a rabbi, or a civil agent officiated. Marriages by a rabbi were classified as Jewish, and those by a Roman Catholic priest as "one or both parties Catholic." Only occasionally will a rabbi marry a Jew and a non-Jew. It is probable that some Jewish and mixed-Jewish couples as well as some Catholic and mixed-Catholic couples married by a civil ceremony (and otherwise unidentified as to religion) were not properly identified.²¹

There has been no major shift in the religious composition of Philadelphia's population in recent years. The estimated percentage of the city's white population which is Jewish and Catholic and the divorces allocable to the two groups are shown in Table 2. It should be remembered with respect to the Catholic figures in the second to fourth columns that they include all mixed-Catholic marriages which could possibly be determined from marriage licenses or testimony, and hence these percentages probably overstate the proportion of divorces chargeable to the "Catholic" population. The divergence should be greater, therefore, than that shown for the Catholic group.²²

²¹ For a description of the methodology and limitations of the data in the Philadelphia study see the authors' article, "Desertion and Divorce in Philadelphia," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (December, 1952), 719-27. Cf. *Annual Report of the Philadelphia Municipal Court* (1915 to date); S. H. Patterson, "Family Desertion and Non-Support," *Journal of Delinquency*, VII (September and November, 1922), 274, 328; and above, n. 8. As stated in the December, 1952, article, the reader should remain aware of the indefinite and approximate nature of some of the findings and comparisons. The divorce sample for the years 1937-50 comprised 1,434 cases; total desertion cases numbered 2,191 in 1950 but ranged from 2,927 to 4,724 cases in other years.

¹⁹ Probation Department, Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, *Annual Reports*, 1935-38.

²⁰ See G. J. Schnepf, *Leakage from a Catholic Parish* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942), pp. 142, 139 and 38, 129, 143, 361. Also his "Three Mixed Marriage Questions Answered," *Catholic World*, CLVI (November, 1942), 203-7; and C. S. Mihanovich, G. J. Schnepf, and J. L. Thomas, *Marriage and the Family* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), pp. 195-215. Also see J. L. Thomas, "Some Factors Involved in the Breakdown of Catholic Marriage" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949), pp. 82, 101, 113, 265, 287.

²² *American Jewish Yearbook*, LII (1951), 20, with a 10 per cent allowance for underenumeration. Catholics in Philadelphia's total population amounted to 30.6 per cent in 1951 (*The National Catholic Almanac*, 1952, p. 196; and above, n. 8). Allowing for some Catholics missed in the church enumeration (6 per cent), and for the 18.3 per cent of nonwhites living in the city, it was estimated that nearly 40 per cent of Philadelphia's white population was Catholic in 1950. An independent confirmation of this estimate is supplied by the Board of Public Education for the School District of Philadelphia in their an-

Though crude, the figures in Table 2 for the white population show that the Jews account for about their expected share of divorces (but no more than that); that the Catholics account for one-half to two-thirds the number of divorces which one might expect from their proportion in the population; and conversely, that the Protestants account for a relatively greater part of Philadelphia's divorces. Philadelphia Negroes—predominantly Protestant—have contributed less than their expected share of Philadelphia's divorces.

Desertion by religious groups.—At different times since 1915 the Philadelphia desertion and nonsupport cases have been tabulated to show the religious preference of the parties. In some years the interviewers accepted the affirmation "none," and published statistics indicate a small percentage (0.5) with "no religion"; but of late the religion in which the person was reared, or the parent's preference, is recorded. Even though in a great majority of cases it is the wife who reports her husband's religion as well as her own, there is no reason to believe that the item on religion is inaccurate to any significant degree.

The major religious groups have contributed about the same proportion of all *new* cases over the years, and there has been no drastic shift in the proportion of mixed marriages. The Negroes are unduly represented in Philadelphia's desertion and nonsupport cases and are almost exclusively of Protestant persuasion. Because intermar-

riage between whites and nonwhites is relatively infrequent, white families must be considered separately.

When nonwhite families are excluded, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, it turns out that in former years the white couples coming to court were somewhat more homogeneous in religion. That is, there were fewer Catholic-Protestant mixtures and fewer other-Catholic mixtures. The proportion of white families in which both parties were Catholic rose from 36 per cent prior to World War I to around 45 per cent in recent years; and, where either party was a Catholic, the proportion rose a similar degree, from 52 per cent in 1915-16 to 66 per cent in 1950. The direction of the trend is parallel to the increase of Catholics in Philadelphia's white population.

In Table 5 the percentages of new desertion cases by religious group are compared with the estimates already given for Philadelphia's white population in 1950. Surprisingly, in two out of three families coming to court (Tables 3 and 4), one party or the other is a Catholic. However, taking the husband's (or the wife's) religion as a logical point of comparison, the Catholic figure is only 55 per cent.

From 1944 to date the proportion of Catholic *church* marriages in the Philadelphia archdiocese which were of mixed faith varied from 22 to 26 per cent; and, from this, if some estimates of Thomas and others²³ obtain in the Philadelphia area, nearly 30 per cent of all the "Catholic" marriages would be with a non-Catholic. The proportion which mixed-Catholic marriages constitute of all white desertion cases in which either party was a Catholic was at a maxi-

nual *Statistical Report of the Department of Instruction*, which shows the proportion of white children attending Catholic parochial schools was 44 per cent for ages seven to thirteen years inclusive in 1950; in 1940 it was 35 per cent, and in 1945, 40 per cent. Two factors could account for this change: a persistently higher Catholic birth rate or a greater mobility of white Protestants to the suburbs. One thing noteworthy in this regard is that the total white population of Philadelphia increased only 1 per cent between 1940 and 1950, while the nonwhite population increased 50 per cent. Because some Catholic children attend public schools, the percentage of school children identifiable as Catholic is probably understated.

²³ Schnepf, *Leakage from a Catholic Parish*, pp. 80-82 and 359; J. L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), p. 488, and "Are They Marrying Their Own?" *op. cit.*, p. 126, wherein he estimates that 40 per cent of all mixed-Catholic marriages were not sanctioned by Catholic nuptials. Subsequently, it will be shown for desertion cases in Philadelphia that the proportion of mixed-Catholic marriages is much greater when there is a civil ceremony.

TABLE 2
DIVORCES BY RELIGIOUS GROUP FOR PHILADELPHIA'S
WHITE POPULATION

RELIGIOUS GROUP	PER CENT OF 1950 WHITE POPULATION*	PER CENT OF PHILADELPHIA WHITE DIVORCES, 1937-50		
		All Classes	Primary Marriages†	
			All	Native White
Jewish.....	16	11.8	12.1	8.4
Catholic.....	40	25.5‡	26.6‡	26.7‡
Protestant.....	44	62.7 (rem.)	61.3 (rem.)	64.9 (rem.)
Total.....	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Estimated.

† A first marriage for both parties constitutes a *primary* marriage.

‡ One or both parties being Catholic.

TABLE 3
RELIGIOUS GROUP OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN DESERTION CASES
PHILADELPHIA WHITE FAMILIES: PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

YEAR	TOTAL	DIFFER- ENT RELIG. GROUP	SAME RELIG. GROUP*	BOTH PARTIES			TOTAL	HUSBAND'S RELIGION			
				Prot.	Cath.	Jew.		Prot.	Cath.	Jew.	Other
1915.....	100.0	16.1	83.9	41.0	35.7	6.9	100.0	49.6	40.8	9.2	0.4
1916.....	100.0	17.5	82.5	37.3	36.0	8.6	100.0	47.0	42.7	9.5	.8
1922.....	100.0	15.8	84.2	32.6	38.7	12.1	100.0	40.7	45.7	12.8	.8
1941.....	100.0	20.4	79.6	24.9	44.9	9.2	100.0	35.0	54.2	9.9	.9
1942.....	100.0	21.9	78.1	23.9	45.9	7.7	100.0	35.1	55.5	8.5	.9
1943.....	100.0	19.4	80.6	25.7	47.3	7.1	100.0	36.0	55.4	7.8	.8
1944.....	100.0	19.5	80.5	27.2	44.7	8.1	100.0	37.7	52.9	8.7	.7
1945.....	100.0	20.9	79.1	24.8	45.5	8.3	100.0	34.9	54.8	9.4	.9
1946.....	100.0	20.7	79.3	25.0	46.4	7.5	100.0	35.4	55.6	8.2	.8
1947.....	100.0	20.7	79.3	24.2	46.7	8.1	100.0	34.5	55.8	9.0	.7
1948.....	100.0	22.9	77.1	22.8	44.3	9.6	100.0	34.3	54.4	10.6	.7
1950.....	100.0	22.5	77.5	22.9	44.4	9.6	100.0	33.9	54.9	10.5	0.7
Native White Primary-Marriage Families											
1950.....	100.0	22.6	77.4	21.4	46.7	9.0	100.0	32.5	57.4	9.7	0.4

* Includes a very small percentage of Greek Catholic marriages.

num 33 per cent in 1948-50 (Tables 3 and 4). Mixed-Catholic marriages, therefore, do not appear to any greater degree than expected in desertion and nonsupport cases in Philadelphia.

Nevertheless, in the white desertion and nonsupport cases which come to court, the Catholic group, with reference to their proportion in the population, is overrepresented by nearly 40 per cent. On the other hand,

with the combined Protestant-Catholic mixed group showing a greater proportion than the both-Jewish group. Allowing for dissimilar marriage durations for the religious groups increases the both-Catholic percentage slightly and the Jewish percentage even more, the net effect being to show the same relative position while decreasing the spread in the percentages. Cases of primary marriages showing a divorce were not

TABLE 4

RELIGIOUS GROUP OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN DESERTION CASES, PHILADELPHIA WHITE FAMILIES: PER CENT OF FAMILIES WITH EITHER PARTY CATHOLIC*

Year	Total	Both Cath.	Husb. Cath., Wife Prot.	Husb. Prot., Wife Cath.	Other Mixed	Total Mixed	Total Mixed as a Per Cent of Total "Either Party Catholic"
1915.....	51.4	35.7	5.8	9.2	0.7	15.7	30.5
1916.....	52.8	36.0	6.5	9.6	0.7	16.8	31.9
1922.....	53.8	38.7	6.7	7.8	0.6	15.1	28.1
1941.....	64.5	44.9	8.6	9.6	1.4	19.6	30.4
1942.....	66.7	45.9	9.1	10.5	1.2	20.8	31.2
1943.....	66.0	47.3	7.8	10.1	0.8	18.7	28.3
1944.....	63.6	44.7	7.4	10.4	1.2	18.9	29.7
1945.....	65.5	45.5	8.5	9.6	1.9	20.0	30.5
1946.....	66.4	46.4	8.4	10.2	1.5	20.0	30.2
1947.....	66.6	46.7	8.2	10.0	1.8	20.0	30.0
1948.....	66.4	44.3	9.0	11.0	2.1	22.1	33.3
1950.....	66.3	44.4	9.8	10.6	1.5	21.9	33.1
Native White Primary-Marriage Families							
1950.....	68.9	46.7	10.3	10.8	1.0	22.1	32.1

* Subtotals calculated and rounded separately.

the Jewish group is underrepresented to somewhat the same degree. The white Protestant class is about 25 per cent underrepresented.

Divorce in desertion cases by religion.—The fact of prior or present divorce in all new desertion cases coming to court, according to major religious groups, is shown in Table 6.

The both-Catholic families registered the lowest percentage of divorce (one or both parties ever divorced), and the both-Protestant families the highest percentage of di-

numerous enough for separate analysis by religious group.

Although the Catholic-husband-Protestant-wife couples here evidence a higher divorce ratio than the Protestant-husband-Catholic-wife couples, there is apparently an opposite tendency regarding all desertions (Tables 3 and 4), where the Protestant-husband-Catholic-wife combination appears more frequently.

The over-all picture as to divorce in these desertion cases is that in a high proportion of the families one or both parties to the

marriage has had a divorce before coming to court—in all the major religious groups.

Ceremony.—In the white *divorce* sample those married by a civil ceremony amounted to 21 per cent of the total, which may be somewhat higher than the local marriage custom. Among the white *desertion* cases the proportion married by civil ceremony was 30 per cent in 1950, increasing from 11 per cent in 1916—a reflection, in part, of the higher proportion of remarried and divorced persons in the 1950 cases, since remarrying persons (especially the divorced) characteristically “choose” a civil ceremony. In the native white primary marriage group of divorces and desertions, 19 and 25 per cent, respectively, were married by civil ceremony.

For all white couples married by *religious* ceremony, 28 per cent of the Catholic (either party) marriages ending in desertion were of the mixed Protestant-Catholic type, a figure remarkably like the 22–26 per cent of mixed-Catholic marriages reported in the *Official Catholic Directory* for the archdiocese of Philadelphia. White Catholic marriages by civil ceremony were 39 per cent mixed-Catholic.

Duration and children.—In some cases of desertion, the couples were still living together at the time of application to the court, but this set of tables did not support the idea that nonseparation was related to the type of ceremony or the religious group. All religious groups exhibited a definite concentration of desertion cases in the first few years of marriage, with marriages of both-Protestant couples lasting moderately longer prior to application to court.

For the native white primary marriages in the *divorce* sample all religious groups showed between 57 and 61 per cent to be childless couples, Catholic couples having only slightly more children under eighteen years of age per family than the average, or 0.75 versus 0.64 children. In the same type of *desertion* cases only 19 per cent were childless, and the average number of children was 1.32 per family; and the type of ceremony and religious preference did not have any

significant relationship with number of children. Hence, neither the presence of children nor the duration of the marriage in these data can account in any major way for the relative amounts of desertion (or divorce) in the major religious groups.

Occupation.—The desertion data reveals the following (the native white primary marriages being statistically very similar to the all-whites combined): (1) the Jewish couples are found in the higher income and *occupational* levels; (2) the both-Catholic

TABLE 5
DESERTION CASES BY RELIGIOUS GROUP
PHILADELPHIA WHITES ONLY, 1950

RELIGIOUS GROUP	PER CENT OF 1950 WHITE POPULATION*	PER CENT OF PHILADELPHIA WHITE DESERTIONS		
		Both Same Religion	Husband's Religion	Wife's Religion
Jewish.....	16	9.6	10.5	10.5
Catholic.....	40	44.4	54.9	55.8
Protestant....	44	22.9	33.9	33.0
Total.....	100	.....	100.0†	100.0†

* Estimated.

† Greek Catholics, not shown, amount to 0.7 per cent. See also n. 22 above.

and mixed Catholic-Protestant marriages are similarly distributed; and (3) the both-Protestant group is moderately superior to the both-Catholic group in *income* and position in the occupational hierarchy. If the occupational distribution of the Jewish desertion cases is related to their occupational position in the community, the result is of the order one would expect; and, the economic aspect offers no explanation for the differences already noted between the both-Catholic and mixed-Catholic groups. If, as is sometimes said, desertion were primarily a consequence of a way of life associated with lower status occupations and income, the moderate contrast of the Catholic and Protestant cases by economic levels could only partially explain the greater representation

of Catholics in desertion and nonsupport cases, but here again the desertion cases may merely reflect the relative income and occupational positions of the two religious groups in Philadelphia.

CONCLUSION

The sizable proportion of divorces among Catholics, shown in the various sets of data presented here, is surprising. It would be enlightening if the nominal and inactive parties had been further identified by religious *background* in some of the aforementioned studies, especially since this "no religion" group shows the highest index of instability. A prior or present divorce for both parties was found in many of the Catholic-

Catholic marriages in Philadelphia's desertion cases, indicating that divorce does occur to a significant degree in the both-Catholic group. Furthermore, the divergence between the religious groups in the percentage of desertion cases showing a divorce for either spouse was not very great. Whatever the explanation, the large number of Catholics (one or both) also appearing in the Philadelphia divorce sample, and in the studies cited, undoubtedly derive from that group.

While Catholics were found to contribute less than their share of divorce, in desertion cases they appear much more frequently than their relative number in the population. The strong prohibition against divorce for Catholics, while it seems to hold down

TABLE 6
DIVORCE IN DESERTION CASES BY RELIGIOUS
GROUPS, PHILADELPHIA, 1950

RELIGION OF PARTIES	NO. OF CASES	PER CENT OF FAMILIES MARKED BY DIVORCE*			
		Husband Only Divorced	Wife Only Divorced	Both Parties Divorced	Either Party Divorced
White Families					
Both Prot.....	298	9.4	5.4	11.7	26.5
Both Jewish.....	125	9.6	4.0	9.6	23.2
Both Cath.....	578	5.9	4.2	7.8	17.8
Cath.-Prot.....	128	6.3	4.7	14.1	25.0
Prot.-Cath.....	138	10.1	5.8	5.1	21.0
(All P.×C.).....	266	8.3	5.3	9.4	22.9
Total.....	1,305	7.7	4.9	9.2	21.8
Native White Families					
Both Prot.....	268	10.4	5.2	11.6	27.2
Both Jewish.....	92	4.3	3.3	12.0	19.6
Both Cath.....	507	6.1	3.9	6.9	17.0
Cath.-Prot.....	120	6.7	4.2	14.2	25.0
Prot.-Cath.....	128	9.4	5.5	4.7	19.5
(All P.×C.).....	248	8.1	4.8	9.3	22.2
Total.....	1,141	7.5	4.6	9.0	21.2

* Includes primary-marriage families which were divorced at the time of application for non-support and other couples one or both of whom had been divorced from a prior marriage. The totals include a few Greek Catholic and other mixed marriages not shown. Each percentage was separately calculated and rounded. A few not-stated cases were excluded. In combinations the husband's religion is given first.

the divorce rate, does not prevent the occurrence of family disorganization, as the high "desertion" figures for Catholics indicate. It should be remembered, however, that desertion and divorce figures cannot be added together, since quite a few of the desertion cases sooner or later appear in divorce courts. Besides, in nearly all instances divorce means a complete family breakup, whereas many families marred by desertion may become reconciled or carry on in spite of the intermittent episodes of discord, abuse, and separation. Desertion figures thus indicate marital disharmony but overstate family dissolution. Nevertheless, there is a clear variation in the proportion of desertion cases contributed by the different religious groups, with the Catholics predominating.

The Maryland survey suggests what *might* be the composite picture regarding family disruption due to divorce, desertion, and separation. There the Jews had the lowest proportion of such broken families, while the Catholics accounted for a figure only slightly lower than the Protestants. The true proportion of these broken families in the different religious groups could only be determined by a carefully conducted family survey or census.

Surprisingly enough, Mowrer's tables for Chicago, Thomas' data from the Separation Court of the Catholic church in Chicago, and the Philadelphia desertion records all

give indication that mixed-religious marriages are *not* a factor in desertion. Yet, other studies point to a greater degree of divorce, and divorce-separation-desertion, in mixed-religious marriages. It is difficult to reconcile these diverse findings. Once again, couples who reported "no religion" may be vitiating some of the results. The higher incidence of divorce among the Philadelphia desertion cases for the mixed-Catholic marriages confirms somewhat the idea that such marriages have a higher rate of dissolution than both-Catholic marriages. Nevertheless, in this set of data, unlike the other studies, the highest percentage of divorce was in the both-Protestant group.

These data should not be accepted as conclusive; rather, it is hoped they may be the beginning of more comprehensive factual investigations. If the major religious denominations in this country took a public position on the desirability of statistical compilations, and if all persons could be assured that statements would be held in strictest confidence, the subtle resistance of some classes to answering a purely informational inquiry on religious affiliation or preference would dissipate. We could, then, in time develop a sound understanding of many of the religious aspects of family life in the United States.

MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SEX DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TO "IN-LAWS"

A TEST OF A THEORY

PAUL WALLIN

ABSTRACT

The Burgess-Wallin study of married couples made possible a test of a hypothesis advanced by Komarovsky: that attachment to, and dependence on, the family to which they are orientated is greater for wives than for husbands. Empirical findings do not confirm the inference from the theory that problems of parents-in-law more frequently involve the wife's parents than the husband's.

The point of departure of this article is Komarovsky's analysis of sex roles as related to the adjustment of husbands and wives in urban American middle-class marriages.¹ Her work develops from two related hypotheses. The first is that a girl's upbringing offers her a more sheltered life than a boy's, with the result that she is more dependent upon, and more attached to, her parental family than is a boy. The second hypothesis is:

[The major] unintended consequence of this greater sheltering of the girl is to create in her such ties to the family of orientation that she is handicapped in making the psycho-social shift to the family of procreation which our culture demands. . . . Essentially it is assumed that to the extent that the woman remains more "infantile," less able to make her own decisions, more dependent on one or both parents for initiating or channeling behavior and attitudes, more closely attached to them so as to find it difficult to part from them or to face their disapproval in case of any conflict between her family and spouse, or shows any other indices of lack of emotional emancipation—to that extent she may find it more difficult than the man to conform to the cultural norms of primary loyalty to the family she establishes later, the family of procreation.²

On the latter proposition Komarovsky notes it is possible that "the only effect of the greater sheltering is to create in women a generalized dependency which will then be

transferred to the husband and which will enable her all the more readily to accept the role of wife in a family which still has many patriarchal features."³ Komarovsky, however, elects to "explore the hypothesis that this dependency is specific; it is a dependency upon and attachment to the family of orientation."⁴ Thereupon she presents a carefully reasoned and persuasive rationale. Her search of the literature on family studies yielded little relevant empirical evidence, that pertinent to the second hypothesis being especially meager. Data bearing on the first hypothesis supported it.

The present article is primarily an examination of Komarovsky's second hypothesis in the light of material collected from some six hundred married couples who participated in the Burgess-Wallin project.⁵

SAMPLE AND FINDINGS

As related elsewhere in greater detail,⁶ the couples were volunteer subjects and were given no payment of any sort for their co-operation. Most of them were living in or near metropolitan Chicago; were native-born, urban, college-educated, and Protestant. At the time of their participation in the marriage phase of the project the great majority had been married from three to

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

¹ Mirra Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, XV (August, 1950), 508-16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 512.

⁵ Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953).

⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. ii.

five years. About two-thirds of them had children, typically one child.

The questionnaires were answered independently by the husbands and wives in 604 couples. In most instances this was done by the subjects assembled in groups, the men and women being in separate rooms. Some couples answered the questionnaire at home but under supervision to exclude collaboration between husband and wife.

TABLE 1
HOMESICKNESS OF 598 HUSBANDS
AND 584 WIVES FOR THEIR
FATHER OR MOTHER*

FREQUENCY OF HOMESICKNESS	PER CENT	
	Husbands†	Wives†
Often.....	2.8	11.3
Sometimes.....	25.4	36.6
Rarely.....	34.8	27.9
Never.....	37.0	24.1

* The distribution is significant at the .001 level.
† In this and succeeding tables percentages are calculated after the "no answer" category has been taken out.

For the most part husbands and wives were living at about the same distance from their respective parental families;⁷ hence accessibility of the family of orientation can be ruled out as a possible intruding variable.

Two questions tested Komarovsky's hypothesis that women develop greater attachment than men to their parents. The responses to the first: "Do you ever feel homesick for either of your parents?" are shown in Table 1. As shown, wives are "homesick" more often than husbands. The second question: "How often, on the average, do you see your parents?" (Table 2), disclosed the women's greater attachment to their parents: wives are more likely than husbands to see their parents two or three times a week, while husbands are more likely to see their parents weekly or monthly.⁸

⁷ Two-thirds of both sexes were located less than fifty miles from their parents' residence and 28 per cent were separated by three hundred miles or more.

Although they can be otherwise interpreted⁹ the data of Tables 1 and 2 support¹⁰ Komarovsky's first hypothesis that the difference in the training of males and females in the premarital years is such as to foster more parental attachment in females. It should be borne in mind, however, that the available evidence relating to the hypothesis is largely concerned with differences in *attachment* to parents; differences in *dependence*, both before or after marriage, on the family of orientation—also involved in the hypothesis—remain to be more fully demonstrated. Nonetheless, the data at hand and

TABLE 2
FREQUENCY WITH WHICH 577 HUSBANDS
AND 575 WIVES SEE THEIR PARENTS*

AVERAGE FREQUENCY	PER CENT	
	Husbands	Wives
Two or three times a week..	21.5	40.0
Once a week.....	29.1	16.9
Once a month.....	13.5	7.7
A few times a year.....	16.1	18.6
Once a year.....	9.0	7.5
Less than once a year.....	10.8	9.4

* The distribution yields a chi-square which is significant at the .001 level.

the theoretical cogency of the argument warrant serious consideration of Komarov-

⁸ The three differences cited yield C.R.'s which are significant at the .001 level or higher.

⁹ Married women may be "homesick" more often because, being alone for much of the day with their household tasks, their thoughts may revert to their premarital years. Led thus, perhaps, to think of "the good old days" with the family they may tend to experience "homesickness" more than their husbands, who are preoccupied with tasks which command their full attention and less often isolate them from social contacts. Similarly, wives may see their parents more frequently—either visiting or being visited by them—because they have more leisure time than the husbands. However, in view of the evidence cited by Komarovsky as regards the greater attachment of females to their parents *before marriage*, her differential role-training hypothesis provides a more compelling explanation of our findings than do the interpretations advanced here.

¹⁰ See Komarovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 513-14.

sky's second proposition: that the female's greater attachment to, and dependence upon, the family in which she is reared is dysfunctional in her marriage. Some of the data of the Burgess-Wallin study are relevant.

Komarovsky reasons that, if wives carry into marriage a tendency to be more attached to, and dependent on, their parents than do husbands, then trouble with parents-in-law is more likely to be with the wives' than with the husbands' families. A

TABLE 3
ATTITUDES OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES
TO PARENTS-IN-LAW

ATTITUDE	PER CENT			
	To Father-in-Law		To Mother-in-Law	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
Like very much.....	44.2	44.8	37.5	34.9
Like considerably....	27.8	27.6	29.2	25.6
Like somewhat.....	16.2	15.5	17.3	16.5
Like a little.....	4.5	4.7	7.8	5.9
Dislike*.....	7.4	7.3	8.3	17.1
No. of cases†.....	489	464	555	539

* This combines the categories dislike "a little," "somewhat," "considerably," "very much."

† These totals are exclusive of persons who reported the parent-in-law in question as deceased.

direct test can be made by comparing the attitudes of husbands and wives to their "in-laws." The theory implies that men's attitudes to their wives' parents would be more negative than the wives' attitude to the parents of the men; similarly, that men more than women think that their "in-laws" weaken rather than strengthen their marriage.

As shown (Table 3), responses of both husbands and wives to the questions: "What is your attitude to your father-in-law?" and "What is your attitude to your mother-in-law?" turn out to be virtually identical. The distributions differ somewhat in regard to attitude to mother-in-law, the

men tending to dislike the wives' mothers less than the wives do the men's mothers.¹¹ These findings fail to support Komarovsky's hypothesis but rather offer some justification for the view of some psychiatrists that the husband's family is the more disturbing in marriage.¹² In the majority of the middle-class marriages studied both men and women have positive feelings about the families of their spouses.

The data tabulated in Table 4 are also inconsistent with Komarovsky's hypothesis. The men, in reply to the question "What effect has your spouse's family, as a whole, had on your relationship with your spouse?" give evidence of a more favorable conception than the women of their "in-laws." Husbands are more disposed to think of the lat-

TABLE 4
REPORTS BY 596 HUSBANDS AND 593 WIVES OF
THE INFLUENCE OF THEIR SPOUSES' FAMILIES
ON THEIR MARRIAGE*

EFFECT IMPUTED TO "IN-LAWS"	PER CENT	
	By Husbands	By Wives
Strengthened relationship		
Very much.....	12.6	11.6
Considerably.....	15.9	9.8
Somewhat.....	13.4	10.8
A little.....	10.4	6.8
Weakened relationship†.....	7.7	7.4
Neither strengthened nor weakened.....	39.9	53.6

* When the categories under "Strengthened relationship" are combined, the 2 × 3 table yields a chi-square significant at the .001 level.

† Combines the same categories as are subsumed under "Strengthened relationship."

ter as strengthening their marriage; wives to rate their "in-laws" as having little or no effect. Only a minority of men and women impute to their "in-laws" a marked influence on their marriages. One asks if, in our kinship system, the family of procreation is in fact growing independent of the family of orientation.

¹¹ C.R. of the difference between 8.3 per cent and 17.1 per cent is 4.35.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 515.

The reports of the Burgess-Wallin couples do not confirm the inferences drawn from Komarovsky's hypothesis. Admittedly the data in question are direct verbal testimony, and, as Komarovsky notes, defects in memory or self-knowledge, as well as lack of candor, often vitiate the answers.¹³ But in our data, at least, this is kept to a minimum. In the first place, the respondents were reporting on their attitudes to "in-laws" as of the time of writing. Consequently, errors of memory can be ruled out. Second, since our culture countenances the verbal expression of hostility to parents-in-law, the spouses presumably feel free to report their attitudes frankly, the more so since no spouse saw the partner's replies. By the same token, presumably, errors of self-knowledge do not

enter in materially. Since there are few, or no sanctions, against feelings hostile to one's parents-in-law, husbands and wives, one assumes, need neither rationalize nor deny.

Komarovsky recognized that the female's assumed greater attachment to, and dependence upon, the family she grew up in, would not mar her marriage if it led her "all the more readily to accept the role of wife in a family which still has many patriarchal features." Our findings are more compatible with this assumption than with Komarovsky's alternative proposition: that the female's dependency is specifically upon her family of orientation, making it more difficult for her than for the male to, be loyal, first of all, to the family she and her husband bring into being.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

IN MEMORIAM

ELLSWORTH FARIS, 1874-1953

Professor Ellsworth Faris, professor emeritus of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago, of which he was the second chairman; second editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*; former president of the American Sociological Society (1937); and father of Robert E. Lee Faris, chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Washington, died on December 19, 1953. He was associated with the University of Chicago as graduate student, alumnus, and teacher, for more than forty years—from 1911 until the day of his death.

Ellsworth Faris was born in Salem, Tennessee, on September 30, 1874. In 1894, he was graduated from Texas Christian University and in the late fall of 1896 was appointed to open a mission in the Belgian Congo for the Foreign Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ. He went back to Africa to study the people and their social changes in 1932-33 and again in 1949.

His African experiences were of very great significance in his writing and teaching. In his course "Social Origins," he related sociology and ethnology, challenging the works of Herbert Spencer, Lévy-Bruhl, and Sigmund Freud regarding the nature of so-called "primitive man." For this designation he suggested as a substitute the term "preliterate" (*The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937], p. 252). His analysis of the difference between a society with books and literature and a preliterate society, original and deeply penetrating as it was, made a vitalizing contribution to sociological thought.

When he came back from Africa in 1904, he entered with vigor upon a new phase of his career, as associate editor of the *Christian Courier* and as professor of philosophy and psychology at his Alma Mater. In 1911

he came to the University of Chicago as a Scholar in psychology, continued as a Fellow in philosophy, and won his Ph.D., *magna cum laude*, in 1914. For a time he moved back and forth between the University of Chicago and the State University of Iowa and between philosophy and psychology—a fitting training for his appointment to a professorship in sociology in 1919 to succeed Professor W. I. Thomas. At the University of Chicago Ellsworth Faris had, at the age of forty-five, found his niche; in sociology, his métier.

In 1925 he succeeded Albion W. Small as chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology. He was instrumental in having Fay Cooper-Cole, then of the Field Museum, called to the university to found a separate department of anthropology. This separation, in 1929, led to the growth of two strong departments where there had been but one before, two departments which have collaborated perhaps even more closely because of their formal separation. In 1926 Professor Faris also succeeded Professor Small as editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*. In 1936 he handed the editorship over to Professor Ernest W. Burgess. The chairmanship he held until his retirement in 1939, when he was succeeded by Professor William Fielding Ogburn, now an emeritus member of the department of sociology.

His chairmanship was a time of growth in numbers of workers and in specialization in the social sciences generally and in the department of sociology of the University of Chicago. In the thirty years before he had become its chairman, the department of sociology and anthropology had granted the Ph.D. degree to 68 persons (6 of them women); in the fourteen years of his chairmanship an almost equal number, 64, were granted.



Van Dyke Studio, Chicago, 1949

ELLSWORTH FARIS

He encouraged his students to wide reading of literature chosen with reference to the essence of their interests rather than by conventional departments and by the accident of being written in the English language. His seminars of the 1920's read together Boven's translation of Pareto, *Traité de sociologie générale*—not the original Italian, but the then current French version that preceded the English translation called *Mind and Society* by about twenty years—and Durkheim's then untranslated *Les Règles de la méthode sociologique*, *Éducation morale*, and *Le Suicide*; as well as the works of Halbwachs, Mauss, and Lévy-Bruhl.

After his retirement he was, for the year 1941-42, president of the Adult Education Council of Chicago. He took part, actively although informally, in many academic and public affairs. Indeed, three weeks before he died, he participated in the discussion of the current problems of Africa held on the University of Chicago campus by the Norman Wait Harris Foundation.

The published work of Ellsworth Faris is

nearly all written in what was his favorite form, and one in which he excelled, the imaginative, but sharp, trenchant, and clear essay. He gathered thirty-two of them together in his book *The Nature of Human Nature*. The headings under which he grouped them in the book show the foci of his intellectual and human interests: the group and the person; conduct and attitudes; sociology and education; sociology and ethnology; and the sociology of racial conflict. Among his most outstanding papers is his discussion of the problem of instincts, summed up in his paper, "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" (*American Journal of Sociology*, XXVII [1921-22], 184-96), and *The Nature of Human Nature*, pp. 61-72), also "The Sect and the Sectarian" (in *The Nature of Human Nature*, pp. 46-60) and "The Subjective Aspect of Culture" (*Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIX [1925], 37-46). His pointed criticisms of concepts, of books, and of whole systems of thought which he considered wrong or pretentious are models of lucid, incisive scholarly writing.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIMPSON AND YINGER'S *RACIAL AND CULTURAL MINORITIES*

December 16, 1953

To the Editor:

Lewis Killian, in reviewing George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (*American Journal of Sociology*, LIX, No. 3 [1953], 290-91), takes the authors to task for their conjecture that northern urban Negroes may have become Communists "in somewhat higher proportion than have whites." The reviewer cites this statement as an example of the tendency of the authors to "so qualify their statements that the reader can easily read into them his own preconceptions." I am indebted to Professor Killian for citing substantially contrary evidence to the above observation of Professors Simpson and Yinger, in my own book, *The Negro and the Communist Party*.

I share the reviewer's generally favorable impression of *Racial and Cultural Minorities*. However, I would like to call attention to another statement of the two authors which needs qualification; namely, that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare "was in the hands of Communists" by the time of its 1940 convocation. My book is cited as the reference for this statement as well as for a number of others made in a section, "Deviant Political Action and the Negro." I attempted to make it quite clear that the Communist delegates and their associates were not successful in pushing through their uncompromising "peace" policy despite the fact that Communist strength in the SCHW had increased markedly during the eighteen months prior to April, 1940. In this connection I cited official Communist sources which lamented the SCHW's rejection of the official party line as of that time.

Any convention that passed a resolution

condemning Communist aggression—as did the 1940 SCHW assembly—could hardly be said to have been "in the hands of Communists." And a convention in which non-Communist liberal and labor groups fought back rather effectively against the "capture" maneuvers of the party—as was the case in this instance—can hardly be charged with succumbing to Communist domination. True enough, the Communists eventually succeeded in getting a death grip on the SCHW, but this did not occur until a number of years later. It was clearly evident by 1948, when most of the various state committees of the SCHW became the principal instrument for the Progressive party in the South.

I am sure that the misconstruction of my material was entirely inadvertent on the part of Professors Simpson and Yinger, and this, along with other minor errors, does not detract from the general merit of their work. I have chosen to call attention to this point only because the timing of the Communist capture of the SCHW has been of such protracted controversy in the South and elsewhere and because the Simpson and Yinger volume is certain to enjoy a considerable circulation.

Sincerely,

WILSON RECORD

Sacramento State College

December 31, 1953

To the Editor:

We are happy that Professor Wilson Record has pointed out our error in stating that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was "in the hands of the Communists" by 1940, when in fact the Communist control over the organization came several years later.

On another point that both Professor

Record and Professor Killian (in his review) make, we are somewhat bewildered, since we agree with them. They are impressed by the lack of success that the Communist party has had in winning Negro members. We, too, stress that point—frequently citing data from Record's study. On page 429 of *Racial and Cultural Minorities* we write: "From the beginning of its history in the United States, the Communist party has stressed 'the Negro question.' Special studies, special publications, and a very considerable amount of time and resources have been devoted to Negro causes. This extensive activity has enrolled only an inconsequential number of Negro members in the party." On page 254 we write: "Negroes in northern cities, for example, have not become communists in large numbers (although perhaps in somewhat higher proportion than have whites), despite intensive efforts by the Communist party to win them." Our qualified guess in the parentheses is based partly on Professor Record's data. On page 177 of his book, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, he writes: "However, it would appear on the basis of previous patterns as well as current estimates that probably not more than ten or fifteen per cent of Communist Party and Young Communist League mem-

bership was colored during any of the united front years. This would be a ratio approximating that of the Negro to the total U.S. population." (Fifteen per cent, of course, would be a ratio higher than their proportion in the population.)

We certainly did not intend at any point to take issue with the basic idea that Communists have been singularly unsuccessful in appealing to Negroes. It is a mistake, however, to exaggerate this point to the extent that one forgets that in the United States, where many Negroes have enjoyed only second-class citizenship, some tendencies toward deviant political activity are to be expected. In our study of this question we have tried, at various points, to move from description to analysis, seeking to discover the conditions under which such tendencies might be expected to grow or decline. If we are to understand *why* Negroes have resisted communism so strenuously and to get some idea about probable future trends, attention to such variables seems desirable.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE E. SIMPSON
J. MILTON YINGER

Oberlin College

NEWS AND NOTES

ERRATUM

To the article by Ørjar Øyen and Melvin L. DeFleur entitled "The Spatial Diffusion of an Airborne Leaflet Message" (September, 1953, pp. 144-49) should have been appended the following credit and permission line:

"This research was supported in part by the United States Air Force under Contract AF33(038)-27522, monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication, and disposal in whole and in part by or for the United States Government."

The American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama.—The society announces an award to be granted in the year 1953-54 for the best paper dealing with research, theory, or experience with group psychotherapy and psychodrama. The award shall be \$150, to be made only if the judges feel that a worthy report has been prepared during the year. The judges' committee shall consist of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a sociologist as follows: Jules H. Masserman, Robert W. White, and Ernest W. Burgess. Meetings of the society will be held on May 2 and 3, 1954, in St. Louis. For further information write to Edgar F. Borgatta, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

University of California at Berkeley.—Ray Mangus, of Ohio State University, and Dorothy Dyer, of the University of Minnesota, will be visiting professors teaching the sociology of the family during the first six-week summer session, June 21-July 30.

Judson T. Landis will be director of a

family life workshop, July 12-23. The workshop will be addressed to persons interested in family life education in schools and colleges and will emphasize the latest research and programs. Its staff will include Ray Mangus, Dorothy Dyer, Clark Vincent, Earle Marsh, and other specialists. Those interested should write to the Extension Division for further information. Professor Landis has been named program chairman and conference director for the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, to be held at Mills College, Oakland, California, July 8-10, 1954.

University of Chicago.—Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus in the department of sociology and consultant to the university's Industrial Relations Center, is spending the winter quarter in Melbourne, Florida, continuing his study of old age and retirement.

A new institute, the Population Research and Training Center, has been set up at the university. The director is Philip M. Hauser; associate directors are Donald J. Bogue and Otis D. Duncan—all professors of sociology—and Evelyn Kitagawa is research associate. The center is developing a program leading to the Ph.D. in sociology and courses to train students in demography.

David Riesman, professor of the social sciences in the College of the University, has been appointed a member of the department of sociology.

Arrangements have been made whereby the National Opinion Research Center staff will take an active part in the program of instruction and training in research of the department of sociology.

Everett C. Hughes requests that persons who have letters of more than personal interest written by the late Professor Robert E. Park send him copies, or else send origi-

nals which may be copied and returned to the owners. He would also like to hear from anyone who knows of fugitive manuscripts of Park's.

Committee on Disaster Studies.—The urgent need in official agencies for scientific information on disaster problems and the opportunity to foster basic scientific work in a variety of fields have caused the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council to set up a Committee on Disaster Studies under the council's Division of Anthropology and Psychology. Because of the increasing interest in disaster research, the many disciplines involved, and the great need for exchange of information, the committee has established a Clearing-house for Disaster Studies. The clearing-house requests reprints and information on reports, especially unpublished reports, on disaster studies or related research and would appreciate hearing from investigators with studies in progress, in order to compile currently useful references.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.—At the fall meeting at Harvard on November 21, the following officers were elected: chairman, Prentiss Pemberton, Andover-Newton; vice-chairman, Werner Wolff, Barc; secretary, Walter Houston Clark, Hartford; treasurer, Jacqueline Y. Sutton, Harvard. Advisory board: David Barry, National Council of Churches; Talcott Parsons, Harvard; J. Paul Williams, Mount Holyoke. Area chairmen: James Luther Adams, Meadville Theological School, University of Chicago; David Eitzen, University of Southern California, School of Religion, Los Angeles.

The next meeting will be on Saturday, April 10, 1954, in New York.

For information write the secretary, Dean W. H. Clark, Hartford School of Religious Education, Hartford 5, Connecticut, or one of the area chairmen.

Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective.—The conference, which is to be

held in Honolulu from June 28 to July 23, 1954, under the joint sponsorship of the University of Hawaii, the University of Chicago, and the University of California, will seek to evolve a conceptual framework for the world-wide study of race relations. It will be limited to thirty members drawn from the several social sciences and from regions of the world where race relations are critical. A steering committee, consisting of Andrew Lind, Robert Redfield, and Herbert Blumer, is in general charge.

Eastern College Conference on Functional Education.—The third annual conference on field-work training in the physical and social sciences and education will be held April 23, 24, and 25, at Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts. Fifty eastern colleges are members of the conference. Chairman for 1954 is Harry M. Shulman, of the City College of New York. Mary Ellen Goodman, of Wellesley College, is program committee chairman, and Weldon Welfling, of Simmons College, is chairman of the committee on arrangements.

Educational Testing Service.—Staff changes and new assignments have been announced by the Testing Service at Princeton by Henry Chauncey, president.

Warren G. Findley, formerly director of test development, has become director of the evaluation and advisory service, and Anna Dragositz, its associate director.

Two new staff members have recently been added: Wesley W. Walton is responsible for all Educational Testing Service activities in the sponsored scholarship field, and Benjamin Shimberg is special research assistant in educational television.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation.—The Fund for the Advancement of Education established by the Ford Foundation has made a grant to seven liberal arts colleges in Southern California for the support of a series of intersubject graduate seminars and colloquia in the humanities and social sciences.

The seven are: Claremont College (Claremont Graduate School), Claremont Men's College, Pomona College, and Scripps College (all in Claremont); Occidental College (Los Angeles); University of Redlands (Redlands); and Whittier College (Whittier). The new intercollegiate program has been designed to afford an opportunity to a limited number of graduate students in social studies and humanities and of teaching interns to augment specialized inquiries with study of their place and import in a social, historical, and philosophical context. The graduate program leads toward the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees.

Students possessing a Bachelor's or Master's degree from a college of recognized standing may apply for admission. For 1954-55 ten \$1,200 scholarships will be available. Admission to the program presupposes that one is a graduate student in one of the seven colleges. Thus an applicant should apply for regular graduate standing in the college at which he desires to enrol and also in the intercollegiate program. The double application should be addressed to the Director of Admissions of the selected college.

Gerontological Society, Inc.—The 1954 meeting will be held on September 10-12 at the University of Florida, Gainesville. The *Journal* regrets giving incorrect dates in the January issue.

Graphic History Society of America.—A new organization has just been founded to assemble collections of pictures of particular subjects, to discover the whereabouts of extensive specific collections of pictures, and to find out what artists and photographers are now devoting themselves to special subject matter. The first general meeting of the members, who now number about 200, was held in New York last December 1. They are editors, writers, historians, curators, photographers, art historians, collectors, and others who are interested.

Eye to Eye, the bulletin of the society, is published four times a year, and subscrip-

tion is included in membership in the society, whose annual fee is \$10. Issues of *Eye to Eye* include surveys of collections on western river steamboats and medical illustrations, of the Missouri Historical Society's photographic collections, the Wisconsin State Historical Society's current photographic exhibitions, and a map and notes to indicate the concentration of pictures relating to individual states.

Inquiries may be addressed to the Graphic History Society of America, P.O. Box 4402, Washington, D.C.

Group Farming Research Institute.—Three agencies devoted to research in group farming were founded in Europe last year.

Le Bureau d'Études coopératives et communautaires (B.E.C.C.) was founded by the Federation of the French Communities of Work (L'Entente communautaire), in Paris last March. Its research activities comprehend community theory and practice, such as the history of utopian socialism, workers' movements, and the history of co-operative associations; industrial psychology and sociology; and studies of interpersonal and intergroup relations. A semi-annual bulletin is being planned.

The Sektion für die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens was established in Cologne in July on the initiative of Gerhard Weisser, professor of Sozialpolitik at the University of Cologne. The first item on its agenda is the study of the village of Huettschenhausen in the Palatinate, the first co-operative village in postwar Germany. The study is being undertaken jointly with the Forschungsinstitut of the University and will utilize the test battery for co-operative groups developed by the Group Farming Research Institute. René König, successor to Leopold von Wiese, founder and first director of the Forschungsinstitut für Sozial- und Verwaltungswissenschaften, is planning an investigation of the problem of whether, how, and to what extent research tools developed in the United States are applicable to other countries, in particular, Switzerland and Germany.

The International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation, established in Geneva in May, is incorporated under Swiss law. Its purpose is to promote research in the sociology of co-operation, to stimulate the exchange of findings and services among organizations and students in different countries and their publication, including translation. Membership in the council is open to scientific bodies and individuals. Henrik F. Infield, director of the Group Farming Research Institute, is acting chairman of the council and, as such, is preparing its first general assembly in 1954. Among the social scientists who have accepted membership in the council, listed by countries in alphabetical order, are: England, N. Barou and T. B. Bottomore, London School of Economics; France, H. C. Desroche, attaché au Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, and J. Chleq, president of the Bureau d'Études coopératives et communautaires and vice-president of the Entente communautaire, Paris; Germany, G. Weisser and R. König, University of Cologne; Israel, A. Tartakower, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Italy, Adriano Olivetti, head of the Movimento comunità, Rome; Switzerland, E. Steineman, director of the Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, Zurich, and A. Meister, University of Geneva; United States, E. A. Norman, president of the Group Farming Research Institute, and J. Maier, Rutgers University, New Jersey. These act also as editors in their respective languages. H. F. Infield's collection of essays in the sociology of co-operation is being translated into French and German under the tentative title "Utopia and Experiment," and is to be one of the first publications of the organization.

Human Resources Research Institute.—In the news item published in the January issue, p. 393, Stuart N. Adams and George W. Baker should have been listed as program officers.

International Sociological Association.—At the second session of the Council of the

World Congress of Sociology held at Liège, August, 1953, members of committees were elected for the term ending 1956.

Executive Committee: president, Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan; vice-presidents, Georges Davy, Membre de l'Institut, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Morris Ginsberg, London School of Economics, and Leopold von Wiese, University of Cologne. Members at large: Pierre de Bie, University of Louvain; K. A. Busia, University College of the Gold Coast; L. A. Costa Pinto, University of Brazil; G. S. Ghurye, University of Bombay; Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo; T. T. Segerstedt, University of Uppsala; and H. Z. Ulken, University of Istanbul.

Research Committee: chairman, David Glass, London School of Economics; members, the executive committee, *ex officio*, and Ernest Beaglehoe, Victoria University College, Wellington; Alfred Bonne, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College; René Clemens, University of Liège; S. N. Eisenstadt, Hebrew University; Jean-Charles Falardeau, Laval University, Quebec; Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Georges Friedmann, Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers, Paris; A. M. J. den Hollander, University of Amsterdam; S. Huzzayyin, Department of Cultural Relations, Ministry of Education, Cairo; René König, University of Cologne; Lucio Mendieta Y. Nuñez, University of Mexico; Kunio Odaka, University of Tokyo; Stanislaw Ossowski, University of Warsaw; C. Pellizzi, University of Florence; Knut Pipping, Westermarck Society, Åbo; Arnold Rose, University of Minnesota; Helmut Schelsky, University of Hamburg; Jean Stoetzel, University of Bordeaux.

Committee on Teaching and Training: chairman, Gabriel le Bras, University of Paris. Members: the executive committee, *ex officio*, and F. Ayala, University of Puerto Rico; Fernando de Azevedo, University of São Paulo; Pierre de Bie, University of Louvain; Arvid Bordersen, New School for Social Research, New York; K. A. Busia,

University College of the Gold Coast; A. Carneiro Leao, University of Brazil; Armand Cuvillier, Paris; Isaac Ganon, University of Montevideo; Corrado Gini, University of Rome; Ekai Hayashi, University of Tokyo; J. Haesaert, University of Gand; Hassan Kabalan, Université St. Joseph, Beyrouth; Henri Lévy-Bruhl, University of Paris; T. H. Marshall, London School of Economics; and Alfredo Povina, Universities of Buenos Aires and Cordoba.

Administrative Committee: The executive committee, *ex officio*, and Pierre de Bie, David Glass, Georges Friedmann, and René König.

The sterling account and the United States dollar account of the association have now been transferred to the Westminster Bank, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2. Payment of membership fees and charges for the documents and papers of the World Congress can be made to these accounts. An account for French francs is maintained at the Société générale, 29 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris 8°.

The executive secretary-treasurer is T. B. Bottomore; the assistant secretary-treasurer is Elizabeth Adorno.

The office of the International Sociological Association is at Skepper House, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C. 1.

Lewis and Clark College.—Cloyd V. Gustafson is head of the department of sociology. He is at present engaged on a research project in the sociology of religion.

Paul Honigsheim, who served as visiting professor in 1950-53, has returned to Michigan State College, where he will devote his time to writing.

William C. Smith is now serving as visiting professor of sociology. In March the University of Chicago Press published his book, *The Stepchild*.

Miami University.—During the fall quarter the Scripps Foundation of Miami University and the Population Research and Training Center of the University of Chicago jointly established a Population Re-

search Laboratory at the University of Chicago. This laboratory employs graduate students to work on research studies being carried out by Donald J. Bogue. A systematic program of on-the-job training in data handling and data interpretation is included.

Michigan State College.—Glen L. Taggart, formerly chief, technical collaboration branch, United States Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service, joined the staff on October 1 as professor of sociology and anthropology. He will devote half his time to research in the Agricultural Experiment Station, the other half to agricultural extension.

Kenneth E. Tiedke has been granted a year's leave of absence to work with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Cuba, in which he will be associated with Olen Leonard.

Donald F. Rieder was appointed instructor in the department for one year.

Community Health Action: A Study of Community Contrasts by Paul Miller and *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education* by C. P. Loomis *et al.* have been released by the Michigan State College Press.

Midwest Sociological Society.—The annual meeting will be held in Madison on April 15-17, 1954, at the Loraine Hotel, with a general session on Thursday evening; a luncheon, an evening session, and a full schedule of sectional meetings on Friday; and sectional meetings on Saturday. Sectional programs will consist of contributed papers. Tentatively scheduled sections are: social disorganization and crime; social psychology; research methodology; marriage and the family; the community; social structure; the teaching of sociology; population and human ecology; and race and ethnic relations. Further information may be obtained from the president, William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

All sociologists in the Midwest are invited to attend and to become members of

the society. Inquiries about membership should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer, Harold Ennis, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa; or to the chairman of the membership committee, Marston McCluggage, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

University of Minnesota.—Henry W. Riecken, formerly lecturer on social psychology and research associate in the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology. A major portion of his time will be devoted to research, and he will also be a member of the university's Laboratory for Research in Social Relations.

Mississippi State College and University of Mississippi.—The sociology departments of the two institutions inaugurated their co-operative graduate program with the fall semester. Harold F. Kaufman is conducting on the university campus a seminar in community dynamics for the graduate students of both departments. During the second semester, Robert L. Rands, anthropologist on the university faculty, will conduct on the State College campus a seminar in culture and personality. The purpose of these exchange seminars is to make the teaching specialties of each department available to the graduate students of both.

Two co-operative research projects have been organized: Julien R. Tatum (university) will participate in the State College health study. Morton King (university) and Harald Pedersen (State College), together with John N. Barrus, at Mississippi Southern College, are planning to prepare 1950 life-tables for Mississippi and to revise *Mississippi's People*.

Part of the research of Robert L. Rands at the Maya City of Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico, has been published by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, as a monograph entitled *The Water Lily in Maya Art*. The author examines certain evidence of possible diffusion between Maya and the culture of Southeast Asia.

H. Kirk Dansereau joined the university faculty in September as assistant professor of sociology to be responsible for developing a teaching and research specialty in urban and industrial sociology.

State College staff changes include the resignation of Raymond Payne, assistant professor, and the appointments of Albert E. Levak, Dorothy Arbitman, and Richard D. Tannehill as assistants in sociology, and Willis J. Robertson as acting instructor.

Current publications of members of the State College department include those on farm labor adjustment on plantations by Harald A. Pedersen and on social participation by Raymond Payne and Harold F. Kaufman.

Marion T. Loftin is the leader of the new project on the process of, and factors conditioning, a saturation prepayment health insurance program in a Mississippi county. This project is supported to a large extent by a \$27,500 grant from the Health Information Foundation.

National Council on Family Relations.—Meyer F. Nimkoff has been elected editor, and James H. S. Bossard, chairman of the editorial board of *Marriage and Family Living*, official journal of the council. Dr. Nimkoff is professor of sociology at the Florida State University, and Dr. Bossard is director of the William T. Carter Foundation at the University of Pennsylvania.

National Training Laboratory in Group Development.—The usual three-week summer laboratory session will be held from June 20 to July 10 at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine. The purpose of the training program is to sensitize leaders to the existence and nature of the dynamic forces in the small group and to help them gain skill in operating more effectively. The laboratory is sponsored by the Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association and by the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, with the co-operation of faculty members from the universities of California, Chicago,

and Colorado, Harvard University, the University of Illinois, the Ohio State University, Teachers College at Columbia University, the University of Texas, and other educational institutions. Its year-round research and consultation program is supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

For further information write to the National Training Laboratory in Group Development at 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

University of New Mexico.—Mamie Tanquist Miller, who has been a member of the sociology staff since its inception in 1936 and who previously was a member of the department of anthropology, retired to emeritus status on June 30, 1953.

Ellis Scott, who replaces Dr. Miller on the sociology staff and who received his Ph.D. degree from Ohio State University last June, entered active duty in the department last September.

Helen Ellis, assistant professor, director of the undergraduate social service curriculum in the sociology department, is on sabbatical leave during 1953-54. She is doing graduate work in Smith College and in Boston in psychiatric social work.

Ezra Geddes was program chairman for the New Mexico Welfare Conference in 1953. Dr. Geddes has been active in the Bernalillo County Council of Social Agencies, acting as chairman of the welfare division during the past year, and is currently serving as chairman of the agencies' co-ordinating group.

State University of New York.—The fifth annual Marriage and Family Life Study-Tour will sail for Italy, Israel, Greece, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, France, and Austria on June 28, 1954, returning in late August. This educational tour is sponsored by the State University of New York and the National Council on Family Relations and is open only to persons with a serious interest in family life. For further informa-

tion, write the director, Eugene Link, New Paltz, New York.

University of Oregon.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Elon Howard Moore, emeritus head of the department of sociology, on November 16, in Phoenix, Arizona, of a heart condition. Born in Moscow, Michigan, on May 18, 1894, he served in the United States Army in World War I. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1919 from Albion College and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1927 from the University of Wisconsin. He was instructor in sociology at the University of Illinois, 1926-28, professor of sociology at Oregon State College, 1928-35, came to the University of Oregon in 1935, and was made head of the sociology department in 1941, the position which he held until his voluntary retirement in June, 1953. He was visiting professor at Stanford University in the summer of 1932 and at Wayne University in 1939. Professor Moore was an active research scholar. His many articles published in professional journals expressed his primary interest in population, criminology and penology, and problems of the aging. To the last subject he devoted a great deal of time and effort during recent years, completing the manuscript for a book in this field shortly before his death.

Robert Dubin, of the University of Illinois, who is well known for his work in industrial sociology, has accepted the position of professor and department head, beginning next September. He will replace Professor Moore.

J. V. Berreman, professor of sociology, is acting head of the department.

Walter T. Martin, associate professor, has returned from a year's leave of absence on a Social Science Research Council fellowship and is initiating a study of demographic trends in Oregon.

Theodore Johannis has been appointed instructor. He will teach courses on marriage and the family.

Paul Rowan, here on a one-year appointment as instructor, plans to return to the

University of California at Los Angeles next year to complete his doctoral studies.

J. M. Foskett has been partially released from teaching duties to serve as a member of an interdisciplinary team engaged in community research initiated last year under a Kellogg Foundation grant.

University of Pittsburgh.—William E. Edwards has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. A graduate of Columbia, he has done field work in anthropology in Florida, Georgia, Virginia, France, and Switzerland.

San Francisco State College.—A traveling seminar of professional persons to visit Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Egypt will leave New York by air on June 29, returning on September 1. Under the direction of Alfred G. Fisk, professor of philosophy, visits will be made to governmental ministries, educational and social service institutions, and historic sites. The tour is co-operative and not for profit, and college credit is available but not required. Address inquiries to Alfred G. Fisk, San Francisco State College, San Francisco 27, California.

Society for the Study of Social Problems.—Richard A. Schermerhorn, Western Reserve University, chairman of the elections committee, announces the following officers for 1953-54 to take office September 2, 1953, following the society's convention in Berkeley, California: Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College, president; Herbert Blumer, University of California at Berkeley, president-elect; Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, vice-president; Byron Lester Fox, Syracuse University, secretary; Richard A. Schermerhorn, treasurer. Elected members of the executive committee are: Ray H. Abrams, University of Pennsylvania; Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Mabel A. Elliott, Pennsylvania College for Women; Stuart A. Queen, Washington University, St. Louis; Ira DeA. Reid, Haverford College; George Simpson,

Brooklyn College; Paul A. Walter, Jr., University of New Mexico; Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois. Elected to the editorial and publications committee, directors of the society's publication program, including its quarterly, *Social Problems*, are: Hornell Hart, Duke University; Samuel Koenig, Brooklyn College; Elizabeth Briant Lee, Connecticut College for Women; Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota.

Elected to the committee on standards and freedom of research, publication, and teaching are: Reinhard Bendix, University of California at Berkeley; John F. Cuber, Ohio State University; John L. Gillin, University of Wisconsin; Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, Connecticut College for Women; William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin.

University of South Dakota.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death on Thanksgiving Eve of Forrest L. Weller, chairman of the department of sociology.

Born at Continental, Ohio, on May 8, 1904, he attended Manchester College and received his A.B. degree in 1925. In 1927 he received his M.A. from the University of Chicago and in 1945 his Ph.D., his doctoral dissertation being on the Mennonites. He taught history and sociology at Mount Morris College and at Elizabethtown College. In 1945 he came to South Dakota State College and in 1946 he was made professor and head of the department of sociology at the University of South Dakota. In recent years he specialized in the study of the family and is the author of a book dealing with the family which is scheduled to be published this spring.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—The 1954 meeting will be held at the Hotel Adolphus in Dallas, Texas, on April 16 and 17. Five sections will deal with the following topics: communication, marriage and the family, research methods, social disorganization, and social psychology.

The University of Texas.—Rehabilitation in San Angelo and Waco, Texas, following

disastrous tornadoes last spring, are being studied by the department, under grants from the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council and by the Research Institute, Institute of Public Affairs, and the Hogg Foundation of the university. Harry E. Moore is directing the project, and Fred R. Crawford and Ted Brannen are associates. Professor Moore is also continuing his work as co-ordinator of projects having to do with community improvement and Negro participation in the Southwestern Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, a five-year project financed jointly by the Kellogg Foundation and various colleges in the Southwest, with regional offices at the University of Texas.

Carl M. Rosenquist, who has been on leave to do research during the first semester, is engaged in studies of the population of Texas. He is the current president of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Ivan Belknap has completed his study of the social organization of a Texas state mental hospital. He has been appointed sociological research consultant to the Texas Research League, a nonprofit governmental research agency, and in this capacity is analyzing administrative problems in the hospitals, the manpower supply in the psychiatric specialties of these institutions, and the organization of preventive services to elderly potential mental patients.

Walter Firey spent part of last summer in the South Plains and Winter Garden areas of Texas gathering data for his study of the social organization of water conservation. He is also general program chairman of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

E. Gartly Jaco is serving as research consultant with the Board of Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools in an evaluation of transorbital lobotomy, the study to include five-year follow-ups in the social readjustment of patients who have had the lobotomies.

Teaching fellows in sociology for the first semester include Jack E. Dodson, Mark C.

Kennedy, Margaret Nolle, and Joseph M. Weber.

Wayne University.—The department of sociology and anthropology announces a program leading to the Ph.D. degree in sociology with emphasis on urban sociology and social disorganization.

Two, possibly three, graduate fellowships, which are available for the academic year beginning September, 1954, to persons holding the M.A. degree or its equivalent, carry a stipend of approximately \$1,600 per year in addition to tuition (and nonresident fees, if they apply), and require supervised teaching of six hours per week of courses in the lower division.

Western Reserve University.—Joseph W. Eaton has been appointed visiting professor of sociology at the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University. He is on a leave of absence from Wayne University to conduct a study of the application of social science concepts in the teaching and practice of social work. The faculty of the school is actively participating in this undertaking, through a committee headed by Grace L. Coyle and including R. Clyde White, Werner A. Lutz, Helen M. Walker, Margaret E. Hartford, and Josleen Lockhart. The investigation is financed for a three-year period by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Dr. Eaton will also offer a seminar in the graduate school on problems in applied social sciences.

World Federation for Mental Health.—The Federation announces the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health to be held in Toronto, August 14–21, 1954. The theme will be: "Mental Health in Public Affairs." Internationally known leaders will present papers of general interest at the plenary sessions. Technical sessions will be held each morning, with scientific papers and round-table discussions, supplemented by smaller discussion groups.

BOOK REVIEWS

ERRATUM

The *Journal* regrets that in the November issue, page 283, in a review of *Societies around the World*, Volumes I and II, the editor was stated to be Lynn T. Smith *et al.* Under Professor T. Lynn Smith (and not Lynn T. Smith as erroneously printed) the volumes were initiated and prepared. The authors of the volume being reviewed are Professor Irwin T. Sanders and others at the University of Kentucky.

The Black Market. By MARSHALL B. CLINARD. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952. Pp. xvii + 392. \$5.00.

E. H. Sutherland's theory of white-collar crime, which was familiar to his close associates for quite some time but which he stated publicly in his presidential address at the 1939 meeting of the American Sociological Society, is a major development in criminology. It brought new perspectives and discoveries by adding to the population conventionally studied as criminal a very large group of violators never before included. Traits established in the past as typical of the conventional offender would, it now appeared, turn out to be characteristic only of a specific criminal population, while an entirely new set of traits, shared by all criminals, would emerge; and the riddle of crime seemed on the point of solution. It held a promise of higher moral and legal standards by focusing attention on a presumably very large group of antisocial individuals who, by their violations, caused not less but perhaps much more harm than the conventional criminal.

In textbooks white-collar crime soon became a standard topic. Sutherland's *White Collar Crime*, which reported his research into violations of criminal laws by big corporations, while very interesting in itself, did not quite succeed in integrating his discovery into the science of criminology. Now, years later, comes Marshall B. Clinard's *The Black Market*.

A student of Sutherland's, who became chief of the Analysis and Report Branch of the Enforcement Department of the Office of Price

Administration in Washington, D.C., during World War II, Clinard realized his unique opportunity to study black-marketing, perhaps the major and most characteristic of white-collar crimes. In precise and carefully selected language, meticulously observing the canons of research, he makes a careful estimate of the extent of black-marketing in this country during World War II; traces the gradual development of governmental action in the controlling of prices, the rationing of critical commodities, and the regulation of rents; analyzes the attitude of the public; and then discusses three cases: the black markets in meat, in gasoline, and the renting of housing.

In the four chapters on "Black Market Violations as 'Crimes,'" "Were Black Market Violations Unique?" "Explanations of Black Market Violations," and "The Black Market and Disorganization in Our Society," Clinard proves himself a thoughtful, careful, and well-informed analyst. Like Sutherland, he considers white-collar crimes "real" and gives the most detailed discussion yet published of the arguments for and against this point of view. That the final conclusion could be other than that drawn by the author does not particularly matter. Clinard points out that Sutherland explains all black-market violations by differential association, while he himself takes the stand that personality in many cases must be considered: two views which could be somewhat reconciled by turning to Sutherland's statement that differential association does not necessarily explain adventitious criminal behavior (see chap. i of the third edition of *White Collar Crime*).

In the last chapter, "In the Future," Clinard gives way to a strong moralizing tendency, and his pessimism is perhaps accounted for by his wrath against the evildoers.

The book gives a case study of the American black market as white-collar crime but does not develop the implications of this type of research for the general theory of criminality. White-collar crime still remains merely a chapter within the system of conventional criminology, and the task of reaping the full benefit from the concept still lies before us. Is this because the issue of white-collar crime was raised less than fifteen

years ago, and more time is needed? Or is it that the significance of the concept for criminological theory has been overestimated, and all that can be expected is a specific category of offenders and an additional chapter in the criminology texts?

P. LEJINS

University of Maryland

Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality. By KARL W. DEUTSCH. Boston: Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley & Sons; London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1953. Pp. x+292. \$5.00.

In a number of earlier publications (especially *Philosophy of Science*, Vol. XVIII [1951]; *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. XII [1951]; and *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XVI [1952]) Karl Deutsch, professor of history and political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recommended as a model for the social sciences the conceptual scheme popularized by his colleague, Norbert Wiener, under the name "cybernetics" (cf. Wiener's *Cybernetics* [1948] and *The Human Use of Human Beings* [1950]). Cybernetics is a theory of control and "communication" processes in such electronic systems as computing machines and servo-mechanisms (such self-steering machines as "homing" torpedoes). These machines have the characteristic, among others, of adjusting their performance progressively, in response to signals from their own past activity—the now well-known "feedback" principle. Such systems are held to furnish a dynamic equilibrium model much superior to classical models in their approximation of processes of "self-direction," "development," "learning," etc. Although they are analogous to organisms and societies in complexity and dynamics, they can be fully described by mathematical techniques. In this we have the promise of a social science able to deal mathematically with "irreversible changes in structure, . . . growth . . . self-transforming processes, in short, history" (Deutsch, *Nationalism*, p. 2).

Deutsch now for the first time applies the concepts of cybernetics to an empirical problem in the field of the social sciences—description of the characteristic features of nationalism, its sources, "configurations of symptoms," typical

sequences of development. The work is primarily programmatic; it formulates theory and problems and suggests lines of research.

The crucial concept in cybernetics is information. Electronic "communication" systems transmit not events but a patterned relationship between events (e.g., the telephonic transmission of speech patterns), and it is the pattern that constitutes "information." Methods have been developed for measuring this "information" and so obtaining measures of losses and distortions in transmission. These yield measures of the efficiency of a channel and of the relative efficiency or *complementarity* of any stage or part of the system in relation to others. "Communication," then, is a mechanical process, and the term implies nothing with respect to the meaning of the transmitted patterns or the social-psychological processes of interpretation.

It is a truism that the meaning of symbols in communication is a function not of their fixed patterns alone but of fixed pattern and variable social context. Symbols are interpreted in action which varies with the situation of the actors who use them. Measures of visual or auditory pattern may be one possible class of interpretants (to use Peirce's term) that is more appropriate to the situation of engineers than to that of students of social life. How can the author believe that in the mere fact of such measurement we have a new key to our problems? "This development," he exclaims, "is significant for wide fields of natural and social science. Information is indeed the 'stuff . . . dreams are made of.' Yet it can be transmitted, recorded, analyzed, and measured" (p. 69).

A bridge is made from cybernetics to social science by joining the concept of information with the concept of culture, for culture also consists of "patterns." Culture may be divided, for this purpose, into "cultural channels" (relatively fixed communication facilities and perhaps also "habits, preferences, and institutions" [p. 64]; the term is not clearly defined) and cultural "information," consisting of those elements of culture considered to involve communication (e.g., "knowledge, values, traditions, news, gossip and commands" [p. 64]). Information, in this sense, is the central concept for the study of nationalism. "Cultural complementarity," the efficiency with which individuals or groups transmit cultural information, is the basis of community and of nationality and increases or decreases with various changes in social, economic, and political conditions. Cul-

tural information is measurable, and measures of cultural complementarity can be derived from it. This is said to be one of our major tasks, and a number of possible procedures are suggested, such as measuring the relative complementarity of individuals or groups from different cultures by observing differences in their performance on word-association tests (p. 84) or their ability to join together in task groups (p. 82). Another use of the concept of complementarity is demonstrated in a study (chap. vi) of national assimilation in countries of heterogeneous culture. Subcultural groups are assimilated to the culture of the dominant group as their cultural complementarity increases, for complementarity means availability for communication. The author divides the population into segments in different degrees of complementarity, or readiness for assimilation to the culture of the dominant group, on the basis of degree of familiarity with the dominant language. Rates of change in the size and distribution of these population segments, calculated from census data, show assimilation trends and permit predictions about the future course of assimilation.

It is evident that the cybernetics model, when applied to society, produces confusion of theory and oversimplification of problems. It might also be noted that no new method of "measuring" cultural "information" is actually described—nor could we have expected any. The original error of equating mechanical "information" transmission with meaningful communication has been compounded by further pairing with the exceedingly abstract notion of culture. After these transformations it can serve at best as a vague analogy, not as a basis for measurement. In fact, the author is able to use his model, in much of his discussion, only by introducing many social, political, and economic relationships and processes which are not placed in the cybernetics scheme (e.g., division of labor, migration, social mobility, intermarriage, racial antagonisms, class alliances, political coercion, etc.). And one is not surprised to find the expression "social communication" creeping into the text with its old-fashioned connotations of "sharing" of ideas (p. 65) and "mutual understanding" (p. 72).

Oversimplification by analogy probably has its value in science, and sociologists may find sections of this book suggestive, especially the final chapter on national "will" and "consciousness." But after reading it one feels that, if the engineers stopped misrepresenting their field as

a science of "communication," we would be spared a great deal of unnecessary confusion. Some less anthropomorphic name like "code networks" or "signal systems" is recommended.

DONALD HORTON

University of Chicago

Man and Modern Society: Conflict and Choice in the Industrial Era. By KARL DE SCHWEINITZ, JR., and KENNETH W. THOMPSON. With the collaboration of PAUL K. HATT. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953. Pp. xii+849. \$5.25.

The author-editors of this work are an economist specializing in comparative economic systems (De Schweinitz) and a political scientist with a particular interest in political thought and international relations (Thompson), the co-editor of a similarly unorthodox and stimulating volume, Morgenthau and Thompson's *Principles and Problems of International Politics*. The authors know what they talk about in their own numerous contributions and are guilty of no vague generalities. Moreover, the choice of readings is generally admirable, ranging from the "old classics" from Aristotle to Machiavelli and on to Marx and Weber to what one may call "contemporary classics," whose most significant and succinct statements are by Churchill, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Arnold Toynbee.

Due recognition is given to three problems which range among the biggest of present-day worries: the social and political effects of industrialization (chaps. vii ff.); the combined population-resources problem (chap. i); and the problem of how to preserve the peace in a bipolar power-world (chap. xii). Here, for once, sufficient emphasis is placed upon the different theoretical approaches to international relations and their bearing on foreign policies. While, in general, the authors have avoided the pitfall of trying to be "up to date" with discussions of "latest events," which all too often renders such books dated at the time of publication, a few items on contemporary problems subject to rapid change, such as policies of and toward Germany, might have been omitted. On the other hand, the impact of atomic energy and the atomic weapon on domestic and international society might well have been illustrated concretely; after all, we all now live in the shadow of death, and atomic affairs are not mere "current affairs." There might well have been some discussion, more specific than that in the related

selections from Louis Wirth and Erich Fromm, of the impact of mass society and mass civilization on the "atomized" individual, for instance, by means of a selection from David Riesman and, on totalitarian man in totalitarian society, from Koestler and Orwell. Also, bibliographies of the basic literature would be useful after each chapter. But these are minor criticisms or rather suggestions for the second edition of a volume which deserves a long life and wide acceptance.

JOHN H. HERZ

College of the City of New York

The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*. Edited by M. POSTAN and E. E. RICH. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952. Pp. xv+604. \$9.00.

Feudal Order. By MARION GIBBS. New York: Henry Schuman, 1953. Pp. vi+147. \$1.00.

The Cambridge Economic History is an important addition to the contemporary output of scholarly surveys through which specialists in one branch of social science may keep in touch with progress and differing points of view in other branches. Studies of medieval economic activity have always led into investigation of its social context and, in France and Germany, have long supplied grist to the sociologists' mill. Their influence on American sociology, however, has been exerted almost solely at second hand, via Weber, Simmel, and Sombart. Save for G. C. Homans' early work, there has been almost no continuing touch with medieval researches later than those that the German masters used.

The Cambridge series now summarizes and interprets material which is largely the fruit of this later work, the bulk of which has never been fully reported in English. While the older work has come to be used so as to represent medieval society as highly static, research has been steadily charting a complex course of change and regional variation. The contributors to this volume cover an immense span of time, from prehistory to the beginning of the sixteenth century, yet they concentrate throughout on the theme of change in technology and demographic movement as well as in economic organization. Social and political pressures making for the rigid regimentation of economic life are not overlooked but are seen as effective only near the close of the Middle Ages, when trade declined. French and German corporate towns

that persisted in "well-regulated stupor" until the French Revolution may therefore be described as medieval only in the limited sense that they were continuing a trend begun in the late Middle Ages. Their long persistence in it was the product of postmedieval conditions.

The writers cast their interpretations in terms of the interaction of a common range of variables, with some differences of emphasis. Childe, in an introductory chapter, gives his conclusions as to the origins and diffusion of specialization in industrial skills and in trade in the prehistoric cultures. Walbank and Runciman, in all too brief surveys of the Roman and the Byzantine empires, inevitably add stress on political considerations. The medieval West is presented through studies of three industries: woollen textiles by E. M. Carus-Wilson, mining and metallurgy by Nef, and building and quarrying by G. P. Jones. These deal with the progressive solution of technical problems and with the organization of production, which was in each of these industries early affected by the power of capital in one form or another. Two long and fluent chapters on the trade of northern Europe and of the Mediterranean area, by Postan and Lopez, respectively, serve to tie the whole together by means of extraordinarily comprehensive views of regional development and interregional relations. Postan's, in particular, is written with an eye to all the major problems that are today a matter of such acute concern in the modern "underdeveloped" areas. Lopez offers the richest account yet written in English of the high business civilization of medieval Italy, and he also makes adroit use of the limited space at his disposal for relations with the Moslem world.

Gibbs's little book is the third of a new paperback series launched by Henry Schuman, paralleling the "Past and Present" series in Britain, on the assumption that college students might conceivably tire of plug books and classics and appreciate thoughtful essays by writers who are either specialists in their subject or who take the trouble to keep abreast of modern research in it. Gibbs's purpose, plainly enough expressed and modestly carried out, is to suggest, through a picture of medieval English society, that the reaction against studying the influence of "the economic context" on political and social institutions that has followed the Western rejection of Marxist sociology has gone too far. Since he deals mainly with the peasantry, the chief use of his essay will be in reminding readers of Eng-

land's long essential dependence, for material advance, on the improvement of agricultural yields. This reminder may be a useful corrective against the currently popular tendency to attribute too much to new types of industrial entrepreneur. However, his conception of group interests and his view of the medieval church are both too limited to allow him to give an adequate account of feudal order.

SYLVIA L. THRUPP

University of Chicago

American Life: Dream and Reality. By W. LLOYD WARNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xvi+268. \$3.75.

The revised form of a book which had been previously published in Great Britain, *American Life* can be considered, retrospectively, as an introduction to the research that Warner and his students have carried on for more than twenty years. Nearly every chapter refers to one or several of the well-known works: "Yankee City Series," *Democracy in Jonesville*, *Social Class in America*, *Who Shall Be Educated?* *Color and Human Nature*, and *Radio's Daytime Serial*.

The present book fulfils very efficiently its main purpose, to describe the real features beyond the ideas, dreams, and myths of American society: inequality of opportunities, separation of social classes, resistances of ethnic minorities to Americanization, and existence, under regionally different forms, of a caste system. Warner provides a public of nonspecialists with many excellent examples of the necessity of the relativism which is a normal introduction to any sociological analysis.

The innovation here lies in the growing emphasis given to the study of symbolic behavior, for instance, in the analysis of Memorial Day—and we know that the fifth volume of the "Yankee City Series" will be entirely devoted to the subject—and to the study of the social determinants of personality. In at least two chapters—"Social Persistence and Personality Development" and "Mass Media: A Social and Psychological Analysis"—the use of projective techniques in anthropological research is strongly stressed.

The fruitfulness of the research is nevertheless limited by Warner's system of social stratification. The social classes he defines are part of a

system of classification, useful divisions of a continuum more than directly observable social realities. For that reason the relativistic approach does not lead to any more sophisticated analysis. Why do the members of different classes hold different opinions and why precisely these opinions? We are caught in a vicious circle: Mr. Brown is a member of the lower upper class because he behaves in a certain way, and he behaves that way because he is a member of the lower upper class. The concept of class is deprived of any explanatory meaning. To go further we have to give up a too-easy system of formal classification. For instance, it must be said that the upper class is directly or indirectly a ruling class, that a community is not only a network of interpersonal relations but first of all part of a socioeconomic system which has a certain structure, a certain dynamic, and in which very often conflicting interests struggle. Warner is anxious to broaden the description of a community, too often limited to economic analysis. It is certainly legitimate and fruitful to include in the research every aspect of social participation, as Halbwachs tried to do as early as 1913. But such a description cannot be considered as more than an introductory step, and by the method he uses Warner deprives himself of any conceptual instrument for a further analysis.

The anthropological view, such as it is defined here, is unable to explain the *raison d'être* of the realities it describes. Warner, for instance, wants to focus the research more on persistence than on change. But how is it possible to understand the persistence and the transmission of social values if one does not define precisely social origin and the role of these values? Generally speaking, it is dangerous to define society as a "system of interconnected, interdependent social statuses and social relations," as far as such a definition can divert from the fundamental problem: How are these social relations determined? For instance, why does it happen that a certain occupational group not only is considered as superior but is actually superior, the evaluation being at least largely a recognition of a fact for which the witnesses do not feel responsible. Such remarks do not presuppose any particular conception of social organization and especially of what social classes are. We only want to point out that a too strongly "operational" definition of social class results in limiting the research to descriptions which are, to be sure, very stimulating and very

fruitful but which fail to provide us with any new elements to analyze the problems which Marx, Weber, or Mannheim dealt with. The exclusive privilege granted to the public opinion research methods involves a sociological narcissism. Society contemplates itself and, identifying itself with its own image, becomes immobile. This conservative functionalism can be best observed in the study of the soap opera. Warner defends the daytime serial which "provides moral reliefs, values, and techniques for solving emotional and interpersonal problems." Actually, it is true that certain programs help the feminine audience to accept their present situation. Warner himself points out their conformist, conservative role; but does not the function of the soap opera look different if we try to define it in relation not to the whole society globally considered but to the groups who control the mass media? Radio, press, or movies are not an expression of the society in general, or even a spontaneous creation of the audiences. Warner compares the creations of the mass media to the folk arts, but is not the peculiar nature of the mass media that they provide some people or some groups with a hitherto unknown power of manipulating the tastes, the feelings, and the attitudes of a large audience? In other words, if the function of a cultural artifact is defined directly in relation to society as a system of social relations, the only possible conclusion is that all aspects of social life are interrelated and perform positive functions. If we want to go beyond this easy observation, it is necessary to break down the system of relations and to examine its internal structure.

But it is clear that these remarks do not impair the main interest of the book. It will help a large audience to become more conscious of the society in which it lives, to cast healthy doubts on myths which fail to correspond to surrounding realities, and to fill the large gap which exists between ideology and actual behavior. Few books from this point of view are more provocative than *American Life*, in which Warner has brilliantly presented the main results of his studies, whose influence has already given rise to a vast movement of concrete research on contemporary American life.

ALAIN TOURAINE

Centre d'Études Sociologiques
Paris

Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions. By A. L. KROEBER and CLYDE KLUCKHOHN. ("Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology," Vol. XLVII, No. 1.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952. Pp. xiii+223. \$5.25.

This most unusual and interesting monograph by two distinguished American anthropologists marks the first professional attempt to make an inventory of definitions of culture and to trace, critically, the gradual emergence and refinement of the concept. The most significant parts of the monograph are comments on the definitions and other passages cited, which reflect the authors' own views on controversial questions. Above all, the work as a whole reflects their conviction that theoretical, comparative analysis of basic concepts in social science is an essential prerequisite of progress. Thus, the monograph is not merely a semantic history of the word "culture" but an examination of the premises underlying differences in definition, undertaken with a view to arriving ultimately at a basic uniformity.

Of one hundred and sixty-four definitions cited, slightly over half are by anthropologists. They are arranged in various groups or categories: descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural, and genetic. There is considerable overlapping, and some authors, especially Kluckhohn and Kelly, appear in almost every category. While the authors scrupulously refrain from adding a one hundred and sixty-fifth formal definition of their own, they do present a useful summary of the basic components of the definitions and passages. Culture is said to consist of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may be considered as products of action and as conditioning elements of further action (p. 181). Under subgroup F-111 ("Emphasis on Symbols"), the authors cite the definitions by Bain, White, and Davis, beginning with Bain's definition of 1942. They do not refer to Ernst Cassirer's *Die Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (3 vols., 1923-29), the classic expression of the symbolic approach to the philosophy of culture.

Of especial interest is the authors' emphasis upon values as an integral element of culture and as a legitimate object of study for the eth-

nologist. Significance and values are recognized as of the essence of the organization of culture (p. 171) and are said to provide the only basis for its fully intelligible comprehension (p. 173). The authors draw attention to the common and unique values manifested in culture systems, arguing as against extreme relativists, that cultures are not utterly disparate monads and noncomparable entities (p. 176). "Relativity exists only within a universal framework" (p. 178). Nevertheless, they are cautious; like Herskovits, they distinguish between universals and absolutes, while differentiating between "true universals" and values which are merely widespread (p. 178).

Kroeber appears influenced by Kluckhohn in accepting culture as an abstraction of forms or patterns from behavior and an essentially logical construct (pp. 155, 189). Kroeber has certainly gone a long way from his original position that culture is a superorganic reality *sui generis*. But how can culture be treated as an autonomous level of phenomena and at the same time as merely a logical abstraction? The other levels of phenomena, the inorganic, the organic, and the social, are not considered by their adherents as abstractions but as empirical phenomena, and there is no reason for putting culture in a special class.

According to Parsons, whose views are discussed in the book, society is an organization of interpersonal relations viewed as activity which possesses structure (p. 134). These relations and structures are said to be empirical and differentiated from culture forms which, according to the authors, are nonempirical and conceptual. But the authors will not grant that personalities and social systems are concrete systems, while culture is to be understood as an organization of symbols in abstraction from the other components of action. Instead, they argue that social systems and social structure are all equally abstractions (p. 135)—a point which the sociologists will not grant. The real crux of the problem centers about what is meant by abstraction and what is its ontological import. Some anthropologists may maintain that they are dealing only with logical abstractions and that culture has no reality other than that of an abstraction, but they can hardly expect other social scientists to agree with them, conceding that the objects of their sciences have no ontological, objective reality. Thus Kroeber and Kluckhohn have confused the concept of culture, which is a logical construct, with the actual, existential

culture, which is a distinctively human mode of living and acting. Actual human behavior is not merely a precondition of culture (p. 155) but, as a patterned process, constitutes actual culture.

As an inventory of contemporary ethnological thought and as a critical commentary upon some of the controversial issues involved, this monograph merits the most serious consideration of students of social science.

DAVID BIDNEY

Indiana University

Goals of Economic Life. Edited by A. DUDLEY WARD. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. x+470. \$4.00.

These contributed essays make the first of a projected six-volume series on ethics and economic life which originated with a study committee of the Federal Council of Churches. Charles P. Taft, the chairman, contributes a foreword to the book. The second and third volumes in the series—*The Organizational Revolution* by Kenneth Boulding and *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* by Howard R. Bowen—have already been published.

The fifteen essays in the book hardly live up to its ambitious title but are, nevertheless, as interesting for what they implicitly tell about the contemporary problem of science and values as for what the authors explicitly say. They reveal only too plainly how much an unresolved issue this yet remains.

The first five essays are by economists. John Maurice Clark traces the historical evolution of economists' attitudes about economic goals and policies; Kenneth Boulding explores the concept of economic progress; Clarence Danhof uses historical, anthropological, and sociological materials to place economic values in the perspective of human culture; Eduard Heimann makes a comparative analysis of economic systems in order to characterize the nature of capitalism; and William Vickrey discusses a series of questions between economics and philosophy on the goals of economic life.

One comes away with at least two distinct impressions. First, our contemporary economists are sensitive to the value consequences of economic behavior and seem to share a liberal, middle position which John Maurice Clark calls "moving toward a new balance between individual, group, and community." Their general moral position can perhaps best be summarized

in the two principles which Robert MacIver offers in a later essay: the minimum economic conditions and opportunities for a decent and healthy life for all men and the checking of economic power that might exploit individuals or groups or otherwise interfere with a liberal, democratic society.

Secondly, in some places the economists seem to see the relevance of ethics for economic policy but not for economic analysis and thus are concerned with ethical issues as they bear on their function of economic policy advisers. They are clearly on somewhat unfamiliar ground; but they are not satisfied, either, with a quantitative analysis of economic behavior that is morally indifferent to the social consequences of economic action. An exception is the essay by Eduard Heimann, "Comparative Economic Systems," the best in the book. It is better informed in economic history, intellectually more sophisticated, and motivated by a specific moral position. Whether one agrees or not with his Christian concept of a social democracy, he is intellectually and morally stimulating.

There follow four essays viewing the economy in democratic perspective. Robert MacIver writes on the role of government in relation to the democratic economy, Frank Knight explores the conflict between the values of freedom and justice, Clark Bloom decides a consistent governmental economic policy is impossible, and Walton Hamilton analyzes the relation of law to society and moral values. The best of these is Hamilton's, whose sociologically informed analysis of the cultural context of law provides a badly needed contribution to the sociology of law.

Thereafter, the volume moves off in a number of seemingly unrelated directions. Alfred E. Emerson, a zoölogist, tries to demonstrate to social scientists that biology rather than physics provides their model, developing a concept of social homeostasis as the basis for a functional social science. Ralph Linton, in turn, gives an anthropological view of economics. Boldly asserting that anthropologists have discarded cultural relativism as based on a "superficial" study of cultural phenomena, he divides cultural values into thematic values and instrumental values, some of the former being universal, the latter constituting the proper area of cultural relativism. However, Linton's brief discussion confuses rather than clarifies the issue, especially because his universal thematic values seem here to be indistinguishable from

"needs" and "desires" or from certain common human problems, such as "the proper rearing and enculturation of children."

Psychologist Donald Snygg uses the individual-field approach to some problems in economic behavior, postulating psychological identification with others as the basis of ethics. Provocatively, he recognizes that a major problem for an industrial society composed of ever larger groups is the potential limits of individual identification.

The last three essays are by Theodore Greene, a Christian philosopher, and two Protestant theologians, John C. Bennett and Reinhold Niebuhr. Greene seeks to demonstrate the validity of the idea of the objectivity of values, while the two liberal theologians seek to relate their Protestant values to economic action. These values place them in the same camp as the liberal economists, approving a liberal, "mixed economy."

Most of the contributors are reluctant to challenge each other's thinking, though Greene states that extensive written comments were contributed on each one by the others. Moreover, they hesitate to come to grips with substantive issues. Most of the discussion deals with the stock-in-trade of the academic philosophers—the good life, truth, beauty, justice, the good society, etc.—with little relation to the moral dilemmas that vex men in industrial society. Today's strategic issues in economic organization and behavior would have provided an excellent context in which to see the moral implications and implicit values imbedded not only in economic policy-making but in objective analysis.

The twentieth century has seen the first serious (and successful) challenge of the historic assumptions of the relation of science to society. Like all social relationships, it is necessarily defined in terms of values. One welcomes every attempt to explore this problem.

JAMES B. MCKEE

Oberlin College

Politics, Economics, and Welfare. By ROBERT A. DAHL and CHARLES E. LINDBLOM. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xxvi+557. \$5.00.

The subtitle of the book, "Planning and Politico-economic Systems Resolved into Basic

Social Processes," indicates the major objective of the two authors, one a political scientist, the other an economist. They have sought to combine relevant conceptual tools and analyses from their two disciplines into a single conceptual approach and then, in turn, place that in a frame of reference as wide as the scope of social science.

This book is an original intellectual synthesis into a single coherent frame of reference of the contribution of social science to the rational solution of politico-economic problems. The authors make a genuine attempt to synthesize disparate knowledge and integrate different disciplinary approaches. The relation between personality and politico-economic techniques is examined; the recent literature on small groups finds a place, as does political apathy, social indoctrination, social pluralism, the politician as bargainer, social identification, role and personality in the price system, bureaucracy, etc.

The major premises which underlie this work are that the "grand alternatives," such as capitalism versus socialism, are no longer meaningful and serve only to obscure an emerging agreement on social techniques and that there are left of the "grand strategy" of the Renaissance, classic liberalism, and democratic socialism seven goals for social action: freedom, rationality, democracy, subjective equality, security, progress, and appropriate (social) inclusion.

In place of the grand alternatives, they suggest planning, defined as rational social action. Conceiving of planning as rational social action rescues it from the city planners and doctrinaire theorists, on the one hand, and from those contemporary conservatives, on the other, who mean only centralized, autocratic governmental control.

One of the chief merits of this book is that it indicates the limitations of our knowledge and thus presents an agenda of research problems if social science is to widen the possibilities of rational social action.

Each of four major social processes—the price system, hierarchy, polyarchy, and bargaining—is examined in detail. Its characteristics, the gains and social costs in using it, the prerequisites of its rational use, and the limitations of its application are all explored with intelligence, balanced judgment, and scholarly erudition. The consequences for values in choosing among these social techniques run as an extra dimension throughout the work.

Dahl and Lindblom brilliantly execute here an intellectual attempt to restore the liberal's faith in rationality and freedom and make it a meaningful intellectual position; thus, the major effort to eschew the ideological choices of right and left. This liberal outlook perhaps accounts for the authors' emphasis on leadership; each of the politico-economic processes is defined in terms of control of, by, and among leaders. But only in discussing the price system is sufficient attention given to the impersonal imperatives of social structure and culture (class position, social perspective and imagery, group ideology, the distribution of social power, etc.) which limit rational choice and narrow possible lines of social action.

This is a significant and fertile volume, likely to be a landmark for some time in the optimistic return of the social scientist to the decisive issues. Furthermore, it sets for him a basic challenge: to be intellectually relevant and socially responsible.

JAMES B. MCKEE

Oberlin College

The Hebrew Impact on Western Civilization. By DAGOBERT D. RUNES. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. Pp. xiv+922. \$10.00.

This series of articles, edited by the director of the Philosophical Library, offers the usual assortment to be found in such collections and is, further, a kind of "literature" against anti-Semitism. An enumeration of the contributions of Jews to the learning and culture of the West constitutes no answer to anti-Jewish sentiments and writings. The New York telephone book reveals that Jews are common in certain trades, like furs and dresses. Winner's great Jewish national biography might serve to add to the reputation of Jewish writers, but have these observations anything to do with "Hebrew" tradition?

This selection has not been made from the point of view of prominence in Jewish communities. If one bears in mind Goebbels' Institute of Research on the Jewish Question, many articles in this book appear to be a refutation of his assumption that the "Jewish impact" is obnoxious. What is the meaning of the glorious title "Hebrew"—a common language, literature, history, national policy? One of the best articles deals with the Hebrew language in early American learning, but the question of the modern-

ized Hebrew language is not even touched upon. While ancient and medieval literature are treated with competence, no connection is made with the literature of the last century. What, on the other hand, is the meaning of Western civilization? Assimilation to Greek and Roman, German and French, or Anglo-Saxon civilization?

The article on the foundations of American democracy attempts to answer the challenge in the title of the book. When H. P. Fairchild says, on the cover, that there may be some small-minded individuals steeped in bigotry and prejudice whose antipathy and jealousy will be intensified by this remarkable record of achievement, he hits the nail on the head in regard to the whole complex of "anti-anti" publications. Jewish contributions to civilization are on a very high level and anti-Jewish literature is very low in quality. This, however, is no reason to develop, from the inferiority complex of an excluded and exclusive minority, a nationalistic genius-worship.

Like all ancestor cults to stir up national feelings, the legend of representative figures is based on doubtful genealogical credentials. What have Simmel and Durkheim to do with the Hebrew impact on sociology? The cases of Max Norden, Salomon Reinach, or Jean Finot are different because those men were involved in the fight against race prejudice, the defense of Dreyfus, and the propaganda of Zionism. Of the entire list of Jewish sociologists, including Walter Lippmann, Ginsberg, Laski, Oppenheimer, and Mannheim, there is not a single case of demonstrable Jewish influence. These men are Jews by virtue of their Jewish grandfathers. The article on Jewish sociology by L. L. Bernard must go back to the social teaching of the Bible, without a study of talmudic tradition and discussion of the dubious question of the influence of Maimonides on scholasticism, not to speak of the expelled Jew Spinoza and his influence on idealism.

It is wrong also to trace socialism to Jewish origin. Feuerbach, "reputed to have been of Jewish ancestry," influenced Karl Marx, who wrote a violent attack on Jewish emancipation in favor of a general human emancipation.

GOTTFRIED SALOMON DELATOUR

Yeshiva University
New York

Ancient Judaism. By MAX WEBER. Translated and edited by HANS H. GERTH and DON MARTINDALE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952. Pp. xxvii+484. \$6.00.

American students are once again indebted to Hans Gerth and his associates for a translation and editing of Max Weber's important works. *Das antike Judentum* first appeared in six instalments in Volumes XLIV (1917-18) and XLVI (1918-19) of *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. In 1921, the year after Weber's death, Marianne Weber published the essays as the third volume of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religions-Soziologie*. This work is part of his large-scale program of comparative studies of the relation between religious ethics and social and economic organization, the others being the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (partly translated by Talcott Parsons in 1930) and *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (translated and edited by Hans and Hedwig Gerth in 1951).

Only the barest reference can be made to Weber's contribution, through this eminent study, to the sociology of religion. While he imposes certain obvious limitations upon his work by depending almost entirely upon the findings and interpretations of German biblical scholars of the preceding half-century, the materials are always critically used. This is a social-scientific interpretation of Judaism in terms of accepted "higher critical" facts and well-substantiated hypotheses. And, as Weber states, he presents "somewhat new sociological viewpoints." Among the subjects of major importance which he treats are the effects of historical and climatic conditions; the Jewish city-state and the effects of urbanization, with its handicrafts, trade, and finance, on claim structure, social classes, and the power structure; the ethnic factors as they affect social differentiation; the key significance of the Covenant in producing Israel, conceived as an oath-bound "Yahweh Confederacy"; the development of Yahweh as the god of the Covenant, the war-god, the supreme god of the people with the only valid ethic, and finally, in post-Exilic times, as the god of the universe; the development of the Law through the Book of the Covenant, the Priestly Code, and the Holiness Code; the "peasant" or plebeian bent of the ethics; the transition of prophecy from ecstatic sorcery to prediction of doom (save for the "remnant"), on the basis of a culturally sophisticated examination of moral and political tres-

passes; and, highly characteristic of Weber, his treatment of Judaism as the "pariah community"—or the "guest people"—the "exclusive confessional association" of the people of the Covenant and the Law, ritualistically segregated from all others, with its "connubium" and "commensalism"; its "cult center," Jerusalem; and, eventually, its "world mission." There is also, recurrently, the appearance of Weber's conception of charisma and charismatic authority, originally developed in articles in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Part V, treats, among other subjects, Pharisaism, the development of the Rabbinate and its significance in the Diaspora, the part of certain features of Judaism (e.g., Essenism) in early Christianity, and the persistence of the pariah community through time.

There is much valuable historical material concerning sources, origins, sociocultural influences and borrowings, conditions, and developments, as these relate to social structure, the institutions, and, above all, the basic cement of Judaism, its Yahweh cult. Frequent reference is made to both similarities and differences of Judaism and other religions—especially those of India, Egypt, Persia, China, Greece, and Rome, as well as those of the immediate area. But one fact stands out in his treatment: The *uniqueness* of Judaism; it "refashioned" all that it took over.

Gerth and Martindale have prepared a fluid translation, occasionally using colloquial American words (e.g., "debunked," p. 381). Wherever possible, they substitute standard American social-scientific terms for cumbersome German phrases. They have also done a helpful job of editorial reorganization. The work has been divided into parts and chapters with appropriate titles; many of Weber's paragraphs (sometimes two and three pages long) have been broken down into shorter ones for the purpose of segregating ideas, and long sentences have been similarly treated. In this process, however, meanings and specificity of treatment have been scrupulously retained. Weber's posthumously published articles on Pharisaism and the other subjects indicated above have been added as Part V. The Preface by Gerth and Martindale provides an excellent orientation and summary, and a most useful Glossary and an index of subjects and names are added.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Sinn und Ausdruck in der sozialen Formenwelt.

By GERHARD MACKENROTH. Meisenheim am Glan: Westkulturverlag Anton Hain, 1952. Pp. 216. DM. 18.50.

The discontent of the early nineteenth-century romantics with the mechanization and rationalization of life has survived as a literary impulse among German students of the humanities down to the twentieth century. This feeling of discomfort expresses itself not only through the literary retreat to the unrationalized provinces of reality, as from the *Gesellschaft* to the *Gemeinschaft*, but also by the uneasiness with which the extension of the scientific method into the realm of human relations is received, which has led to a lasting preoccupation with the antithetic relationship of the natural sciences, on the one hand, and the social sciences and the humanities, on the other. The insistent wish to codify the latter as a distinct and incomparable field of inquiry has led to an overaccentuation of the difference between the two methods of procedure. If the natural sciences are distinguished by their rational scheme of inquiry and their aim of ultimate mastery of the natural world, what, then, are the alternative end and method of the social sciences? This question was the subject of a methodological discussion in Germany from Dilthey, through Rickert and Spranger, to Scheler. The present study shares with its predecessors the problem, the acceptance of the radical dichotomy, and the uneasiness over the inroads of the natural sciences into the field of human relations. It also bears witness to the author's originality in defense of an orthodox, and, as it appears, losing, proposition.

In the first half of his book, Mackenroth reviews critically American behaviorism, social biology and Darwinianism, Max Weber's "verstehende Soziologie," and Sombart's interpretation of social phenomena. American sociology impresses him as a behavioristically conceived and practiced discipline which substitutes elemental and microscopic analysis and statistical fact-finding for structural interpretation. For this understanding of American sociology the author cites Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Sumner's *Folkways*, Sumner and Keller's *The Science of Society*, Gillin and Gillin's *An Introductory Sociology*, the Lynds' two *Middletown* studies, and—of all things—Thomas and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasants*. Mackenroth attributes the deficiencies of American sociology, particularly its blindness to the meaning of so-

cial phenomena, to its rationalistic orientation toward the control of social reality: "At this point we have to separate ourselves emphatically from an, it seems, lamentable scientific orientation for which only the suitability of the results for the rational mastery of the world justifies the cognitive effort." Max Weber come closer to the author's model of an interpretive sociology, except for his rationalistic construction of the key concept "meaning" as an intended, motivating end of action.

In the second half of his book, Mackenroth develops, from clues gleaned from the writings of Dilthey, Spranger, and Klages, his model of sociological procedure. Human manifestations are the synthesis of three components: the physical, the intellectual, and the psychic. The physical substratum is the passive matrix of symbols and action. The intellectual or rational component is at work in man's cognitive and goal-conscious life, while the psychic aspect of the social process encompasses the central theme of a "verstehende Soziologie," the unconscious attitudes of which individuals or cultures unwittingly betray by the manner in which they pursue their rational—that is, their goal-conscious—ends. What differentiates strata and cultures from one another is not primarily their ends but the ways in which they accomplish them. To understand a social situation is to penetrate its characterological meaning, a meaning never intended by the participants, nor one of which they are consciously aware. In short, that which is peculiar to sociology and which sets it off from the natural sciences is the "style" which human groups reveal by their structure and action. The social world is a characterological "field of expression for psychic substances which structure the social."

That essential portions of sociology differ in procedure from large areas of the natural sciences need not be questioned. Nor can one quarrel with the author's insistence on the autonomy of sociological inquiry vis-à-vis the business of the policymaker, for any scientific endeavor whose justification depends on its short-term utility is condemned from its very beginning to perpetual improvisations. But to eliminate entirely the orientation toward control from the sociological frame of reference is to deprive sociology of both its focus and its communicable method. Without these, sociology cannot fail to revert to the role it played before it became a discipline: that of a meeting ground for visionaries and virtuosos of varying caliber. Macken-

roth's methodological conclusions, following, with commendable consistency, from his premises, serve as an illustration.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Social Evolution. By V. GORDON CHILDE. New York: Henry Schuman, 1951. Pp. viii+184. \$1.00.

Nearly fifty years ago the late Professor L. T. Hobhouse, in *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples*, put to test the principal assumptions of the comparative method. He classified data on some six hundred primitive cultures according to the prevailing ways of hunting and gathering, agriculture, and pastoralism; tabulated the frequencies with which certain institutional forms occurred in each; and ended by finding that the functional relationships which social evolutionists supposed existed between means of livelihood and social institutions were not apparent, especially among hunting and gathering peoples. Hobhouse did find impressive correlations among higher primitives with respect to economic culture and conquest rulership, war, slavery, and the like.

Childe in the book here being reviewed assays the same task once more. However, instead of employing the data of ethnography, he examines prehistory to determine whether or not there is an invariable sequence of changes in all aspects of culture by comparing the entire cultural sequence from savagery to barbarism of peoples in ecological zones.

Childe begins with the same facts of prehistory as the evolutionist, namely, that the sequences of changes observed in "economic" culture among prehistoric man pass through stages designated by the terms "savagery" and "barbarism" but asks the question "whether any similar generalizations can be inferred from the observed successions in other aspects of culture such as kinship systems" (p. 29).

To press the archeological record into this kind of service involves serious difficulties, as is pointed out in the chapter on "The Sociological Interpretation of Archaeological Data." There are, first of all, no definitive criteria for delimiting the different stages of prehistory. There are also the difficulties of establishing the institutional arrangements of prehistoric peoples from inferences drawn from the "hard" culture

which constitutes the data of archeology. For instance, does the presence in the same grave of a man and a woman indicate the practice of *sati*? Or does the discovery of a skeleton with an arrow point imbedded in a bone testify to the presence of warfare? Once again, are differences in the quality of the kind of funerary furniture present in a burial field to be interpreted as evidence of stratification and the beginnings of political dominion?

There are no certain answers to these questions. Resort to the ethnographic record for assistance is not permissible, for the very reason that the assumptions which make the comparative method otherwise available are in question. The fact is, nonetheless, that Childe does again and again allude to similar practices among contemporary primitives. But be all this as it may, after a protracted and tedious examination of the archeological record, the conclusion is formulated that nothing can be known at the present time respecting the social institutions of peoples belonging to savagery. The record for peoples living the age of barbarism is sufficiently full to permit making some inferences. Extended comparisons of barbarian cultures reveal that the finds from area to area are so varied in sequence that nothing can be affirmed positively which will support evolutionary theory. "So on the whole archaeology does not hold out much prospect of correlating social institutions with stages of cultural development as defined in economic terms" (p. 165).

The negative outcome of Childe's researches does not impel him to deny evolution, but he shifts the meaning of the word "evolution" as previously employed, namely, as a term describing the direction of cultural changes, to one describing the processes of change. This leads to confusion, for nowhere does he allude to the mechanism of change assumed to be operative by the evolutionist and from which the latter derives his justification for writing prehistory as he does. Childe has shown only that the historical record does not bear out the evolutionists' assumption of parallel cultural development; the logic of the functionalism which underlies it is not examined.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

As an almost heroic attempt to summarize the state of knowledge in a field of research—"the sociology of science"—the treatment is necessarily a bit thin. An effort to be balanced in all things, a conscientious judiciousness, with the writer's basic optimism, result also in an occasional idealization of the situation and a glossing-over of some important questions.

Among the topics covered are (1) the nature of science, its history through the ages, social influences on its development, its place in liberal and authoritarian societies and its relation to cultural values (there is a careful analysis of the politicization of science in Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R.), pure versus applied science, etc.; (2) the social organization of science in American society—with chapters on the scientist in universities, industry-business, and government; (3) the social process of invention and discovery; (4) the social control of science; and (5) the nature and prospects of the social sciences.

Science, the author concludes, is not to be identified with quantification; imaginative creation of conceptual schemes is its hallmark. Many different social factors mold its evolution, but it always has "an internal structure and a process of action of its own." Science in modern society is distinguished by "very highly generalized and systematized conceptual schemes"; experimental apparatus to extend its powers of observation and control of data (but science is not to be identified with experimental method); a large number of professional scientific workers; and widespread approval of science among both masses and elites. The conditions favoring scientific progress are the cultural values of rationality, "utilitarianism" (i.e., secularism), universalism, individualism, and melioristic progress; and the social structures of a high division of labor, an open class system, and a non-authoritarian political system. The morality of science coincides very largely with the more general morality of liberal society. Science in the free world has flourished—in terms of money spent, scientists employed, research product, and prestige. In America scientists in industry, business, and government as well as those in academic life have made great contributions. Despite some problems, "the necessary kind of autonomy for science seems to have been preserved in this country" (p. 173). "Not only do our values approve of science, but all our social arrangements . . . are integrated with its successful functioning" (p. 210).

Science and the Social Order. By BERNARD BARBER. Foreword by ROBERT K. MERTON. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952. Pp. xxiii+288. \$4.50.

Barber properly emphasizes the crucial importance of acts of individual creativity in the progress of science and points to the universities (especially the few "greats") as the social setting that most nourishes such creativity. Yet, he reports the striking fact that universities in 1947 were spending only about 4 per cent of the total expenditures for science (it was 12 per cent in 1930). Industry spent about half of the total. Yet he does not think that the increasing share of industry and government in the control of science and the growth of large-scale, means-centered research organizations mean slow death for the independent critical intellect. Whatever the understanding of the men at the top in the research hierarchies, however, the consequences of bureaucratic organization in the work experience and outlook of the practicing scientists are what count. The fact that "in wartime and in other social crises there is a great increase in formal 'planning' looking toward more 'applied' science and less 'pure'" is noted in passing (p. 235). Its implications for our time when crises have become routine are not grasped. There is no bold and clear discussion of the impact of war on the scientist.

Barber has mined the available literature with admirable thoroughness. But one wishes that he had spelled out in more detail the questions that need asking; for example: What kinds of scientists are attracted to each institutional arrangement? How are their research problems chosen? What happens to scientific codes and standards in various settings within industry, government, and the university? In general, he excels when dealing with the relations of cultural values and larger social structures to science and falls short when it comes to the inner world of the scientist.

His extensive documentary sources make an excellent bibliography. As the first attempt to assemble the known facts about science in a sociological framework, this is an important book which should stimulate interest in this promising field.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Chicago

Human Relations: Concepts and Cases in Concrete Social Science, Vol. I: *Concepts in Concrete Social Science*; Vol. II: *Cases in Concrete Social Science*. By HUGH CABOT and JOSEPH A. KAHL. Cambridge: Harvard University

Press, 1953. Pp. xxxi+333; viii+273. \$4.75; \$4.25.

These volumes are used as texts in the Harvard College undergraduate course in human relations. The texts were developed for the course by its authors and their collaborators as instructors in the course. Harvard University was an important center where the ivory towers were assaulted by practical men seeking useful ideas. The strong position of the business school and the special role of Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger were particularly significant in this development. This group of students turned to the psychologist Janet, the sociologist Durkheim, the anthropologist Malinowski, and other perceptive students of human affairs like Pareto.

In the Cabot and Kahl volumes the so-called "clinical approach" is suggested as an appropriate method, analogous to that of the medical clinician. The emphasis is upon the observation and study of actual behavior. After a declaration of the method comes a chapter on cultural values and social roles, with selections from Durkheim, Florence Kluckhohn, Linton, Benedict, and Parsons. Four chapters are devoted to the individual, with selections from Piaget, Mayo, and Lewis Mumford. Two succeeding chapters deal with group membership and group processes. The last four chapters of the first volume are concerned with social change, conflicts in values that may occasion it, the role of leadership in organizational change, and the balance between change and social equilibrium. The second volume is devoted to case materials that are designed, after the fashion of the Harvard Business School, to give the student an inductive basis for generalization.

It is probably fair to say that Volume I will not become the classic in the new area of human relations. On the other hand, it is a tentative but provocative synthesis of sociology, psychology, anthropology, and business administration.

ROBERT DUBIN

University of Illinois

Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations. Edited by HAROLD GUETZKOW. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1951. Pp. ix+293. \$5.00.

The research presented here was undertaken by the Office of Naval Research in response to requests by naval officers who had some expe-

rience with social science research during the war. Though convinced that research in human relations would illuminate military operations, the naval officers were, in the main, men trained in the physical sciences, with, therefore, a greater appreciation of operational research. Their concern with personnel problems brought them naturally to the psychologists and to only a limited extent to others in the social sciences. However, at least ten studies in this volume deal directly with the sociological phenomena which a study of leadership and group organization normally entails. Surprisingly minimal use has been made of the findings of sociologists: the only two references to their work in the entire volume are to the occupational status scale of North and Hatt and to Bales's group-observation technique. This research, which was meant to be an interdisciplinary project, gives scant evidence of interaction between psychologists and social scientists.

This book presents brief reports on seventeen projects undertaken by the Human Relations and Morale Branch of the ONR. The volume is an outgrowth of a conference which the ONR held with its advisory panel and contractors in September, 1950. Five of the projects deal with group organization, five with administrative leadership, two with communications problems, five with individual behavior, and one with a comparison of modern cultures. There are also several evaluative essays by research administrators at ONR and the Survey Research Center (University of Michigan).

John G. Darley, chairman of the Human Relations Panel, ONR, in a closing discussion of the general conference, asks: "Why have we not undertaken any systematic study of the birth, development, adolescence, maturity, tension-resolving behavior, aging and death of groups? To reason by analogy we have neither a good taxonomy nor physiology of groups upon which to build our experimental design." He is equally critical of the rigorous inductive approach employing factor analysis used by Cattell as well as of the methods used by the group dynamics people, pointing out that, "while factor analysis may be a useful device in reducing and defining the variables within a given experimental situation, it may be questioned as the primary approach of greatest promise in the new areas of problems with which we deal here."

Sociologists may appreciate the ingenious experimental situations set up in the various

projects but will nevertheless question rightly whether they have yielded meaningful concepts and knowledge.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Groups in Harmony and Tension. By MUZAHER SHERIF and CAROLYN W. SHERIF. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xiii+316. \$3.50.

This book is an attempt to develop theoretical formulations based on a review of empirical evidence in the field of group relations and then to test these formulations by a controlled experiment in a "natural setting." The generalizations sought are to be applicable to all types of groups. This book, as a logical extension of Muzafer Sherif's *The Psychology of Social Norms*, develops further the implications of social norms for both intra- and intergroup relations. Sociologists and social psychologists will be interested in its systematic handling of prejudice and stereotyping by group.

The authors review traditional theories of intergroup relations, based on race, national character, human nature, and leadership, demonstrating their scientific inacceptability. They do an especially admirable job of reviewing the evidence against the Freudian and frustration-aggression theories of intergroup tension, rejecting them as one-sided and inadequate explanations of intergroup hostility.

Then the authors advance what they feel is a satisfactory approach to intergroup relations: the reference-group theory. A reference group is one whose norms have become a part of one's ego structure; it regulates "experience and behavior in relation to outgroups." Ethnocentrism is participation in the in-group values of a group with social cohesion, and social distance scales are internalized norms as to out-groups.

The Sherifs set up the hypothesis that a number of individuals working together toward a common goal will form a group with a system of statuses, roles, and norms; that the norms will include norms toward out-groups; and that whether the stereotypes and patterns of behavior are positive or negative will depend on the functional relationship of the groups.

To test these hypotheses, an experiment was conducted in 1949 at a boys' camp sponsored by the Yale Psychology Department. The boys were not told of the experiment. Interviews with parents and ministers, and sociometric

choices made in the first few days of camp, provided the experimental controls and the basis for dividing the boys into two experimental groups. The authors trace in detail the growth of social cohesion, a system of statuses and roles, and the development of negative stereotypes and hostile behavior after the two groups had been placed in a competitive relationship.

In these experiments the participant observers (posing as camp personnel) recorded their observations only at the end of the day, for the Sherifs believe that a recording observer inhibits normal behavior. Yet both the observer-recorder experimental situation and the natural setting experimental situation are genuine and natural examples of social processes but they *may* be different processes. The observer-recorder, thus, may influence interaction by his mere presence and yet tolerate virtually no reciprocal influences from the group. Since the well-defined observer does not usually consider himself a part of the experimental situation, he therefore may possibly be neglecting a variable influencing behavior. Robert F. Bales, however, is certain that in his experimental groups knowledge of being observed has no significant influence on the process of interaction. However, the possibility exists, and the Sherifs seek to avoid it altogether.

The authors also believe that at this early stage in the study of groups the general trends and developments are more useful than detailed records. They suggest how at "choice points" precise laboratory techniques may be used in studying a group in its natural setting. They then contribute some interesting ideas concerning the introduction of variables in a continuing, experimental, social situation.

By experimenting in a "natural setting," the investigator may engage in an exploratory study in order to formulate new hypotheses as he simultaneously tests other hypotheses. The newly formulated hypotheses can be specifically tested in the same way. Thus the authors set for themselves essentially a limited problem with unlimited possibilities for the development of new hypotheses based on the study of an experimental situation closely approximating the natural setting. Those interested in the study of small groups will find much in the book of interest from a theoretical and methodological point of view on an important current problem.

GEORGE A. THEODORSON

Cornell University

Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory.

Prepared under the chairmanship of A. L. KROEBER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xv+966. \$9.00.

An Appraisal of Anthropology Today. Edited by

SOL TAX, LOREN C. EISELEY, IRVING ROUSE, and CARL F. VOEGELIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+395. \$6.00.

It is now evident that periodic taking of inventory is as important to the efficient conduct of scientific enterprises as it has proved in the past for business enterprises. Taking inventory in a social-scientific field, however, is a much more arduous and much less precise venture than keeping books on a company's assets. For instance, in a mercantile establishment, one either has or does not have fourteen pairs of shoes size 9AAA in stock. But in social science it is not quite so sure that one either knows or does not know the principal causes of delinquency or even the details of the evolutionary process as certainly we might like.

Perhaps one of the principal reasons for this lack of certainty is that the boxes in which we place our scientific merchandise—our concepts, our categories, and our organizing propositions—vary in size, quality, specificity, operational testability, and other important dimensions of organized and systematic knowledge.

It is most gratifying, in light of all the above well-known strictures, to see what has been accomplished by the inventory of knowledge found within the covers of *Anthropology Today*. All the usual adjectives employed by reviewers when they evaluate symposia apply here: unevenness, overlapping principles of organization, imbalance in stress and emphasis, unjustifiable omissions and inclusions. But somehow the symposium rises above all these individual shortcomings and emerges as a major contribution to organized knowledge.

While *Anthropology Today* is much briefer, it can be favorably compared with the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. In it almost every significant concern of working anthropologists seems to have somehow been dealt with, no matter how briefly. The topics are bound together by more than alphabetical succession. When a beginning graduate student in anthropology asks for a way in which to get acquainted, relatively quickly but soundly, with what anthropology is and does, he should be given *Anthropology Today*.

The volume is divided into three main sec-

tions: problems of the historical approach, problems of process, and problems of application. The first two sections are subdivided into method, results, and theory. In the section on application, only results are considered. Altogether there are some fifty essays by as many scholars, who, with certain notable exceptions, comprise a fairly complete *Who's Who* in anthropology.

The first section opens with essays on methods of dating cultural history; and then prehuman and human cultural history are traced from the primates up through New World Anglo-America. Evolutionary theories are then examined.

In the section on process, the subsection on methods has essays on linguistics, psychological testing, interview techniques, experimentation, and processing of anthropological materials. In the subsection on results, there are essays on genetics, the universal categories of culture, culture and personality, national character, and the concept of value, among others. Under theory, there are three distinguished essays on human ecology, physical anthropology, and the relation of anthropology to the social sciences and the humanities.

In the section on problems of application are pieces on growth, medicine, the teaching of language, industry, and government.

A unique and helpful section on technical aids in anthropology then appears, followed by a brief biographical note on each of the contributors. The volume ends with an intelligent and usable index.

The reading of Meyer Schapiro's splendid essay on style was a rare and delicious experience. Some of the most complex and intriguing of problems in the creative life of man are handled in a masterful and illuminating fashion and presented in enviably clean prose.

Similarly, Robert Redfield's essay on the interrelations of anthropology and other social sciences and the humanities is, as usual, graced with a wisdom and phrased in a rhetoric which one wishes were universal among social scientists.

Clyde Kluckhohn's essay, "Universal Categories of Culture," does a genuine service to this strategic concept by summarizing the leading discussions in the literature of sociology, anthropology, and psychology in an admirably compressed and dispassionate manner.

Margaret Mead's piece on national character makes the enterprise of discovery and descrip-

tion of such character *seem* more precise and systematic than heretofore. But closer analysis of the claims made for the improvement in methods of study shows that there is less there than meets the eye. For example, she tries to make Gorer's swaddling-cloth theory of Russian character more palatable by making explicit some of his implicit variables. But since there is no *prior* theory with which to arbitrate among a host of mediating variables which press for attention, Gorer's theory is back where it was in the first place.

Benjamin Paul's piece on interview techniques and field relationships is a valuable statement to laymen of what anthropologists must be prepared to do and put up with while living with their strange savages.

Jules Henry and Melford Spiro are co-authors of a most useful little compendium of what has been and can be done with projective tests in field work. Their summary table of some twenty-four field investigations in which various techniques were tried, and the results, is especially instructive.

Eliot Chapple's article on applied anthropology in industry reveals a discernible bias in favor of his own work and that of his associates. He exhibits the conviction that, when a man and his job are not well matched, the professional consultant should look for discordant elements in his personality and find work to which he can adjust better.

Sherwood L. Washburn's essay, "The Strategy of Physical Anthropology," demonstrates how cleanly and simply a broad-gauge scholar can delineate what the best minds in the field are thinking and why.

It should be quite clear that in this reviewer's opinion most of the volume is genuinely first rate.

An Appraisal of Anthropology Today is too difficult to use for the purposes intended, namely, as a series of critical evaluations of the essays in the mother-volume. The editors apparently worked terribly hard to prune the *Appraisal's* critical comments and organize them into a continuous, if somewhat dialectic, discourse. But the result is often a series of overly short and not very informative spot observations rather than a genuinely illuminating evaluation. Preferable would have been fifty appraisals for fifty essays, each by a specifically selected scholar. Loss in catholicity and spread would certainly have been compensated for in rigor and sequentiality. To the credit of all con-

cerned, however, the discussions in the *Appraisal* are full of healthy dissent.

The most sustained and continuous exposition occurs in the concluding review by Kroeber, but one cannot agree with all his remarks. His view on the guide which anthropology can take from the humanities, as presented here, would not be awry did not one know how he extended these remarks in an earlier symposium to compare unfavorably the effort of the sciences with that of the humanities in seeking the "fundamentals" in life. He asserts, moreover, that there is no longer any reason for ambiguity in the distinction between *society* and *culture*, "with only recent men having culture but with societies extending far back through zoological phenomena." He evidently intends to resolve the problem of the relationship between the cultural and the social by asserting that there is no real problem, since one is relatively old and recurrent, the other new and unique—an unfortunate formulation, especially when he adds that "this contrast seems to deserve precedence over a dichotomy like that of timeless generalization as against time-and-place bound history." Yet this latter distinction has made possible more order in analyses than any other approach to the problem.

Since he rightly insists on dealing with culture as emergent, it is inconsistent, then, to assert that, in Aristotelian terms, "the immediately effective causes of cultural phenomena must reside in human beings." Aside from the ambiguities concealed in the term "reside," if culture is to be treated as emergent, then analysis must not fall back on vague "psychologizing."

Kroeber shows a bias against newer techniques for the study of social behavior which one hoped had vanished by this time. He asserts that "perhaps one of the reasons why cultural anthropologists have gone farther in dealing with values than, say, sociologists or economists, is that they operate less with questionnaires and census data and averages but more with the actual individuals in the community." But can anthropologists rightfully claim pre-eminence in the dealing with values, and who are the not-actual persons dealt with in questionnaires and census forms? And when was the census designed to secure insight into nuances of values? It seems not at all unlikely that we shall continue to learn a great deal, for instance, about values regarding size of family, from census data on how size of families varies with socioeconomic level.

Finally, Kroeber thoroughly misses the complex problems involved in moral relativism as against absolutism when he asserts that all that is necessary is to avoid phrasing the matter in all-or-none terms. What have we learned when we say that "it is really a question of how far similarity (in values) and dissimilarity extend"? However, it is only just to note that Kroeber often shows the true wisdom about, and deep sympathy for, the task of understanding human behavior which we have come rightly to expect from a man of his wide talents and sustained interest.

MELVIN TUMIN

Princeton University

From Savagery to Civilization. By GRAHAM CLARK. New York: Henry Schuman, 1953. Pp. ix+116. \$1.00.

This slim volume sets forth in broad outline the course of the human enterprise from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Beginning with a chapter on the unique character of man's biological inheritance, the author then proceeds to sketch how life "must" have been lived during the successive epochs of progress incorporated in the formula of universal stages of evolution. Missing, however, is the pastoral stage of earlier accounts. The opinion now prevails among the remaining devotees of the evolutionary tradition that herding is far from a primitive way of life and, in any case, is not in the lineal procession leading to civilization.

The apology of the author that, with the recent new paleontological and archeological evidence, it is now possible to admit the essential truth of Victorian evolutionary speculations is not well founded. The past limitations of the evolutionary formula do not lie in the good or bad "history" which may have been incorporated in it. The faults at stake are in method, not in lack of data. The evolutionist has apparently still to learn that in illustrating the Jewish-Christian legend of the course of history he is doing something different from establishing a theory on "the sound basis of fact." It will not do to string on a thread, as though they were beads, earlier and later facts taken from dispersed local areas and then call the results a history of the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization. Until it can be shown what the course of history has been in the many ecological zones of human habitation, there can be no valid generalizations about the history of *Man*.

To affirm that the mind of man everywhere works the same when confronted with similar problems and that culture differences in historical time and contemporary space in some way represent stages in the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization is to ignore entirely, for example, the ecological settings within which life is lived.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

The Primitive City of Timbuctoo. By HORACE MINER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. xix+297. \$5.00.

To many sociologists and a few anthropologists, if a community is a city, it is not primitive, and, if it is primitive, it is not a city. Miner states clearly what he takes a city to be, as to density and heterogeneity of population. He is less explicit regarding his usage of "primitive." Apparently, he simply means non-Western. He tells us that Timbuctoo was chosen for study mainly because it had developed free from direct Euro-American influence. Hostility to non-Moslems had effectively kept out Europeans until 1894, when the city was captured by the French and made part of France's colonial empire, a date so recent that living men can be questioned about the changes under direct European contact.

According to the author, the Timbuctoo project was undertaken to help fill a gap in our knowledge of different kinds of communities. Anthropologists have studied small communities all over the world and, following the sociologists, have dealt with Western or Westernized cities and with rural and peasant communities in the same culture area. But data were scanty on cities relatively uninfluenced by Europe. Hence, characterizations of cities as a community type stand in danger of being culture-limited, as did comparisons between city and noncity.

Miner's primary theoretical interest is to examine the folk-urban conception of Redfield in the light of the Timbuctoo materials. This is done mostly in the Introduction and in the final chapter. The rest of the monograph is offered "purely as an account of the life-ways of a primitive city with all of the problems of acculturation and accommodation that cultural diversity presents." Interpretive passages reflect Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, particularly on ceremonies and other group maintenance proc-

esses. Chapter xviii, "Patterns of Conflict," calls on theories from sociology, social psychology, and psychiatry.

Timbuctoo is a city of about six thousand. Three main ethnic groups compose the population: Arab, Songhoi, and Tuareg. The ethnic groups and subgroups are defined and differentiated by language, culture, status, town or desert residence, and length of time in Timbuctoo. The accounts of the life-ways of the city involve in topic after topic a description of the ways of the city-dwelling portion of each ethnic unit. But the author never forgets that Timbuctoo as a whole is an operating community. There is an excellent analysis of how families, extended families, ethnic groups, and quarters of the city mesh or fail to mesh to make Timbuctoo what it is. One interesting conclusion is that, left to their own devices, the inhabitants have never been able to carry on a continuous collective life. In about eight centuries the city has been run by the Mandingo, Songhoi, Moroccans, Tuareg, and French, and between conquerors it suffered disastrous disorganization.

Probably the book's main contribution to the folk-urban concept is the systematic analysis of behavior in different segments of the social system. Market behavior is characteristically urban; family behavior is characteristically folk. Extended families are less folk than nuclear families. Interethnic relations are notably more urban than intraethnic relations. Miner does not try to put Timbuctoo into a folk or an urban category: he speaks most often of the folk-urban continuum. His analyses illustrate Redfield's point that folk and urban are conceptually distinguishable qualities of all communities.

This excellent book has some defects. The war forced the Miners, husband and wife, to leave the field after just seven months. They had to rely on French-speaking interpreters whose knowledge of that language made them marginal. The book discusses and regrets both of these circumstances. Still, one wonders why the obligations of the Bela to their noble Tuareg masters is not spelled out. Reference (p. 257) to a Bela "of some wealth" is not explained. A more pervasive defect is the not infrequent failure to indicate whether or not the description of a custom or practice is of the ideal or the actual.

Some questions arise. For instance, a game played each year between different quarters of the city is said to be "extremely impersonal and rough" (p. 276). The game is cited in the chapter on conflict as an evidence of disorganization.

Yet conflict as patterned as this might well be treated as an index of organization. Perhaps Arab marital conflicts might be re-examined. If, in a domestic crisis, the husband gets solace from men, if the wife receives comfort from women, if families step in to provide some ultimate security, if everything is quite fully patterned and anticipated, then these marital troubles may not be indexes of disorganization but only evidences of "metabolism" in a functioning social system.

These defects and questions, and a few others that might be cited, bulk small in comparison to the substantial contributions of the book. The most ingenious items in the whole work are three sociograms of personal contacts in connection with birth and naming among Arabs, Songhoi, and Tuareg (Bela). The charts showing who does what to whom reveal three basically distinct family structures.

ASAEL T. HANSEN

University of Alabama

China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations by Hsiao-tung Fei, with *Six Life-Histories of Chinese Gentry Families* by Yung-teh Chow. Revised and edited by MARGARET PARK REDFIELD. Introduction by ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. v+290. \$5.75.

Section I of this book is by Fei. It comes to slightly less than half of the work and consists of seven original essays. The second section, by Yung-teh Chow, is made up of six life-histories. Fei wrote the essays in Chinese, which was then rendered into English with the help of Mrs. Robert Redfield during the brief moment when China was liberated from the Japanese but just before the assumption of power by the Communists. Chow's life-histories were collected among prominent members of the gentry during World War II, when the major part of China was occupied by the Japanese but fortunately in an area not too seriously changed by the occupying power or by the Nationalist government. It is remarkable that the two sections of the book tell many things in common.

Fei's essays explain the origin and nature of the gentry, their role in government, their attitude toward technical knowledge, and their place in the vast rural areas of China. He then moves on to assess the relationship of the villages to the cities, concluding that it is essentially different from that in America and that

one basic problem in China is the transfer of manpower and wealth from the rural areas to the cities, and eventually to foreign countries, the gentry looking on, helpless.

These are stimulating essays, but they suffer from lack of careful and thorough scholarship. For example, Fei reasons that scientific technology failed to develop in China because the governing class, the only literate element, set no value upon technology (p. 73). Yet, as Fei should know, science and technology in the West developed in spite of, not because of, the elite. His idea that technical knowledge should be related to ethical values is an even more bizarre argument: in the West science developed precisely because it was without the restraint of ethical values, while the notion that everything should be subordinated to ethical considerations is characteristically Chinese. Just because the Chinese were so much interested in ethical (human) values, they failed to develop interest in much else.

This is merely one of many examples of Fei's faulty analyses. Reading these pages gives one who knows something about Chinese literary style of writing a feeling that he is reading some traditional Chinese works in Western disguise, with numerous quotations from the classics to substitute for detailed analysis as well as abrupt statements of a broad nature without the bother of scrutinizing the facts and the conclusions. But, in spite of his many lapses into defective logic and superficial thinking, his essays cannot be ignored by any serious student of the Chinese gentry.

Fei's analysis of the gentry is in some ways substantiated by the six life-histories collected by Chow. Fei gained much of his insight into the peasant-gentry relationship through field work in the southwest during his many years of residence there in World War II while Chow's life-histories were drawn from one local community in the southwest not too far away either from Fei's field-work areas or place of residence. The life-histories are not the less important in showing the validity of some of Fei's statements. Here the gentry as persons come to life as scholars, military men, bureaucrats, merchants, gangsters, and reformers. Once again they are shown as not merely evildoers, for, while they do a lot of harm to some people, they may also be sincerely concerned with the welfare of others. Here are revealed the roots of the gentry's corruption and their power. Chow deserves our hearty congratulations on having

given to the Western reading public and scholarly world this intimate picture of the most discussed class in China. It is to be hoped that Chow will soon prepare all the life-histories in his collection for publication as a separate book.

FRANCIS L. K. HSU

Northwestern University

Through the Glass of Soviet Literature. Edited by ERNEST J. SIMMONS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. 289. \$4.50.

Since contemporary scholarship is denied normal access to Soviet society, American sociologists, working in the Soviet field, have devised some suitably indirect means of studying it. Surprisingly, however, content analysis, now a standard tool of sociological investigation, has not been involved in the application of this Soviet literature, perhaps because the discipline lacks a convincing theory of the sociology of literature. In any event, it has remained for the authors of this book, scholars interested in Slavic literature at the Russian Institute of Columbia University, to demonstrate in an admirable fashion the value of Soviet literature as an abundant and reliable source of data on the functioning of Soviet society. Though the methodology they have employed is naturally more literary than scientific, the results, stated in six essays, are yet of considerable interest to the social scientist.

Professor Simmons' introductory essay, "Soviet Literature and Controls," defines the scope of the book and describes the unique dimensions of the problem. Robert Hankin's concluding essay, "Postwar Soviet Ideology and Literary Scholarship," reveals in considerable detail the dynamic interplay of theory and political control on literary production. The four remaining studies each deal with special aspects of Soviet society—Louise Luke's "Marxian Woman: Soviet Variants," Bernard Choseed's "Jews in Soviet Literature," Gene Sosin's "The Children's Theater and Drama in Soviet Education," and Rebecca Domar's "The Tragedy of a Soviet Satirist, or the Case of Zoshchenko."

Simmons' discussion of research methodology in the field and his analysis of the role of the Soviet artist are of particular interest to the sociologist. He observes that an analysis of *what* is distorted because of political control is significant in itself. At the same time he points out that the treatment in Soviet works of background

and daily routine is characteristically reliable, and notes the relative freedom of writing until the thirties, and the fact that, since controls are so pervasive, a small number of Soviet works may serve as an adequate sample. Simmons makes the interesting observation that the sincere Communist author can internalize control "as an article of faith" and find it no impediment; his analogy between the Communist writer and the medieval Christian artist is convincing. For some "true artists," however, as Simmons makes clear, controls create a "suffocating atmosphere."

Miss Luke recognizes at least three broad themes in Soviet literature on the woman, which, she maintains, reflect three successive Soviet policies on marriage and the family. Though her interpretation of the abandonment of the Marxist theory of the family solely in terms of rational and cynical government policy-making is often persuasive, it fails to take into account those prerequisites of family life in any industrial society which make the implementation of Marxism functionally impossible. This is surprising, since, as her references to Parsons and Merton indicate, she is influenced by the functional school of sociology.

Choseed concludes that the Jew receives no more special treatment as a subject of fiction than do any of the Soviet nationalities. He points out, however, that this impartiality in literary treatment did not develop overnight. Although "positive-hero type" Jews were portrayed even in the earliest Soviet literature, the "wailing little Jew" of the civil war period and the "speculator Jew" of the NEP were described in clearly anti-Semitic fashion. The gradual absorption of the Jew into production, the war situation, and the gradual suppression by the government of a specifically Yiddish culture contributed heavily to the change in literary treatment. One wonders if Choseed is aware that in the trade of essential Jewishness for impartial treatment as a strictly Soviet type, the Jewish character in Russian literature has lost much of its authenticity and persuasiveness. In any event, his essay provides the reader with an understanding of how the Soviet government has moved to suppress minority cultural diversity in favor of a purely Soviet nationalism.

Sosin's essay on the children's theater and Miss Domar's essay on the suppression of the satirist Zoshchenko are of less sociological interest than their subject matter warrants. One may very well agree with Sosin's assertion that

the children's theater contributes "mightily" to the political indoctrination and loyalty of the Soviet youth, but the inclusion of statistical data on the theater itself would have made the case clearer. In any event, the student of mass communications cannot help but be impressed by the tremendous opinion-making power of this pervasive Soviet system of state-controlled children's theater. Miss Domar attempts to analyze the position of satire itself in the Soviet Union and to deal in general terms with the problem of literary deviance in the Soviet system, but she seems to fail in both these tasks. Of all the essays in the book, hers alone seems to be little more than a protracted denunciation of the Soviet state.

Hankin concludes that a careful study of "month by month [Soviet] policy mutations" provides the researcher with his best source of data on current Soviet conditions. The author convincingly demonstrates, moreover, that these policy changes are best studied in terms of the shifts in "line" which inevitably follow them in all areas of Soviet scholarship. From an analysis of the literature in Russian history, philosophy, and linguistics, he finds the chief changes in postwar Soviet literary policy to have been "the abrupt tightening" of party controls and the "vast increase in mass indoctrinational activities." He defines the chief changes in postwar ideology to have been "an unprecedented stress on Russian originality, the denigration of bourgeois culture, and pervasive efforts to eradicate from the Soviet scene the slightest proclivity for ideas current in the West"—all of which he explains as a type of historic party response to crises. Hankin has had to paraphrase many Soviet debates on literary scholarship, the extreme readability of which is a tribute to his skill as an author.

Through the Glass of Soviet Literature furnishes such a wealth of data and background material that, it is hoped, it may inspire work of a strictly sociological nature in the future.

ARTHUR BARRON

Columbia University

Ethnic Relations in the United States. By EDWARD C. McDONAGH and EUGENE S. RICHARDS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953. Pp. xiv + 408. \$4.00.

Two authors with different racial and social backgrounds have combined to produce a new approach to the study of what is usually called "race relations." *Ethnic Relations in the United States* "is designed to present a factual picture of the status of selected ethnic groups" (p. vii) through the use of a special and clearly stated frame of reference. Status is thought of as a position or rating a group receives from evaluators (p. 22).

Four different aspects of status are viewed by the authors in their treatment of seven different minority groups: the social, the economic, the legal, and the educational. Some attention is given to variations in status which might be occasioned by time and place; hence the two discussions "The Negro in the South" and "The Negro in the North and West."

Part I, "Understanding Ethnic Relations," gives a rationale for using the concept "ethnic relations" rather than the more generally used "race relations." Part II is on "Analyzing Ethnic Relations." Here the four aspects of status are discussed for the seven minorities: Negroes in the South and in the North, Mexicans, Indians, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, and European immigrants. Discussions of particular minorities by worth-while writers are cited. The final section of the book deals with "Improving Ethnic Relations." Aside from one chapter devoted to trends in ethnic relations, this section consists entirely of a well-selected group of articles. The most significant fact about this book is that it approaches a familiar subject matter in a way that makes possible a comparative study of the major ethnic groups in the United States.

Two pertinent omissions catch one's attention: a full statement from Cox's voluminous work on caste might have been included along with the statements from Park, Warner, and Bogardus and some reference might have been made to work testing the validity of the Myrdal rank order of discriminations—for example, W. S. M. Banks's noteworthy doctoral dissertation at Ohio State University. However, these faults detract little from the general usefulness of the book. The problems for discussion included at the end of each chapter are especially provocative. A special glossary has been included at the end of the book which clarifies terms often used loosely. The book is recommended as complementary to standard works in the field.

JOSEPH T. TAYLOR

Dillard University

The History of the German General Staff, 1657-1945. By WALTER GOERLITZ. Translated by BRIAN BATTERSHAW. New York: Frederic A. Praeger, Inc., 1953. Pp. xviii + 508. \$7.50.

The translation of this comprehensive and objective history of transfigurations undergone by the German General Staff is an added sign of a growing interest in this country in problems of the maintenance of permanent large-scale military establishments.

The Prussian General Staff came of age in an era of reform and national uprisings. The names of its founding fathers—Scharnhorst, Boyen, Grolman, Clausewitz, and Gneisenau—are inseparably linked with widening social horizons and the breakdown of class privileges. Its subsequent career became marked by the peculiar dialectic between the narrow Prussian spirit of caste and privilege, on the one hand, and the strains imposed on this dynastic conception of war by the requirements of modern mass armies, on the other. This onslaught of the spirit of rationalization and innovation against traditional prerogative imbedded in conservative thought was to affect the conceptions of war, the relations between civilian and military authority, and, in particular, the idea of the political responsibility of military men. What is more, the context of "fundamental democratization" in which this reorientation from ascription to achievement occurred brought into question the loyalties of the manpower reservoir. Their allegiance could no longer be taken for granted but had to be actively enlisted. At the same time the overspecialization of the leadership corps ultimately resulted in an insulation which belied the growing lack of distinction between war theater and rear areas as well as the impossibility of quarantining mass armies from the political influences of their time. While Goerlitz touches on many of these themes, this is mainly by implication or in a few widely scattered passages.

The special timeliness of the book is due to its concentration on the events leading to the final demise of the General Staff during and after the abortive July 20 putsch against the Hitler regime. Over half of the book is devoted to the period following World War I. Unofficially, Goerlitz makes it clear, a General Staff in miniature survived in the *Truppenamt*. Yet its prestige and glamour, its privilege of access, the long-term service under one chief instead of a quick successor of a number of individuals, as well as opportunity for large-scale military

planning were things of the past. In trying to preserve the ethos of a Prussian officer while serving the national aims of a country whose regime was fundamentally alien to it, the General Staff learned to make use of intrigue against both Allied control and that imposed by its own government.

The key figure of this era was Seeckt, who tried to weld the army into an instrument uncontaminated by the politics of the times. He incorporated in his person the image of the former Great General Staff and was a rallying point for conservatives looking for a new national community. Goerlitz views the General Staff's subsequent conflicts with Hitler almost solely in terms of the survival of the Seeckt tradition. In fact, one shortcoming of the work is his practice of treating history as the movement of *dramatis personae* across a stage. At one point (p. 293) the notion of co-responsibility is even cited as the prime mover behind the bomb attempt on Hitler, and adherence to the Seeckt-Beck view of the General Staff role is considered the distinguishing characteristic of the conspirators. Such a view (expressed by many German generals) overlooks the broad base of the conspiracy which, among the military, included in Hammerstein a man much more prone to cultivate current political groups and in Rommel a combat soldier much despised by the old army leadership. Nor does it explain why such faithful disciples of the old Seeckt school as Blaskowitz, Salmuth, and Schweppenburg remained at their posts practically to the end.

The General Staff of the Seeckt tradition was congenitally incapable of commitment to the idea of mobilized masses. It adhered to an outmoded organization, so that until the latter thirties there was no staff for combined operations. Goerlitz, in emphasizing Hitler's endeavor to supplant the General Staff by an organization manned by lackeys, ignores the military need for some sort of joint chiefs of staff. In the long run the consistent adherents of the conspiracy were officers who succeeded in breaking through their self-imposed isolation to a recognition of the political forces of the time. This alliance with the civilian sector of the opposition, so far as this reviewer is concerned, seems crucial. For the political responsibility of the old-line soldier was viewed as prerogative; he despaired of the possibility of a mass following for a putsch as much as he despaired of the martial spirit of the population.

Goerlitz' original failure to provide a general

interpretative summary is further aggravated by the translator's deletions. The latter, in an effort to render the work more readable, has cut into such material. Moreover, revisions of the translator, while offsetting some criticisms of the German original, have not always been made with proper care. Some names, positions, and ranks are confused. Owing to the transposition of a passage, the initial reaction of the generals to the *Kommissarbefehl* is placed in the period of the Russian campaign rather than into a conference held the preceding March (as I remember it from *The Halder Diaries*) where Hitler first broached the subject. Such errors, however, are only symptomatic, while the omission of summaries of the aristocratic-commoner composition of the General Staff at various times and omission of other summarizing ideas are indicative both of the inadequate degree to which these are linked to other materials in the original and of the translator's free rendition for the sake of popularization.

For the layman, however, the abridgments should not detract. A comprehensive history of this sort can hardly exhaust all sources and deal with the material from every viewpoint. Yet from the viewpoint of the social scientist a more serious deficiency lies in the failure to define clearly and describe in institutional terms the subject matter of study. This work combines sketches of personalities and of military-political history with descriptions of the officer corps and army organization. While setting the subject matter into a broader context, Goerlitz does not meet the problem of separating influences emanating out of that context from those changes due to internal organization. One would wish for a more systematic and conceptualized examination of such matters as the role of changing relations to political organs, the changing conception of the army's corporate task, and how these could be interpreted in terms of changes in the political and skill structure of the society. Likewise, transformations in the internal structure of the army might have been better followed through in terms of the transition from traditional status to rational orientation, changing technical problems, and the effects of a shift in recruitment base. But perhaps such analysis is in the domain of the sociologist.

KURT LANG

University of Miami

Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church. By DWIGHT W. CULVER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. x+218. \$3.00.

This is No. 22 in the "Yale Studies in Religious Education," several of which have made significant contributions to the sociology of religion. It is based largely on a doctoral dissertation completed at Yale in 1948.

Culver undertakes to "describe the policies and practices of the Methodist Church [which ministers to more Negroes than any other save the Baptist Church] with regard to Negro segregation, . . . not to judge the policies or practices." A subtitle for this volume might read, "A Picture of the Struggle of an Institution To Resolve Conflicts of Value Judgment." Culver's centers of interest are the growth of the Central Jurisdiction (an all-Negro jurisdiction of the Methodist church), the rationalizations offered, and evaluations of them.

His material comes largely from four sources: historical records; interviews with Negro and white Methodist church and church-related institutional officers and leaders; an inventory of present practices in local churches, offices, and educational and social welfare institutions; and a "systematic national sampling of Methodist opinion," which turns out to be a collection of the opinions of some Methodist ministers and officials.

The book is divided into five sections: "The Problem: Christianity and Color," mainly the results of an opinion poll of Methodist ministers and denominational officers; "The History: The Negro Finds His Place in Methodism," most of the material deriving from formal and informal debates over the Negro issue in Methodist unification; "The Central Jurisdiction: An explanation of the System," presenting a defense of the policy and analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of such a jurisdiction for Negroes (included are opinions of some Methodist ministers and superintendents as well as a short analysis of alternatives for the further resolution of the conflict); "Toward a Non-segregated Church: Interracial Contacts in Methodism," based largely on results of a card questionnaire sent to district superintendents and upon interviews with heads of church-related institutions; and "The Future: A Program for Advance," in which are set up "necessary steps" in a program to resolve the conflict between the Jurisdiction's declaration of the Christian Imperative and what it has been able to implement.

The rationalizations given for the forming of the Central Methodist Episcopal Jurisdiction are, Culver says, that it will assure equal representation in the governing bodies of the church and provide an opportunity for Negroes to develop leadership and demonstrate what they can do. Culver concludes that the expectations have not been fulfilled.

The concluding section, on a program, contains little that is new. Culver's methods have been suggested in race relation pamphlets and books for many years. But he merely hints at some of the problems. For all practical purposes he ignores the influence of the C.M.E. jurisdiction on race consciousness among the Negroes; the influence of such an organization on churching in an area; and its effects on a local church that is near an area of Negro expansion or dispersion and on the goal of a nonsegregated community. He does not concern himself with complaints of civic agencies interested in total community integration that the operation of the Central Jurisdiction, as it takes over white churches in changing communities, makes their job much more difficult and that something formulated and accepted as a rather poor but necessary compromise has become rationalized into a wholly acceptable pattern of adjustment.

Those who are seeking additional knowledge of the nature and extent of segregation and the influence of social process upon church belief and practice will find considerable useful material in this book.

MERLIN CLARK

University of Chicago

Israel between East and West: A Study in Human Relations. By RAPHAEL PATAI. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953. Pp. xiv + 348. \$4.50.

The author of this volume, now teaching at Dropsie College and Princeton University, is an anthropologist who for many years lived in the Near East. As he sees it, the story of the new state of Israel is one of culture conflict, its dangers and its possible solutions. Before 1948 the East was represented by the Arabs, the West by both the Jews and the British. Since then, the British have relinquished the mandate over Palestine, and the mass exodus of large parts of the Arab population has left a minority of not more than 10 per cent of Moslems and oriental Christians in the Israeli part of the country. However, the vacuum has been filled by the in-

flux of another oriental population, namely, the oriental Jews.

In interesting chapters on currents of immigration and demographic highlights the author refers to the solemn fact that, while the ranks of Ashkenazic (Central and East European) Jewry were sorely depleted by the Hitler holocaust, Sefardic (Mediterranean) and oriental Jewry was barely touched and that, therefore, immigration from the latter two groups was able to rise from only 14 per cent of all immigrants in the period between World Wars I and II to 32.8 per cent, 57.7 per cent, 50.6 per cent, and 72.3 per cent, respectively, in the first four years after the establishment of the state. The proportion of Sefardic and oriental groups in the total population reached 40 per cent by the end of 1951 and has risen to more than 50 per cent among the younger age groups. Not only do the Orientals have a higher birth rate than Europeans, but infant mortality among oriental immigrants is being reduced rapidly. The Jews from southern Arabia (Yemen), who are hard-working laborers and thrifty family men, show a much greater tendency to settle in the countryside than Jews of other derivations. Thus, it is safe to predict that within a generation the great majority of Israel's urban and rural working population will again be as oriental as it ever was. Only religion and nationality, instead of being Moslem-Arabic, will be predominantly Jewish.

The author poses the problem as a race between the increase of the oriental Jewish population, on the one hand, and the rate of their acculturation to Western standards, on the other. At the same time, as an anthropologist, he maintains that the oriental cultures, or subcultures, of the new immigrants are as valuable as Western culture, and he pleads for their understanding incorporation in preference to a leveling assimilation. Evidence as to which is actually occurring is contradictory. The Sefardic pronunciation of Hebrew, with reservations, is prevalent in the country, but this was derived from European-medieval antecedents and propagandized by Ashkenazic ideologists. In music and dance as well as in the decorative arts and crafts the Yemenites are making an outstanding contribution, somewhat comparable to the Negro's contribution to American civilization. But when it comes to religious practice, the author regrets the crumbling of the customary congregation based on the clan and deplores the social disintegration which accompanies the

breakdown of the extended family and which is manifested in the superficial acculturation of the youth. On the other hand, he is alarmed by the possibility of a powerful alliance between the European Orthodox minority and the religious masses from the East, and he opposes the introduction of Western (liberal) modes of religious expression.

Patai casts interesting sidelights on the incipient stages of the cultural development, the most revealing observation being that the Sefardic group, according to statistical indexes, actually bears the character of an intermediate force between the European Ashkenazim and the Orientals. Whether this will promote cultural unity he does not say. The author further speaks about integration in the schools and in the armed forces, through participation in organizational life, especially the trade-unions and their substitutions, such as health insurance, through the creation of Western associations among the Orientals themselves, through various bills affecting marriage and the family and through intermarriage. He mentions food habits and techniques of building. He considers the irritants of discrimination and prejudice, among which, however, he does not count the disproportionately low representation of Orientals in the Israeli Parliament. There remains ample to say in a follow-up volume or a second edition.

Methodologically, the book is a mixture. It strives to ascribe cultural depth to contemporary phenomena. It is based on a solid foundation of historical knowledge and on participant observation from 1933 to 1951. Statistical data, particularly on trends of immigration, vital statistics, occupational structure, intermarriage, juvenile delinquency, general criminology, school attendance, and housing conditions are employed, whenever available. Photographs are added to illustrate racial types, settlement patterns, and folkways. Interspersed in the general story are accounts of the social structure of typical settlements. Throughout, there are quotations from the writings of others, either for confirmation or for argument, and numerous inferences. The lack of interview materials facilitates generalization without documentation, as for instance, about the basic differences between "East" and "West," and even occasional delusions, such as that the Israeli Arabs "are firmly tied by overwhelming interests" to the state of Israel. The author does not tell us how he comes to know such a thing, and, for this reason, the chapter on the non-Jewish minorities, while in-

formative, is inconclusive. Finally, the closing statement on Israel as the "prime locale of meeting between East and West" seems to take in a little too much. There are many highly significant points of contact between East and West along the line from Casablanca to Honolulu, and we would be hard put to it to say which was the most important of them all. However, Israel is in fact the only place where a nation is being formed out of the fusion of Eastern and Western elements. Patai offers a pioneering account of this process in the language of social science. To present a complete picture would be a formidable task for a team of researchers from many fields.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Forest Hills, New York

Estructura social de la colonia. By SERGIO BAGÚ.
Buenos Aires: Liberia "El Ateneo" Editorial,
1952. Pp. 233.

Sr. Bagú attempts to delineate the origin, character, and development of the social structure of the Spanish, Portuguese, and English colonies in 217 pages, plus bibliography and indexes. In this brief compass an astonishing amount of material is presented provocatively.

The theoretical framework is based on the analysis of caste and class. For the author a social class is a collection of individuals who discharge the same functions within the economic process, ownership of capital or means of production or the nonownership of these things being the basic determinant. Classes, he holds, have other characteristics, but in practice he pays attention only to economic factors. Within a social class are found groups, categories, or social strata whose members share an affinity of interest, occupation, or similarity in economic, social, or political function, and the author winds up with an almost infinite number of social strata. Virtually the only analytical principle employed is that of class conflict, primarily in economic terms, with some reference to struggles for political power. A caste is a closed social group which nonmembers cannot enter.

Bagú states that written history is an opinion (p. 155). To cite a few of his opinions: European society of the Conquest and Colonial period was unrelievedly decadent and vicious, at times a decaying feudalism and at others corrupted by the emerging bourgeoisie. Native American societies, on the other hand, represented idyllic

communities in which "the equalitarian sense persisted in social relations between their members, and there were no privileged groups or classes who benefited from the labors of the others." The few administrative posts were filled through periodic suffrage exercised by an assembly of both adult men and women in the community. The most highly developed society was that of the Incas, ruled, it is true, by a dominant caste, but one that operated with a high sense of social and moral responsibility and did not constitute a parasitic minority, while the masses lived in happy security. This opinion, of course, differs from that of others and might most interestingly be compared with the picture of the colonial Quechua presented in the *Handbook of South American Indians* by George Kubler; especially his account of the reasons for the adherence of the Yanancona class to the Spanish conquerors, to which he attributes much of the success of the Conquest.

In such a condensed work complete documentation is not to be expected, but Bagú indicates major sources for the more important historical statements. He gives a good selective bibliography of twenty-three pages and an interestingly conceived subject index to the Bibliography. It is a little disingenuous that Marx should not be included in the Bibliography. Neither is Lewis H. Morgan, who is directly referred to in an important context.

This review has perhaps dwelt too heavily upon the faults inevitable in so ambitious a synthesis as this. Bagú makes many penetrating interpretations regarding Colonial society which well deserve serious consideration and further analysis.

RALPH L. BEALS

University of California at Los Angeles

Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems.

By URIEL WEINREICH. ("Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York," No. 1.) New York, 1953. Pp. xii+148.

Among social scientists interested in problems of acculturation and ethnic minority groups, the need long has been felt for a book which would summarize the widely scattered research on bilingualism and its relation to culture, society, and personality. Such a book has at last become available in *Languages in Contact* by Uriel Weinreich, Atran Associate in Yiddish Language and Culture at Columbia University.

Dr. Weinreich not only has summarized and evaluated the more than six hundred separate publications pertaining to bilingualism but also has contributed his own valuable formulations of the relation between bilingualism and other sociocultural phenomena.

Fortunately for the nonlinguist, the technical linguistic discussion is largely confined to its second chapter, where the author investigates the cultural linguistic elements—phonological, grammatical, and lexical—which help to produce the phenomenon known as interference—deviations from the norms of either language which result from bilingualism. In the remainder of the work he analyzes and systematizes the information pertaining to the nonlinguistic factors influencing bilingual speech. Of particular interest to psychologists and educators is a chapter on "The Bilingual Individual." Beginning with a discussion of psychological theories of bilingualism, he summarizes available material on how such alleged characteristics of the bilingual individual as aptitude for language learning, facility in switching from one language to another, emotional involvement in the language of childhood, and the use of language for social advancement affect his speech. An appendix summarizes research on the possible effects of bilingualism on the individual's intelligence, group identification, character formation, and related educational problems.

A key formulation in Weinreich's analysis of the relation between bilingualism and its sociocultural setting is his concept of the mother-tongue group, that is, those, of all the people involved, who learned a given one of the languages first. To obtain an accurate picture of the social functions of language in any bilingual community, therefore, the characteristic use of languages in various functions should preferably be described separately for each mother-tongue group, not merely for the bilingual community as a whole. This additional breakdown might show, for example, that the burden of bilingualism is borne entirely by one of the mother-tongue groups, while the other group expects to be addressed in its own language in all cases of intergroup communication. Being represented by a sizable mother-tongue group is as important to a language and its speakers as is priority of learning to the individual.

From the viewpoint of the psychologist, sociologist, and anthropologist, perhaps the most interesting chapter of Weinreich's book is that in which he discusses "language loyalty," a

phenomenon which is to language approximately what nationalism is to nationality. Observing that language loyalty breeds in contact, just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders, and following Linton's analysis of nativistic groups as objectively dominated yet subjectively superior, he proposes as a linguistic parallel that, if one group considers itself superior but in practice has to yield to the other some functions of its language, or has to fill gaps in vocabulary by borrowing from the other language, a resentful feeling of loyalty may be evoked.

Broad as are the implications of *Languages in Contact* for related fields of social science, the book should not be regarded as a definitive study except in its own field of linguistics. The significance of the book to social science generally, quite apart from its usefulness as an index to the literature on bilingualism, lies in its formulation of precise conceptual tools for utilizing linguistic data in interdisciplinary research.

GEORGE C. BARKER

University of California at Los Angeles

Utopia Ltd.: The Story of the English New Town of Stevenage. By HAROLD ORLANS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. xv+313. \$4.50.

In 1944 Professor Patrick Abercrombie prepared for the Minister of Town and Country Planning in Churchill's Coalition Government the *Greater London Plan* which proposed "de-canting" a million people from London, a third of them into eight new "satellite" towns of 60,000 each to be built in a ring a few miles outside and around London. In March, 1946, the Labour government decided to make an immediate start at Stevenage, a town some thirty miles north of London which had then 6,500 population. By February, 1951, only one London family had actually moved into a new home at Stevenage. Government departments by that time were refusing to encourage the transfer of new industry to the new towns and were in fact increasing instead of diminishing the overcrowding at the center of London. Harold Orlans, an American social anthropologist, recounts in this book the delays and difficulties which beset the planners: the dollar crisis and the rearmament program, which prevented the project's being given high priority; political opposition from residents of Stevenage; and lack of continuity,

and perhaps also of ability, in the management of the development corporation.

Orlans' book should be of value to students and practitioners of town planning and public administration, but sociologists may share the author's doubts about pseudo-sociological concepts like "the balanced community" and the "neighborhood" and perhaps even his doubts about the possibility of a sociological contribution to planning. His account of the play of interest groups, although very detailed, is not so conceptualized as to be relevant to sociological or political theory. His book is, however, extraordinarily well written, informative, and entirely lacking in nonsense.

EDWARD C. BANFIELD

University of Chicago

Tomorrow's Chicago. By ARTHUR HILLMAN and ROBERT J. CASEY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. x+182. \$3.50.

Despite the title and interesting jacket, this book is not a plan for Chicago but rather is a discussion, for laymen, of planning in Chicago. One stimulating but all too short section presents the authors' conception of a desired and possible "Future Chicago," but, for the most part, the book is about the many things which have been done or are being done to change the face of the city. The Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, a private organization, sponsored the volume, which was written by Arthur Hillman, chairman of the department of sociology of Roosevelt College in Chicago, and Robert J. Casey, Chicago newsman and author.

The book is divided into three parts: "Chicago's Yesterday," which is a historical introduction; "Chicago at Mid-Century," an appraisal of the current situation briefly covering virtually every aspect of life; and "How Can We Make Chicago What We Want It To Be?" The large number of excellent photographs, charts, and maps make the book especially pleasing and are important visual aids to the text. The Preface states: "It is hoped that the impulse for civic good that was fostered so forcefully by the *Wacker Manual* will be revived in the ambitions and actions of those who read this book." An appendix presents two pages of provocative questions for study and discussion, many of which the professional, as well as the layman, might ponder over. There is also a two-and-one-half-

page bibliography on Chicago and its Metropolitan Area.

Since this is a volume intended to stimulate to action, and was designed as a contribution to knowledge, many materials have been intentionally omitted. Thus, desires of the special interest groups, problems inherent in segregation, disagreement among planners, problems of property maintenance in middle-age neighborhoods, the relationship of the city council to the planner are not treated in this volume. The book may therefore result in an activated citizenry but not necessarily in an informed one.

LEONARD Z. BREEN

Illinois Institute of Technology

"Neighbors or Urbanites?: The Study of a Rochester Residential District." By DONALD FOLEY. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester, 1952. Pp. 75. \$1.00. (Mimeographed.)

Clarence Perry probably never realized how much his espousal in 1929 of the neighborhood-unit principle would stimulate both controversy and research in sociology and city planning. The writings and research, mostly in support of the principle, of Bauer, Bernard, Dahir, Dewey, Foley, Isaacs, McClenahan, Roper, Riemer, and Sweetzer are inspired either directly or indirectly by Perry. This study, an extension of Foley's earlier study in St. Louis, is a new item in the succession of research related to the neighborhood, a succession which must be much longer before any tenable conclusions can be reached about the relationship of urban ecological structure, on the one hand, and interpersonal and/or interfamilial relations, on the other.

The research is an effort to locate contemporary urban life at the correct point along the continuum representing the range between these two extreme forms (i.e., *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, local-cosmopolitan, etc.). A 20 per cent random interview-questionnaire sample (553 selected, 446 completed) was taken in a near-suburban, all-white, area contiguous to other residential parts of Rochester but separated from suburban areas by industrial property. It embraced about fifty city blocks, an estimated 9,000 persons living there in some 2,800 households. The district exceeded the city proper in average home rental, school years completed, professional and semiprofessional workers, and percentage of native-born.

The hypotheses were that city residents are oriented partly locally ("neighbors") and partly nonlocally ("urbanites"); that some residents are strikingly "neighborly," whereas others are "urban"; and that this local-nonlocal axis represents basically a single dimension. The questionnaires were designed to test the importance of formal local facilities (shopping centers, church, professional services); the prevalence of informal "neighboring"; and the extent to which the residents conceived of the district, by name or by boundaries, as an identifiable district or "community."

The first two hypotheses were borne out by the results, which reveal marked contrasts between "heavy users" and "light users" of local facilities and also between "most neighborly" and "least neighborly" residents. The author details the factors correlated with these extremes, employing various statistical measures of significance. The last hypothesis was not substantiated. Despite small positive correlations among the three items of facilities, neighborliness, and district identifiability, he concludes that there are at least two dimensions involved in the so-called neighborhood unit or local district, a position held by a few other writers.

In addition to a thirteen-page appendix summarizing techniques and statistics, Foley's book includes a self-evaluation, indicating both the study's shortcomings and merits. This, and the fact that it seeks answers to social psychological as well as to sociological questions, make it valuable for anyone teaching or doing research on the city. The author is explicitly aware of the fact that his questionnaire was too coarse a screen to hold enough of the variables involved. If more tenable conclusions are to be reached concerning the neighborhood-unit controversy, certain cultural features which have nothing to do with urbanism per se must be held constant.

Few, if any, students of urbanism would disagree with the author's concluding statement: "If the shaping [or understanding] of the future city is to be based on more than philosophizing, the promotion of relevant field studies—cumulative in character and replicable in design—must be pressed." This is such a study.

RICHARD DEWEY

University of Illinois

An Approach to Urban Planning. Edited by GERALD BREESE and DOROTHY E. WHITE-

MAN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. ix+147. \$2.00.

This little book is a collection of essays, each by a specialist, on various aspects of urban planning. There are essays on the planning process, land use and zoning, housing and urban redevelopment, metropolitan transportation, and fiscal programming. Each contributor speaks authoritatively and interestingly on his topic, stating what, in his judgment, the informed citizen should know about the particular aspect of city planning he is writing about. Throughout all essays runs the theme that, in a democracy, planning requires the support of an informed public. And little permanent damage would result from telling sociologists that planners, the biggest users of sociological research for applied work, feel that "planning is just about as socialistic as weeding a garden or taking a tommy gun away from a gangster" (p. 70).

Although reference to the need for research is made in passing, at no place is there a full confession of the small number of verified principles with which planners work. "The comparatively easy part of urban planning is carrying out plans. . . . The difficult part is in determining the objectives of planning—what kind of cities we want" (p. 108). To this a sociologist would be tempted to add: "and in getting sociologists and economists to do the research necessary to give planners some principles they can use in inventing better cities."

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

The American City. By STUART ALFRED QUEEN and DAVID BAILEY CARPENTER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953. Pp. viii+383. \$5.50.

Although this book bears a new title and a change in the second author, it should be treated as essentially a revision—admittedly thoroughgoing—of the well-known 1939 volume, *The City*, by Queen and Thomas. About half the chapters remain substantially the same; another quarter retain their essence in spite of their reorganization; the bulk of six former chapters has been dropped while five essentially new chapters are introduced. Recent research findings and statistics abound, but there are general similarities between the earlier and the current volume, the major difference between them being perhaps a greater emphasis on con-

ceptualizing and measuring differences along a rural-urban continuum. In the Preface (p. v) we are told: "The rising degree of integration of metropolis, city, town, and country into a common metropolitan community has made the older dichotomy of rural and urban unrealistic. We have sought to measure degrees of urbanism and urbanization and to analyze their correlates in social life." Chapters ii and iii stress this theme, and in the latter chapter we are introduced to an "Index of Urbanism." Here Carpenter's own previous research experience is effectively related to Queen's general approach. A careful reading of the rest of the book, however, reveals that this Index is utilized directly at only one other point (pp. 216-18) and that it was difficult to carry the rural-urban continuum evenly and systematically throughout the book, undoubtedly reflecting the dearth of previous research cast in this framework. Certainly it presents a stimulating challenge to urban sociologists for future development.

The authors' "Index of Urbanism" is defined as "the arithmetic mean of 10 separate measures of urbanism," namely, the percentages of each county's population living in incorporated places of various sizes—ranging from metropolitan districts of 500,000 or more to places of 500 (pp. 29-30). While the authors are careful to admit that alternate indexes could have been constructed, it is not clear how carefully they explored the possibility of simplifying their index while preserving the main idea. Kingsley Davis and associates, although working with countries rather than counties as units, first used a similar index that combined only four separate measures in a 1946 research report on Latin America and have since concluded that merely one or two measures would accomplish essentially the same results. Queen and Carpenter's own reporting of high correlations between their index and various other single measures of urbanism further suggests that it might be simpler to employ the same type of index, but with a reduced number of component measures, in future research.

All told, this new volume, like the earlier Queen and Thomas edition, provides us with a mature and competent work. Offering an impressive amount of well-organized and interestingly presented material, it should be a strong contender as a text in its field. The authors have done a scholarly and generally an up-to-the-minute job of summarizing and ordering research findings. A broad array of recent statis-

tics is presented, with considerably more supporting material from the 1950 census than is currently available in any other single text on urban sociology. The strategic use of case materials on the history and characteristics of several specific cities is a favorable feature for teaching purposes. The book maintains an objective tone and avoids unsupported philosophizing about such subjects as urban personality and the goodness or badness of city life.

DONALD L. FOLEY

University of California

Engagement and Marriage. By ERNEST W. BURGESS and PAUL WALLIN. Chicago and Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953. Pp. xii+819.

This monumental study of 1,000 engagements and 666 marriages contains much important new data on courtship and early years of marriage. It represents the most mature example of the studies on prediction of success and failure in marriage, some past criticisms of which have been met in this volume and shown to be not intrinsic. Consequently, we are now in a better position to assess the accomplishments and the prospects of this area of family research.

This research began in 1936 with a questionnaire study of 1,000 engaged couples. The 1,000 eight-page questionnaires were the returns from the 6,000 originally distributed to volunteers for placement with engaged couples. Of the 1,000 engaged couples, 666 were restudied by means of an eighteen-page questionnaire after they had been married from three to five years. In addition, interviews were held with 226 engaged and 124 married couples. For 470 married couples the authors also secured independent evaluations of marriages from friends of each couple. The subjects were predominantly middle class, college-educated, Protestant, and, at the time of engagement, under twenty-five years of age. Some 800 pages and 100 tables of the book report not only the findings of this research but include also a very complete account of methods and results of comparable earlier studies.

The major methodological advance over the earlier prediction studies lies in the use of predictive items obtained *prior* to marriage. Other technical innovations include the use of multiple criteria of marital success (measures which, the

authors rightly claim, can have many uses apart from prediction), the use of *combined* responses of the couple at least to a few questions, improved scoring procedures, a measure of success in engagement with acceptable tests of consistency and validity, a test of the relative stability of several items on personality tests from engagement to marriage, and others.

The results relative to prediction consist first and foremost in the demonstration that items obtained prior to marriage may predict marital success or failure. More specifically, coefficients of correlation of .39 for the men and .36 for the women were found to exist between engagement and marriage success scores. This made success in engagement the best single predictive factor in this study.

Another new predictor was the forecast of marital success by self, parents, and friends, the correlation of forecast with the general satisfaction with marriage being .30 in a sample of men. "Anticipated contingency items" (such as attitudes toward having children, toward wife's working, toward homeownership) showed a total correlation of .21 for men and .19 for women with the scores of marital success.

Though some of the predictors of earlier studies were confirmed, others were not. The happiness of parents, the one and only factor confirmed by as many as five studies, does not appear significant in this study. The multiple correlation between the prediction factors and marital success computed for a sample of 600 men was .5. This means that, though the use of items secured prior to marriage did not reduce their predictive value in comparison with earlier studies, neither has this latest research increased it. Some 75 per cent of variance in marital success scores still remains to be ascertained.

Thus, if the advances have been noteworthy, the distance yet to be covered before the potentialities of prediction are realized is great indeed. As far as the criteria of marital success are concerned, one of several as yet unsolved problems lies in the fact that the measures used still reward consensus at the possible expense of personality growth. Throughout the book and particularly in the chapter, "The Dynamics of Marriage," the authors demonstrate their concern with personality development in marriage. But this criterion admittedly has not yet entered into the measure of marital success. To that extent what has been discovered is the prediction of certain dimensions of marital success.

Success in predicting divorce and data of several cross-cultural studies all suggest that research has tapped some important dimensions of marriage. Nonetheless, it is possible and perhaps even probable that the addition of personality development would modify the present picture of correlates of marital success. The authors suggest, for example, that greater creativity may result when husband and wife are of different rather than identical cultures. But this has been known to lead to conflict. The predictive role of the degree of similarity in cultural backgrounds may, therefore, be different when creativity and not accord is the criterion.

Even more complex is the problem of selection and measurement of predictive items. The authors suggest a number of factors the role of which in prediction remains to be explored. Unfortunately, many of the most accessible predictors are often factors only indirectly related to marital adjustment with many intervening and modifying variables. It is not surprising therefore that the correlations have been low. In future prediction studies priority should be given to the development of indexes for certain more complex factors such as adaptability or compatibility of emotional and cultural roles—factors which present-day students regard as more directly related to marital success or failure.

Although the prediction of marital success is not the exclusive concern of the authors, it provides the central orientation for the whole book. They stress the trend to the companionship basis of marriage and away from marriage "as a relation emphasizing respect, authority, and duty." They consider this to be a result of urbanization and other social changes. Explicitly or implicitly every chapter reflects their concern with the way behavior and attitudes from dating to marriage promote or handicap this emerging companionship type of marriage.

In so far as this research has a theoretical core and transcends the limitations of common sense (desiderata stated by the authors), it does so within the framework of the family as a primary group. Chapters on "The Dynamics of Marriage" and on "Adaptability" contain the most interesting analytical contributions. Four components of adaptability were distinguished: empathy, flexibility, command of appropriate attitudes and roles, and the motivation to adjust. On the other hand, there is little systematic exploration, apart from the introductory chapter, of the thesis that modern courtship and marriage must be seen "in their setting in a

society in transition from a rural to an urban civilization."

Of the numerous findings apart from prediction of marital success, only a few, of course, can be noted here. One deals with the decline of romantic love in courtship and includes a criticism of Waller's theory of idealization. Even if the *causes* of idealization must await further analysis, the *extent* of idealization certainly does not appear nearly so great as Waller's writings would suggest. This constitutes a vivid illustration, if another is needed, of the interplay of insight and empirical research. Waller's keen discernment of idealization opened up a new dimension in the study of courtship. The empirical test not only helps reveal its relative frequency but has led to the search for factors explaining its presence or absence. There is a possibility, however, that the present study has selected the less impetuously romantic and the more prudent courtships. At the time of the engagement study the couples on the average had known each other 45.0 months and been engaged for 13.2. Nonetheless, the authors adduce impressive evidence of companionship and realism (as against infatuation and idealization) in modern engagements.

Noteworthy also are the chapters on the role of sex in engagement and marriage. A large proportion of married couples failed to attain sexual adjustment, a failure which caused greater dissatisfaction in the husbands, perhaps because the wives had a lower level of expectations with regard to sex. But, even for the husbands, sexual satisfaction was not so highly correlated with happiness in marriage as was their love for the spouse. The authors are inclined to consider sexual adjustment at least as much the effect as the cause of success in the other areas of the marriage relationship.

The excerpts from interviews at their best not only communicated the flavor of experience but elaborated and refined the text: Occasionally the excerpts added so little that they might have been sacrificed in favor of including a few sets of complete engagement and marriage interviews.

The book contains the engagement success inventory and marriage adjustment schedules with corresponding tables of percentile norms. The inclusion of results of other studies makes this not only an important contribution to family research but a very valuable reference book.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Barnard College

Income and Wealth of the United States: Trends and Structure. By SIMON KUZNETS and RAYMOND GOLDSMITH. ("Income and Wealth Series," Vol. II.) Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1952. Pp. vii+328. 35s.

These are two papers presented at the Royaumont Conference in August, 1951, of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth. Kuznets' paper is called "Long-Term Changes in National Income of the United States of America since 1870." It presents a short 90,000-word summary of a vast amount of research done by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Department of Commerce, and others on trends in income, capital formation, hours of labor, labor force, distribution of national product by type of industry, the inequality in the distribution of income, distribution to property holders and to employees, changes by decades, and the influence of business cycles. Clear and concise, it suggests an article in an encyclopedia and is the best and most useful account of trends and factors in the income of the United States.

Most of these trends are traced only to the Civil War, in itself a heroic achievement. The unit of time is the decade, the last decade to be reported being 1939-48, the midpoint of which is about the close of the war. Hence the dramatic year-by-year changes since the war to 1953 are not reported.

The authors do not discuss the social significance of these trends and their variations. The book therefore may appear to be economics and not sociology. However, the standard of living, that is, per capita income, is significant to sociologists, who certainly have been interested in social classes and in poverty and its remedies. After all, economic changes are the precipitators of many social changes which would otherwise not occur as they did. Hence this book has great meaning especially to sociologists interested in social change even though the relevance may not be specified in the text. Two illustrations may be cited.

The per capita net national product in 1929 prices increased in the fifty years from 1894 to 1944 from \$406 to \$790, or by 95 per cent; that is to say, it approximately doubled. During the same time the physical production per worker increased 85 per cent, and per man-hour more, of course. These similarities are compatible with the common interpretation that increased income is due to increased production. But why has increased production per worker approximately doubled in a half-century? He works

shorter hours. It would be difficult to claim he works harder. It does not seem probable that management with the same tools could do it, without working labor harder. The most probable explanation is improved technology: the productivity of a worker picking cotton with a mechanical cotton picker, for instance, is twenty-three times as great as that of a hand picker. The increase in reproducible capital (excluding land) increased around 80 per cent in the fifty years, supporting the hypothesis that the 95 per cent increase in our standard of living is, indeed, due in the main to improvements in technology.

This rise in the standard of living suggests the idea that poverty as conceived of at the turn of the century is on the way to being abolished, except in enclaves and for those with inadequate physical and mental endowments, for the inequality in the distribution of income is being lessened. For instance, at the close of World War I, those in the top five percentage bands received 23.6 per cent of the aggregate income flow to individuals after federal income taxes, while at the end of World War II their share was 16.4 per cent.

In 1953 the average family income was a few hundred dollars more than \$3,000 a year. If the trends Kuznets describes continue for another half-century, the average family income will be more than \$6,000, in 1953 prices. If the social classes be defined in terms of income, then the lower classes, as so defined in the first half of the twentieth century, will have almost disappeared, and what we formerly called the middle classes will be nearly everywhere. (We are not speaking of classes here in other terms, as, for instance, rank.) Kuznets' trends have considerable significance for market economists as well as sociologists.

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De Ongeschoolde Arbeider. By J. HAVEMAN. Assen: Van Gorcum & Co., N.V., 1952. Pp. 224.

In 1951 A. M. Kuylaars (*Werk en Leven van de industriële Loonarbeider, als Object van een sociale Ondernemingspolitiek*) suggested that some 70 per cent of the total Dutch working population are in jobs which can be classified as "unskilled." Haveman's study is a contribution to the understanding of the important problem of the unskilled worker.

Haveman seeks to explain the origins of the conflict between the norms of the middle-class

society and those of the unskilled worker (p. 19). He presents his findings (pp. 23-169) through descriptive statistics, sampling industrial workers in Groningen, Leeuwarden, Veendam, and Hoogeveen. The unskilled worker in agriculture is studied in the Groningen, Drentse, and Noord-Overijsselse regions (pp. 83 ff.). By what techniques the sample is drawn and how its representativeness is mathematically substantiated are not indicated. Consequently, the study should be considered a stimulus to further research rather than as conclusive.

Haveman states that the cultural subsystem of the unskilled worker is fundamentally different from the middle-class patterns (pp. 198-202), although he acknowledges that the unskilled worker merely lags behind the middle classes in acceptance of typical middle-class norms (an observation made by the Lynds in *Middletown in Transition* years ago). The author's data (Part I), however, would not seem to warrant any such generalization. Nowhere in the volume does it become clear how and why the differences between the two normative systems should be looked upon as those of kind rather than of degree.

In interpreting the causes of these discrepancies, Haveman, like many of his European colleagues, is strongly influenced by Talcott Parsons. The deviating of his norms is a function of the worker's frustrations, which, in turn, are related to his absence of status or, more precisely, to his inferior position in Dutch society. The social position (the terms "social position," "status," etc., being used by Haveman in the conceptual framework introduced by Ralph Linton) of the unskilled worker is a product of all other positions in the status hierarchy (p. 172). The responses which—from the middle-class point of view—are "deviant" and "abnormal" are but normal reactions to a culturally patterned station in life.

While the skilled worker, whose talents are needed, and who *may* rise, becomes "middle class" himself, the unskilled worker, for whom the society has provided no channels for rising in the world, responds by "deviant" behavior (pp. 188-96). The unskilled worker does not and cannot identify himself with his job; hence the high turnover. He has no security through institutional behavior; for him "job" satisfaction is derived from his primary group (pp. 32 ff.). His religious and political activities are also emotionally structured rather than institutionalized. The street play groups and gangs perform a

major function in socialization and, by and large, perform the role of the school (pp. 200 ff.). In quest for a satisfactory group, he seeks out other unskilled workers and their families, the only people who understand him and whom he can understand, and the gap between his way of life and the prevailing standards is perpetuated and enlarged. Haveman is also right in indicating that a solution, if one can be found, will have to be looked for and worked for by the middle classes. He, himself, offers some constructive suggestions (pp. 216-17).

JIRI NEHNEVAJSA

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The Local Union: Its Place in the Industrial Plant. By LEONARD R. SAYLES and GEORGE STRAUSS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1953. Pp. xv+269. \$3.50.

This is a valuable study. It examines selected aspects of the local labor union with emphasis upon the grievance process, the roles and functions of local union officers, and the issues of union democracy. The authors studied twenty local unions, giving intensive attention to seven. An attempt is made to draw upon other studies whose findings seem to buttress their conclusions, but meat of the volume is contained in the analysis of the authors' own research.

The grievance process is viewed as a system for administratively adjusting the situations of discontent in some meaningful relation to the factory as a social system. A good deal of discontent is mediated outside the former grievance channels by the stewards and other union officials.

The analysis of union officers discusses the kinds of organizational imperatives that play upon union offices. The union steward, for example, is viewed as the victim of almost irreconcilable pressures from above and below. The last section of the volume, where the relations between the union as a formal organization and its membership are considered, is, perhaps, the weakest section of the study, ending with familiar clichés.

This study was carried out under the general direction of William F. Whyte, whose emphasis on interpersonal interaction as a central concept is well known. Sayles and Strauss have moved distinctly away from Whyte's social psychology to the clearly sociological view that individual behavior and interpersonal relations

are the result of social structure and social processes. For example, they suggest typologies of union stewards in relation to types of union structures and union orientation of the work-group. If this is an intended evolution of Whyte's framework, we can expect significant advances in his future research and in that which he directs.

In only a few instances were any attempts made to reduce the data on the twenty locals to anything like quantitative terms. This is puzzling, since apparently the data made it possible. However, the volume is valuable for its collection of data which the perceptive reader may reinterpret. It is one of the better examples of research in industrial sociology.

ROBERT DUBIN

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Psychosexual Functions in Women. By THERESE BENEDEK, M.D. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1952. Pp. x+435. \$10.00.

Every once in a while, and more often than we sometimes admit, there is truth in an old wives' tale. But any scientist who gives evidence supporting such stories will be doubly resisted because he is attacking hard-won sophistication. Such was the fate of the recent studies by the Fels group, suggesting that the emotional state of the mother affects the psychology of the fetus. So Dr. Benedek, too, met with more than the usual skepticism when, in 1942, she first published chapters i-xi of this book (see Therese Benedek and Boris B. Rubenstein, *The Sexual Cycle in Women: The Relation between Ovarian Function and Psychodynamic Processes* ["Psychosomatic Medicine Monographs," Vols. I and II]), relating the stages of the menstrual cycle to subjects' free associations. The shade of the maternal instinct startled too many readers.

The story is quickly told. Dr. Benedek, a practicing psychoanalyst, and Rubenstein, a physiologist, collaborated for a period of ten months. Their plan was ingeniously simple. Fifteen women of childbearing age undergoing treatment for emotional disturbances and psychosomatic symptoms were instructed in the procedures of making vaginal smear slides and of taking temperature readings. Their results, never discussed with the analyst, were sent to an independent laboratory for evaluation. At the same time, records of their free associations during psychoanalytic-therapy sessions were col-

lected. Benedek supervised five of the women's daily therapeutic interviews; other patients' records came from the case loads of analysts at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis and from other cities. In all, 152 menstrual cycles were recorded, with both physiological and interview data, for 2,261 days. When analytic interview findings and laboratory smear and temperature reports were correlated, the interview materials were found to predict the hormonal indices in 94 per cent of the 2,261 days. The criteria for prediction are stated as follows:

Whenever the psychodynamic material showed libidinous desire, activity, or the defenses against it, that is, anxiety and aggression, we predicted estrogen production [p. 81].

Whenever we recognize that the psychodynamic material is dominated by libidinous narcissism, we predict progesterone production [p. 86].

Whenever we find that elimination is the dominant dynamic tendency, we predict decline of progesterone production or low hormone level [p. 90].

The authors interpret their results as reflecting a process in which the physiological changes influence "emotional material" but cannot change its content, which must remain within the framework of the developmental history of the individual. They are convinced that there is, in addition, a definite relationship between the psychosexual development of an individual and her hormone cycles. If she reaches the "genital" level of development without experiencing a fixating trauma in the pregenital stage, the hormone cycles are practically normal (barring the appearance of gross pathological conditions, such as tumors and infections). Such persons can still develop severe psychoneuroses. If the gonadal cycles are normal, the infantile development may still be abnormal. In some cases, sexual function develops first, without adequate biological foundation, and may so disturb the process of growth that normal integration of the mental and physiological processes can hardly be achieved.

The women studied showed different degrees and proportions of imbalance between estrogen and progesterone production. In a case in which the striving for motherliness was the central psychodynamic conflict, the progesterone phases were prolonged. A woman who did not reach a state of emotional maturity and feared being like her mother had sexual cycles with a steady undercurrent of estrogenous tendency, but progesterone production was insufficient.

One patient showed a decline of hormone production when the analyst, on whom she was strongly dependent, left for a vacation.

For most women, however, the pattern seems to follow these steps: (1) the desire for the sexual partner recedes during the outpouring of progesterone; (2) the woman is emotionally prepared for the function of motherhood; (3) if pregnancy does not occur, the corpus luteum regresses, progesterone production diminishes, and the emotional concentration upon motherhood disappears; (4) as the hormone production decreases, the sexual drives lose their libidinous manifestations and pregenital characteristics rise in the interview materials.

The authors agree that, while the hormones may regulate the amount and distribution of energy with which the psychic apparatus must deal in the field of sexual energy, it is incorrect to believe that changes of sexual energy are responsible for all psychic tension; that the basic capacities for love, motherliness, activity, and constructiveness, or the lack of these, depend on hormone regulation. They are present before the sexual function matures; they remain when it stops functioning.

It appears that the four concluding chapters of this book are also reprints of material published earlier. They generally continue with the theme of the relation of hormonal change and its relation to the psychology of women. Specific applications of the menstrual changes, but also of the physiology of lactation and pregnancy, are made in discussions of the relations of mother and child, of the climacteric, and of the functions and disturbances of the sex organs. Sociological readers will find a kind of ambivalence here between an emphasis on the possible importance of glandular function as the direct source agent of psychological processes as against an emphasis on the importance of the social interpretations of such functions in determining their connection with behavior. But, in seeing this at first glance, the reader is urged to look more closely, for Benedek's more sophisticated use of physiology leads to some interesting, testable hunches. From her approach it is possible to suggest that, regardless of its effects on infants, bottle feeding may be a source of disturbance for mothers on purely physiological grounds; that there may be a relation between physiological "preparedness" for lactation and motherliness; that, psychodynamically, the climacteric may be a period of considerable release for the mastery of new tasks; and that there may be periodic shifts in output of sex

hormones in men in a sense analogous to the female menstrual cycle. Current evidence certainly does not warrant the flat rejection of speculation along these novel lines, and Benedek is to be credited with keeping it alive.

Again, if future research supports the empirical results given here, these may provide new techniques for studying old problems—especially problems in such vexing areas as self-control and "nonsymbolic" interaction.

G. E. SWANSON

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The Conception of Disease: Its History, Its Versions and Its Nature. By WALTHER RIESE, M.D. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Pp. 120. \$3.75.

This little volume is aptly named; it is a discussion of medical people through the ages and their efforts to formulate an intellectual understanding of the nature of disease. It is organized as a historical study, but the orientation throughout is philosophical. The author is concerned not with typologies of diseases but with the major conceptual schemes which have been employed to make disease intelligible. Although written by a doctor for doctors, in the language of the philosopher, there is much of interest to the sociology of knowledge.

The author is mainly concerned with a half-dozen conceptions of disease—moral, etiological, entological, anatomical, social, and psychological. Each of these categories is sufficiently broad to accommodate the gamut of human illnesses, running from phagocytosis to neurosis; each has commended itself in different times and places to scholars as an adequate frame of reference to comprehend disease. The author offers the reader a panoramic view, over the ages, of medical men, trying by means of their eyes, their ears, their fingers, and their instruments, with and without the efforts of the ill person, to translate into manageable categories the elusive data of pain and malaise.

Much of the volume could be considered as a commentary on the methodology of the social sciences. Throughout, the reader can find a picture of medical men trying to accommodate their data to the pattern of the natural sciences but beset with the realization that the pattern gives a poor fit at many points. The author's final words are an interesting formulation of this dilemma: "As soon as man's acts become the fateful constituents of history and culture,

they are no longer restricted to the departments of natural science and medicine. Here are the limits of the conception of disease." It may be that this apt epilogue will serve as a prologue for another volume on the nature of illness.

OSWALD HALL

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A Sociologie industrial: Formação, tendências atuais. By GUERREIRO RAMOS. Rio de Janeiro, 1952.

This remarkable little volume was intended to introduce the subject of industrial sociology to the Brazilian public, a purpose which it serves admirably. Moreover, it offers, for the first time, an eclectic survey of the sociology of work, bringing together for comparative analysis a number of scholarly movements which are usually treated separately and relating them to the evolution of the division of labor in ancient and modern times.

In three chapters which describe the division of labor among preliterate peoples, in the ancient world, and in the medieval and renaissance society, Ramos follows Durkheim, Weber, and Radcliffe-Brown in maintaining the essentially instrumental character of social interaction and in associating the long progression from village culture to urban civilization with the gradual elaboration of the division of labor. It is a logical step to the origins of modern rationalism, its early-nineteenth-century influence on social theory, and its late extension into "human engineering." Another chapter pursues the theme of the rationalization of industry, under the double incentive of external demands for reform and internal demands for increased productivity.

Ramos next sketches the outlines of an interesting theory: that sociology itself developed out of the early factory system and represented an attempt to apply principles which were being made effective in factory production to social events. The thesis is not developed at length: many readers will not be easily convinced that "it seems legitimate to conclude that sociology is an industrial product . . . it appears as a science of social reconstruction at the point where industrialization becomes a social problem."

Next, the specific origins of industrial research in Europe are traced back to the seventeenth-century studies of Petty and Dunning in England, the nineteenth-century work of the two

Engels in Germany, of Ducpetiaux in Belgium, and of Villerme and Le Play in France, and forward to such highly current work as the Mass Observation studies and the work of Georges Friedmann and his associates in the Centres des Études Sociologiques. This section brings together in a masterly fashion a number of studies which are usually identified with separate disciplines.

All this material serves as prologue to a careful description of what Ramos calls the "macrosociology" and "microsociology" of industry. The principal macrosociologists, among whom an essential continuity of effort is shown, are a fascinatingly diverse gallery: Marx, Le Play, Weber, Durkheim, William James, Mannheim, Peter Drucker, Warner, Friedmann, and Whyte. By macrosociology Ramos seems to mean at times the study of the implications of industrial organization for the general society and at times the analysis of mechanization and rationalization as elements which modify social interaction. These two meanings are not entirely inconsistent. By microsociology the author denotes the study of the internal structure of the work group, with particular and almost exclusive reference to the work of Mayo. His comments are insightful, and again he provides a simple but original frame of reference in which to set the familiar conclusions of the Western Electric studies.

The last chapter, dealing with the science of human relations, consists largely of a fifteen-page quotation from the report of a sociometric study by J. H. Jacobs, methodologically questionable and confusingly reported. Certainly few scholars would agree that sociometry, with its curious mixture of scientific precision and zealous obscurantism, represents the real culmination of the long effort to grasp the significance of work as a social phenomenon.

There are three useful appendixes dealing, respectively, with scientific management, the diffusion of Taylorism, and "Fordism."

Whether because of its odd ending, or because of its brevity, this volume gives the impression of a preliminary essay which will lead to a longer and more extensive treatise. It is to be hoped that Ramos has some such plan in mind. Meanwhile, it would be extremely useful if this book, or sections of it, were made available in translation. Its broad view of the field provides a valuable corrective for scholarly provincialism.

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SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL ACTION IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LOUIS WIRTH¹

REINHARD BENDIX

ABSTRACT

Louis Wirth did not develop a sociological theory, but he made an important contribution to this field. As a student of Park he emphasized the need for relating firsthand experience to both empirical research and theoretical formulations. Wirth's major purpose was to investigate the degree of consensus necessary for the realization of individual freedom, and he sought to realize this purpose through a simultaneous commitment to social action and sociological research.

Louis Wirth did not develop a coherent sociological theory or system. Yet he often spoke with regret of the many commitments which prevented him from doing further work in this field. However, his opposition to system building in social theory was compatible with his strong interest in theory itself, for he regarded the initial step in conceptualization as crucial. All efforts to build deductive systems merely led to elaborate proofs of what had been already assumed. Since there was little assurance about the first step, theorizing should begin at that point; to do otherwise was a waste of time. And since the first step in theorizing was the most important, then it deserved the most

careful scrutiny. Wirth used to point out that everything in Max Weber's elaborate sociological casuistry depended on his definition of social conduct, which appears on page 1 of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. He complained that all too often even learned sociologists took for granted the basic assumptions on which their critical inquiries as well as their construction of theories depended.

Wirth put heat and passion into his critical endeavor. For a man of his tolerance and liberality he did not suffer intellectual fools gladly. Yet he had a good reason for his impatience. In his introduction to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* he made the point that every fact touches the interests of someone; and he would probably say also that every social theory touches the interests of large numbers. More than most sociologists he was aware of the good or ill effects which ideas have on the lives of men. And it was his compassionate concern with human beings which made him passionate in his intellectual commitments.

¹ It had occurred to me while Professor Wirth was alive that as one of his former students I should write him at some time my understanding of his work in social theory. To my regret I never did, perhaps because I had not followed the path which he had chosen. However, shortly after he died, an invitation of the Society for Social Research at the University of Chicago prompted me to write this essay as a belated gesture of my appreciation; it is now published in shortened form on the second anniversary of Wirth's death.

The lack of time, his opposition to theory building in sociology, his awareness of the implications of ideas for social action, and the passion of his commitment to theory and to action—all these point to the importance of the relation between theory and action in his mind. A great deal of Wirth's time was taken up with the work of various organizations: the National Resources Planning Board, the American Council on Race Relations, the Illinois Postwar Planning Commission, the Social Science Research Council, to name but a few; and occasionally he would say that these things prevented him from developing his sociological theory. Still, a careful examination of his written work and acquaintance with his teaching makes it possible to formulate his approach to the problem of theory and action; and this is what I shall attempt to do.

In sociological theory Wirth regarded himself as a student of Robert E. Park. His debt to Park may be expressed by analogy: Adam Smith, one of the founders of modern social science, wrote two major works, *The Wealth of Nations* and *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In the first book he showed that certain social phenomena result from the independent pursuit of gain by each individual. In the second book he showed that the interaction of men in society is prompted or accompanied by sympathetic feelings. It was Park's conviction and later Wirth's that these should not be separate books: that the constant interplay between competition and communication, between symbiosis and socialization, was itself of central interest to the sociologist.

Park's concept of the "natural area" illustrates this point. According to Park, such an area is "characterized by the numbers and racial composition of the population that occupies it; the conditions under which they live; and the habits, customs, and behavior generally which they exhibit." Such natural areas differ from administrative districts because "they are the products of forces that are constantly at work to effect an orderly distribution of populations and functions within the urban complex. They are 'natu-

ral' because they are not planned, and because the order that they display is not the result of designs, but rather a manifestation of tendencies inherent in the urban situation."² Now the "natural area" was to Park and his students what a nation's wealth was to Adam Smith, namely, one of the unwitting by-products of many independent actions of competing individuals. Yet, the "natural area" also constituted the physical and social environment in which these individuals, through communication and interaction, make manifest their shared understandings. Hence, the "spatial patterns" and the "moral order," that is, the way of life of the people who inhabit an area, are two aspects of social life, which Adam Smith's two works illustrate separately, but which Park sought to relate in one frame of reference.

It is an indubitable fact that societies do have this double aspect. They are composed of individuals who act independently of one another, who compete and struggle with one another for mere existence, and treat one another, as far as possible, as utilities. On the other hand, it is quite as true that men and women are bound together by affections and common purposes; they do cherish traditions, ambitions and ideals that are not all their own, and they maintain, in spite of natural impulses to the contrary, a discipline and a moral order that enables them to transcend what we ordinarily call nature, and, through their collective action, recreate the world in the image of their collective aspirations and their common will.³

This position has an important methodological implication. In one respect the "natural areas" of a city result from the symbiotic competition and struggle of individuals with one another, while in another respect they reflect the "collective aspirations and the common will" of social groups. The sociologist who would study such an area could best do justice to this double aspect by turning his attention first to a study of "spatial patterns," then to a study of the

² Robert E. Park, *Human Communities* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), pp. 196-97.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

"moral order" or the way of life of the people inhabiting the area, back again to a study of spatial patterns, and so on. But since both aspects were separable only for purposes of analysis, Park conceived of the sociologist as a kind of "super reporter" who would so immerse himself in the "area" under investigation that the statistical rates he compiled would merely test what he knew already. This procedure simultaneously emphasizes intimate, firsthand experience which enables the sociologist to enter as directly as possible into the subjective experience of the people he studies, and statistical indexes of the way the people themselves collectively define the environment to which they have had to accommodate themselves. Park and his students were aware that "every science more or less creates its own objects out of events which are a part of the common experience of mankind," but they insisted also that this "creation of [the] objects" of study constantly ran the danger of false abstractions and must, therefore, be constantly tested by firsthand experience. I think this viewpoint is reflected in Wirth's own conception of social theory.

In my work in theory, especially through my years of teaching it to graduate students, I have tried to emphasize that theory is an aspect of everything they do and not a body of knowledge separate from research and practice. By theory I mean the definition of interests of scholars, the assumptions with which they start, the conceptual framework in terms of which they analyze their materials and the types of generalizations which they develop. . . .⁴

These elements of social theory are, of course, closely interrelated, and to discuss them consecutively, as I do, is merely an aid to exposition. I should add that, in dealing with Wirth's theoretical position, I exclude from my discussion the provocative insights and the substantive generalizations from which many of his students learned so much.

In defining his *interest*, Wirth repeatedly described sociology "as the study of what is true of man by virtue of the fact that every-

where and always he lives a group life." In his statement to Odum he acknowledged that the other social sciences deal likewise with human nature and the social order, but "the questions [sociology] asks . . . are of a kind that cut across different specific contexts and accent the group factor in human behavior, which, of course, is also present in the economic and political spheres."⁵

Still, sociology is also a specific discipline consisting of such fields as social psychology, social organization, and others. This answer to the perennial question, "What is sociology?" left most of his students as baffled as anything Wirth ever said. Was sociology in his opinion a general social science, or a specific discipline? For Wirth it was obviously both: he regarded sociology as general social science, which by virtue of historical accident and for the sake of academic survival had made a specialty out of certain unpre-empted fields.

This formal characterization of Wirth's interest in sociology does not go to the heart of the matter. He believed that the answer should be substantive, and he implied it in the phrase, "men live a group life." He was more explicit in his presidential address to the American Sociological Society:

I regard the study of consensus as the central task of sociology, which is to understand the behavior of men in so far as that behavior is influenced by group life. Because the mark of any society is the capacity of its members to understand one another and to act in concert toward common objectives and under common norms, the analysis of consensus rightly constitutes the focus of sociological investigation.⁶

Thus, mutual understanding among members of a society and their ability to act collectively thereby toward a common goal distinguish human from animal societies. Human *society* may be defined as "a set of common understandings, a system of reciprocally acknowledged claims and expectations expressed in action." Human *communities*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁴ Quoted in Howard Odum, *American Sociology* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), p. 230.

⁶ "Consensus and Mass Communication," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (February, 1948), 2.

are distinguished from societies in that they manifest a high degree of functional interdependence among their members without achieving the capacity for deliberate collective action.⁷ The foremost task of the sociologist is to analyze the conditions which lead to shared understandings *and* the capacity for collective action.

This statement of Wirth's interest in sociology is obviously broad enough to encompass his studies in urban sociology, in race relations, and in the sociology of knowledge. But, like all statements of interest, it is also question-begging. It implies two kinds of assumptions which should be stated explicitly, though the risks of such imputations are often considerable.

First, there are value-judgments in Wirth's interest in sociology. In theory and action he wanted to enlarge the sphere of individual freedom; yet he designated the analysis of consensus as the focus of sociological investigation. This paradox is only apparent, however. When he spoke of "a set of common understandings" which constitute a society, he obviously had it in mind that these understandings result in good measure, at least, from negotiation and discussion. His spirited opposition to the "new medievalism," to the idealization of the folk society, to the explanation of human behavior in terms of instincts, as well as his repeated emphasis on the declining role of tradition in modern urban society, bear witness.

Since consensus conditions and is the product of the participation of persons in a common life, the limits of consensus are marked by the range of effective communication. Consensus may disintegrate because communication between the individuals and groups who are expected to act collectively is reduced to a minimum. As John Dewey has pointed out, "Everything which bars freedom and fullness of communication sets up barriers which divide human beings into sets and cliques, into antagonistic sects and factions, and the democratic way of life is undermined."⁸

⁷ "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, V (August, 1940), 473.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

Hence, the range of deliberate discussion should be enlarged, so as to overcome the barriers which divide people. But this effort is not likely to be successful as long as "such consensus as does exist in modern western society . . . is extremely limited in the sense that those who participate in the consensus constitute only a small proportion of the total society."⁹

One may ask why Wirth's interest in individual freedom would lead him to a study of consensus. Consensus conditions, and is conditioned by, the participation of persons in a common life. Without some measure of agreement among the members of a society, there would be chaos. But without the freedom of the individual to enter into agreement with other members of his community, there would be tyranny. In modern society agreement is neither imposed by coercion nor fixed by custom so as no longer to be subject to discussion. It is always partial and developing and has constantly to be won. It results from the interpenetration of views based upon mutual consent and upon feeling as well as thinking together.¹⁰

The individual and the group are inseparable. If the individual is to have freedom, he can obtain it only within the framework of his group affiliations. Yet in the heterogeneous society of today his affiliations are diverse; they often lead him into conflicts of loyalty. Hence, "the probability of intra-group consensus in the small intimate aggregates is considerably greater than inclusive intergroup consensus in the larger society."¹¹ The task of the sociologist is, therefore, to analyze the existing bases of consensus, as well as the conditions which might favor the development of it. He hoped to find what degree of individual commitment to the "common life" will maximize the freedom of the person without undermining the demo-

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹⁰ "Consensus and Mass Communication," *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹¹ "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," *op. cit.*, p. 478. See also his "Social Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 965-79.

cratic institutions that make freedom possible.

What role can science play in achieving this objective? Wirth's answer to this question reveals a second assumption, which is of another kind. This has to do not with the values he cherished but with the tools of science which would facilitate their realization. First is his belief in science. A basic commitment to the scientific approach is compatible with a variety of beliefs, and in his case it was related to his belief in individual freedom. He wanted to investigate the degree of consensus necessary for the realization of freedom, as well as the degree of freedom necessary for the realization of genuine consensus (voluntary agreement); and the latter emphasis on the need for deliberate, collective action based on shared understandings led him to set great store on science. Agreements must be reached for society to survive, but they must be reached by "continued negotiation, persuasion and compromise." And in order to strengthen the methods of reaching agreement, he assigned a formidable role to science.

Consensus in mass democracies is not so much agreement on all issues . . . among all the members of society, as it is the established habit of intercommunication, of discussion, debate, negotiation and compromise, and the toleration of heresies, or even of indifference, up to the point of "clear and present danger," which threatens the life of the society itself.

It is upon the mass media . . . that to an ever increasing degree the human race depends to hold it together. Mass communication is rapidly becoming, if it is not already, the main framework of the web of social life.

Since the mass media of communication are capable of providing the picture of social reality and the symbolic framework of thought and fantasy and the incentives for human action on an enormous scale, the knowledge of their effective use should become the most important quest of social science, and particularly of sociology. The circumstances under which we live do not any longer allow the saints to sit in their ivory tower while burly sinners rule the world.

There is a frightful peril in delay.

The engineering of public consent is one of the great arts to be cultivated.¹²

There is, above all, a significant sense of urgency and danger in these remarks, bearing on his belief in science. The importance of this tool increases in proportion with the danger it is expected to meet, a view which is not modified by the admission that science may not be equal to the task. As Wirth suggested at the end of his presidential address, unless we solve the problem of establishing consensus on a world scale, the science of society will perish with the democratic institutions it failed to safeguard.

The belief in individual freedom and his conception of the role of science are assumptions basic to Wirth's work. But they also reveal the conceptual framework which he employed, especially with regard to his ideas concerning sociology as a science. Take the statement that the knowledge of the scientist is to facilitate the art of engineering public consent. In the same paper Wirth urged upon social scientists the importance and urgency of being on intimate terms with the social world they proposed to investigate and control and the fatal dangers of the "ivory tower." If social science is out of touch with the area of experience in which its theories are to be applied and tested, it will not improve the *art* of engineering public consent. He regarded proximity of knowledge and social action as an imperative because theory is a part of everything we do and it can prove its value only through intimate, firsthand knowledge of group life. (This brings us back to the point made earlier, namely, that Park and his students placed great emphasis on the significance of immediate experience for the creation of the objects of sociology.) This explains a certain antitheoretical tendency in much of Wirth's sociological theorizing, a tendency which involved, as it did in the case of Park, Thomas, and Cooley, a sense of being inti-

¹² "Consensus and Mass Communication," *op cit.*, pp. 9-10, 14-15. (Sequence of these quotations is mine.)

mately acquainted with the facts of social life, as well as a spirited enmity against "false" abstractions, i.e., abstractions which take one out of touch with the facts instead of illuminating them. It is this sense of "being acquainted" which explains his various *bêtes noires* in the field of sociology. It explains his opposition to much of opinion-polling as a technique which always runs the danger of creating the group whose opinions it ascertains, instead of ascertaining the opinions of a group whose members have a sense of belonging to and participating in it. It explains his opposition to the assumption of a rational means-end schema in the analysis of social action, for it tends to relegate all nonrational behavior to the dustbin of unexplained residues, though these residues may well constitute the bulk of what needs to be explained.¹³ It explains his opposition to social theories built on the analogy of the functionally interdependent organism, when modern society is outstandingly characterized by deliberate actions, which are not prescribed by custom.¹⁴ It explains his opposition, finally, to the later work of Karl Mannheim, whose interest in planning Wirth obviously shared. But Mannheim's level of abstraction seemed to Wirth to be out of touch with the society for which it was conceived. All of these "oppositions" amount to a belief in the need to relate theory and immediate experience which Wirth expressed in his presidential address:

It is curious that in order to gain the reputation as a realist, it is regarded best never to think about reality, and in order to be regarded as a social scientist to get as far away from the actual problems and operations of society as you can.

Happy are those who can find this refuge. . . . The student of society will be plagued by the difficulties of achieving "objectivity," by the

existence of social values, by the competition with common sense knowledge . . . and by other serious and peculiar handicaps. . . . But the social scientist, whose very subject matter is the social world, can avoid studying the processes and problems of man in society only by pretending to be something he is not, or by lapsing into such a remote degree of abstraction or triviality as to make the resemblance between what he does and what he professes to be doing purely coincidental.¹⁵

In Wirth's judgment scientific knowledge of society will never serve the art of engineering public consent, or the planning for a better society, unless developed in such proximity to the experience of everyday life that its relevance is assured and its application to society's problems facilitated.

It may be that the sense of urgency which prompted Wirth to think along these lines made him more of a student of Tönnies and less of a student of Park. Park could be the detached onlooker, who regarded even modern urban society on occasion much as the botanist looks at plants. On the other hand, Tönnies always emphasized the central role which deliberate action played in modern social life.¹⁶ And, in adopting this view, Wirth tended to go beyond the mere observation of deliberate actions of men in group life. He felt strongly that the sociologist, to make his knowledge useful for the realization of desired ends, must immerse himself in the practical problems of our society.

A number of years ago Wirth remarked to me that he thought it would be a good idea to write another essay on "Science as a Vocation," comparing our modern position with that of Max Weber a generation ago. I can only guess what kind of paper Wirth would write, but I imagine he would oppose the neutrality of the social scientist as Weber advocated it. Wirth did not question the separation between fact and value, but he would emphasize the crucial importance

¹³ See Wirth's review of Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, in *American Sociological Review*, IV (June, 1939), 399-404.

¹⁴ Unpublished paper read at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, September, 1951.

¹⁵ "Consensus and Mass Communication," *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ These ideas are already embodied in an early paper, "The Sociology of Ferdinand Tönnies," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (November, 1926), 412-22.

of action involvement for the social scientist, in order to make his *academic* work relevant where it counts. He would deny that in academic work the scholar and the citizen should be separated to the extent that Weber had maintained. He would argue that, to be a better social scientist, the scholar must be a more active citizen. For Wirth this was a matter of professional competence, not of individual preference.

If the foregoing has been an accurate description, then it is pertinent to look at the *kinds of generalizations* which Wirth proposed, quite apart from their validity. There is the typology of minority groups contained in his contribution to Linton's volume on *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, or the categories developed in his paper, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," or again in his proposal for a sociology of intellectual life contained in the introduction to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*.

In these and other writings Wirth was dealing with the conditions in modern society which promote dissension, yet he defined the "study of consensus as the central task of sociology." It is easy to dismiss the questions posed by this discrepancy with the facile suggestion that knowledge of dissension is the first step toward building consensus. The problem is real rather than apparent. It was posed by Wirth's presidential address, which was obviously intended as a programmatic statement. The body of his remarks dealt with the conditions of a mass society, which militate against consensus reached by "continued negotiation, persuasion and compromise." Yet Wirth said little even of a programmatic nature, which would suggest how such knowledge of the conditions adverse to consensus would be used to remove them and hence lead to shared understanding and increase the capacity for collective action.

Now, as sociologists, we know a good bit

about what ails modern society, knowledge to which Wirth himself made important contributions. But we know next to nothing concerning the conditions which will build consensus within a democratic framework. Recognizing the dilemma, Wirth emphasized time and again that sociologists should become versed in the art of social engineering. The modern world needs a new consensus appropriate to its complexities. This, he argued, can only be achieved if we combine our scientific knowledge of the conditions militating against consensus with intimate experience of social action and social reform: knowledge of the elements of social action will eventually be indispensable for the engineering of public consent. Hence, Wirth called upon sociologists to improve their knowledge as rapidly as possible, even if for the time being it were to be confined to the conditions making for dissension. But, at the same time, he urged them to participate in social action, partly in order to gain the necessary intimate knowledge and partly also in order to help maintain the conditions necessary alike for the preservation of individual freedom and for the continued pursuit of social science.

Wirth did more than merely affirm his belief that social science and social participation are inextricably linked and that only experience in both is commensurate with the "burden of our time." He acted upon this belief despite his awareness that at present the distance between social science and social action is great indeed and that so far our work in sociology does not measurably improve the art of social engineering. In his lifework Wirth sustained the conflicting demands of scholarly work and social action in the belief that sociology can eventually perform the task of saving men from the alienation of their means.

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CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION IN A BUREAUCRACY

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ABSTRACT

Comparison of two groups of interviewers in a public employment agency reveals that the more competitive group is *less* productive, whereas the more competitive individuals in the competitive group are relatively *more* productive. Anxiety over production, and the consequent competitive practices, interfere with efficient performance in the first group. In contrast, conditions in the second group give rise to co-operative norms, which curb competitive tendencies and foster friendly personal relations. Its greater cohesiveness, by reducing anxiety, makes this group more productive than the first one. In the absence of social cohesion, competitive striving for outstanding performance is an alternative way of relieving anxiety over status. This explains the paradox that competitiveness and productivity are *inversely* related for *groups* but *directly* related for *individuals* in the competitive group.

This paper discusses performance and variations in competitiveness among twelve interviewers in two small sections of a public employment agency.¹ The duties of the interviewers in both sections were essentially alike. They received requests for workers over the phone. The order forms on which job openings were described were filed in a common pool in each section. Most of the official's time was spent interviewing applicants for jobs. After ascertaining the client's qualifications, the interviewer searched the sectional files for suitable vacancies. If an acceptable job was found, he referred the client to it and later phoned the employer to determine whether the client had been hired.

"The statistics which show how many interviews and how many placements each person in the section did are passed around to all interviewers. Of course, you look at them and see how you compare with others. This creates a competitive spirit," said one of the interviewers, voicing the sentiments of most of his fellows. In a period of job shortages, competition took the form of trying to utilize job openings before anybody else did. Interviewers were so anxious to make place-

ments that they even resorted to illicit methods. Said one:

When you take an order, instead of putting it in the box, you leave it on your desk. There was so much hiding of orders under the blotter that we used to ask, "Do you have anything under your rug?" when we looked for an order. You might leave an order you took on the desk, or you might leave it on the desk after you made no referral. . . . Or, you might take an order only partially; you write the firm's name, and a few things; the others you remember. And you leave it on the pad [of order blanks]. You keep on doing this, and all these orders are not in the box.

You can do some wrong filling out. For instance, for a rather low-salary job, you fill out "experience required." Nobody can make a placement on that except you, because you, alone, know that experience isn't required. Or, if there are several openings [on one order], you put the order into "referrals" [file category for *filled* job openings] after you make one placement. You're supposed to put it into "referrals" but stand it up, so that the others can see it. If you don't, you have a better chance of making the next placement than somebody else. And time and again you see four, five openings on one order filled by the same person. [In one case on file eight out of nine openings on one order had been filled by the same interviewer.]

The major opportunity for competitive monopolization of job openings occurred when they were received from employers. Since illicit practices were concealed from the observer, the extent of competition could not be determined through question-

¹ These data are part of a study on interpersonal relations in two government agencies conducted under a fellowship of the Social Science Research Council, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged. The entire study is soon to be published under the title "The Dynamics of Bureaucracy."

There were seven interviewers in Section A and five in Section B. Seven of the twelve were women.

ing or direct observation² but was betrayed by the record of official transactions. The extent to which an interviewer filled the vacancies he had received over the phone with his own clients in excess of chance expectations furnishes an index of competitiveness. (Col. 4 in Table 1 shows this index; cols. 1-3 present the data on which it is based.)

The members of Section B were more co-operative: they discouraged competitive practices by making them ineffective. When they learned about interesting vacancies, they often told one another, but an interviewer who manifested competitive tendencies was excluded from the network of reciprocal information and lost the respect of his co-workers. Any advantage of hoarding jobs

TABLE 1
COMPETITIVENESS AND PRODUCTIVITY IN SECTION A AND IN SECTION B

	Openings Received*	Referrals Made by Recipient	Ratio of Referrals to Openings	Competi- tiveness†	Productiv- ity‡	Number of Placements
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Section A:</i>						
Adams.....	34	19	0.56	3.9	0.70	100
Ahman.....	62	27	.44	3.1	.49	70
Ajax.....	40	28	.70	4.9	.97	139
Akers.....	71	32	.45	3.2	.71	101
Ambros.....	69	18	.26	1.8	.45	65
Atzenberg....	106	43	.41	2.9	.61	87
Auble.....	10	3	.30	2.1	.39	56§
<i>Section B:</i>						
Babcock.....	16	7	.44	2.2	.53	46
Beers.....	58	19	.33	1.6	.71	62
Bing.....	51	15	.29	1.5	.75	65
Borden.....	17	7	.41	2.1	.55	48§
Bush.....	43	19	0.42	2.1	0.97	84
Section A..	392	170	0.43	3.0	0.59	590
Section B..	185	67	0.36	1.8	0.67	289

* The great differences between interviewers in this column show that some were much more successful than others in inducing employers, or telephone operators, to channel requests for workers to them personally. This form of rivalry does not involve competitive interaction.

† Competitiveness index (col. 4): The proportion of job openings received to which the recipient made a referral (col. 3) times the number of members of the section. (This represents the observed divided by the expected frequency of referrals made by the recipient of a job opening.) Base period: First half of April, 1949.

‡ Productivity index (col. 5): The number of placements made (col. 6) divided by the number of job openings available, that is, the number of openings in the section per interviewer. Base period: April, 1949.

§ The number of placements was adjusted for the two interviewers absent for more than five days during April. Since the sectional numbers of placements were not revised, the values in col. 6 add up to more than the two totals shown.

STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS AND COMPETITIVENESS

The members of Section A were more competitive than those of Section B. The last two columns in Table 1 also show that the interviewer's competitiveness was related to his productivity in Section A (Pearsonian $r = +.92$), but this was not the case in Section B ($r = -.20$). In other words, hoarding of jobs was an effective way to improve an interviewer's placement record only in one of these two groups.

was, at least, neutralized by such lack of co-operation, as is indicated by the absence of a relation between competitiveness and pro-

² This is clearly indicated by the comment of one of a group of special interviewers, who were expected to use the job openings of the regular interviewers but usually had great difficulty in doing so: "Oh, they hide everything from us. We got more orders when you [the observer] sat in the middle of that section than ever before. We laughed about it. Interviewers would hand us orders asking whether we could use them—when you were looking. That had never happened before."

ductivity in this group. Since competitive practices made an interviewer unpopular and failed to raise his productivity, they were infrequent.

These officials themselves attributed the greater competitiveness in Section A to the ambitiousness of several members: "There is usually one individual who starts it, who becomes a pace-setter. Once it has started, it is too late." The others, so interviewers claimed, have to follow suit. However, the most competitive member of Section A in recounting her reactions when production records were first introduced made it clear that this explanation of competition on the basis of personality characteristics is inadequate:

When they introduced statistics, I realized how fast I worked. I even wanted to crop lower. I didn't mind working fast as long as it didn't show, but when it showed up like that on the record, I wanted to work less. But you know what happened? Some of the others started to compete with each other and produced more than I did. Then I thought to myself, "Since I can do it, it's silly to let them get ahead of me." I'm only human. So I worked as fast as before.

When statistical records made the superior performance of this interviewer public knowledge, she decided to work less, possibly in response to pressures the others had brought to bear upon her. While complaining about her unfair standards, however, the other members of the section also improved their own performance. Consequently, this interviewer, just like the others, felt constrained by colleagues to compete for an outstanding record. One or two members of Section B, on the other hand, were also accused of competitive tendencies, but their colleagues successfully discouraged their expression in monopolistic practices. It is in this sense that the competitive practices of one group and the co-operative practices of the other were social factors, calling for explanation in sociological rather than psychological terms, as Durkheim has long since emphasized.³

³ Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 110 and *passim*.

Differential conditions affected the development of these two groups. First, the supervisor in Section A relied heavily on performance records in evaluating interviewers: "And here, in the production figures, is the answer to the question: How good are you? Here you see exactly how good the work you did was." Interviewers often mentioned the pressure thus exerted: "[Especially] around rating time, you get this competition. You don't care whether the best person gets the job, but you try to make the placement yourself." In contrast, the new supervisor in Section B surprised his subordinates by rating them more leniently than they had expected, and not primarily on the basis of production records. Consequently, as one interviewer reported, "we became less anxious about statistics; another experience like that, and we might forget all about placement credit."

Second, a common professional orientation existed only in Section B. While the members of Section A had been assigned, and had received their training, at different times, the majority of those in Section B received their training together after World War II, at a time when intensive counseling had been stressed, since many returning veterans needed occupational advice. One official said of this period:

When I first came here, in May, 1946, we had a very nice bunch. It was like an all-day consultation; we discussed placements with each other all day long. At that time, the veterans came back, and there was a lot of emphasis on counseling. Nobody asked you how many placements you made, then. The emphasis was on quality, and we consulted with each other all day.

In this situation, the group developed a common professional code, which discouraged speedy placement as constituting defective employment service. In effect, this orientation transformed competitive practices from illegitimate means for desirable ends into illegitimate means for worthless ends. If such practices did occur, they were vigorously opposed on moral grounds as violating the interest of clients. Nevertheless, as will be shown presently, competition could not have been effectively curbed if the

supervisor's evaluation practice had engendered acute anxiety over productivity. However, the existence of this code would have made it difficult for the supervisor to judge performance mainly by productivity, since doing so would have stamped him as ignorant of the essentials of good employment service.

No opportunity for the development of a common professional code had existed in Section A. Since competitiveness prevailed in this group, the individual whose personal professional standards made him reluctant to compete either became the deviant whose productivity suffered or modified his standards and entered the race with the others.

Third, most members of Section A had been appointed to temporary civil service positions during World War II. They were on probation pending permanent appointments when production records were originally introduced and even afterward remained subject to layoffs due to reductions in staff. Their insecurity led them to strive to impress superiors with outstanding performance. In contrast, all but one of the members of Section B were veterans, whose employment could not be terminated except for cause. As one envious colleague put it, "They felt that nothing could happen to them, because they were veterans, and had super-seniority."

Differences in these three conditions—security of employment, opportunity for the development of a common professional orientation, and the evaluation practice of the supervisor—gave rise to two dissimilar social structures. Productivity was highly valued in Section A and became associated with the individual's standing in the group, while striving for sheer productivity was disparaged in Section B. Thus, whereas the most productive and most competitive member of Section A was considered the best interviewer by her co-workers and was most popular with them,⁴ the most productive member of Section B was least respected

and least popular. As a result of these structural differences, co-operative norms prevailed only in Section B.

The interviewers in *both* sections disliked working in a competitive atmosphere. A member of Section A said: "If I see that an interviewer keeps orders on her desk, I take them and put them in the box. . . . Of course, you don't make friends that way." Since the majority in this section, including its most popular members, were highly competitive, to antagonize them was to threaten one's own standing in the group. This deterred interviewers from discouraging competitive practices. Antagonizing a deviant, however, does not endanger one's status. Consequently, since a striver was unpopular in Section B, its members could use sanctions freely to combat competitive practices and enforce co-operative norms.

SOCIAL COHESION AND PRODUCTIVITY

Table 1 shows that the group most concerned with productivity was less productive than the other group. Fifty-nine per cent of the job openings received in Section A were filled, in contrast to 67 per cent in Section B. (The 8 per cent difference is significant on the .01 level.) Another implicit paradox is that competitiveness and productivity were directly related for individuals in Section A but inversely related for the two groups.⁵

Anxious concern with productivity induced interviewers in Section A to concentrate blindly upon it at the expense of other considerations. In their eagerness to make many placements they often ignored their relationships with others as well as official rules. Competitiveness in this group weakened social cohesion, while co-operativeness in Section B strengthened it. This difference

⁴ She was most often mentioned by members of her own section in answer to the questions, respectively, "Who are the best interviewers?" and "Who are your friends in the office?"

⁵ For another example of such disparity between individual and corresponding group data see the discussion of promotion opportunities and attitudes toward promotion in Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), I, 250–54. Kendall and Lazarsfeld discuss the methodological significance of such findings in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 193–95.

is further shown by the fact that usually none of the members of Section A spent their rest periods together, whereas all but one of those of Section B, a newcomer when this study was being made, did. Social cohesion enhanced operating efficiency by facilitating co-operation and by reducing status anxiety.

Although the members of both groups had occasion to assist one another, greater effort was required to elicit such co-operation in Section A. The social interaction that occurred in the office during the twenty-four busiest hours of one week was recorded and classified as official and private contacts, that is, those directly concerned with a specific job or client, and all others. The frequency of an interviewer's official contacts with colleagues was related to his productivity in Section A (rank correlation = $+ .98$) but not in Section B (rank correlation = $+ .08$). This suggests that only interviewers who kept, as one put it, "hopping around all the time" to retrieve job orders that others kept on their desks were able to make many placements in the competitive section. In the cohesive group, on the other hand, the co-operation needed for making placements occurred as a matter of course, and not only in response to special requests. This effort was not required for high productivity.

To maximize his placements, the interviewer in Section A hoarded jobs and simultaneously tried to prevent others from doing so, thereby antagonizing his co-workers, whose co-operation he needed if he was to do well. The members of this section therefore attempted to conciliate colleagues whom their competitive practices had alienated. Often, shortly after having interfered with her operations, an interviewer paid another a compliment about her work or her apparel. The most competitive interviewer was in the habit of taking time out to joke with her co-workers and was proud of making more placements than anybody else, "nevertheless." Actually, this compensating friendliness, which made her popular despite her competitiveness, helped her to be productive.

In Section A, interviewers had to make special efforts at conciliation in order to make placements, but this was not necessary in Section B. At least, this impression is corroborated by the finding that frequency of private contacts with others was also related to productivity in Section A (rank correlation = $+ .84$) but not in Section B (rank correlation = $+ .13$). The members of the cohesive group, whose operating practices did not put colleagues at a disadvantage, did not have to devote time and energy to solicit and encourage co-operation, since it was not extended reluctantly. Their spontaneous co-operation improved operating efficiency.

Social cohesion also lessened the status anxiety generated by the evaluation system. Such anxiety is most acute in the individual who does not feel integrated in his work group and therefore seeks to derive social recognition from excelling at his task and from approval of superiors. Friendly relations with co-workers made the standing of the individual in the cohesive group independent of his productivity, particularly since fast work was disparaged as a sign of superficial service. The consequent reduction of anxiety in the antiproductivity-oriented group actually raised its productivity.

Fluctuations in productivity illustrate the dysfunction of status anxiety. Section B had not always operated more efficiently than Section A. Its productivity had been lower during the two months preceding the last rating but had abruptly increased then, while that of Section A had declined, as Table 2 shows.

The two groups found themselves in different situations before and after they were rated. The members of Section A were familiar with the rating standards of their supervisor, for she had rated them in previous years. Their anxiety led them to work especially hard immediately before the annual rating. The members of Section B, on the other hand, had never before been rated by their new supervisor. They were also concerned about their record but could not calm their anxiety by concentrating upon certain tasks, because they did not know

what the supervisor would stress; the explanation he gave to his subordinates was too vague and adhered too strictly to official procedures to help them to foresee his actual practices. This unfocused anxiety was particularly detrimental to efficient performance. Later, when the interviewers found out that they were not rated primarily on the basis of statistical records, their anxiety largely subsided and their productivity increased. In contrast, the experience of the members of Section A, whose rating was strongly influenced by their production records, intensified their status anxiety, but, when the rating was over, anxiety was no longer channeled into exceptionally hard work, with the result that their productivity declined below that of Section B.

Social cohesion is no guaranty against anxiety in a bureaucracy. Civil service status is too important to officials for them to remain immune to the threat of losing it. But when no such threat is felt, social cohesion reduces anxiety by divesting productivity of its significance as a symbol of status in the work group. Diminished anxiety as well as smoother co-operation then enable those in the cohesive group to perform their tasks more efficiently than the others.

In the absence of social cohesion, competitive striving for an outstanding performance record became a substitute means for relieving status anxiety in Section A. This psychological function of competition is illustrated by the following incident: The interviewers in this section became very irritable, and one of them even became physi-

cally ill, when a temporary supervisor, who tried to prevent competitive practices, interfered with their method of allaying anxiety. Status anxiety reduced operating efficiency. Even in the cohesive group, productivity was low when the unknown rating standards of a new supervisor produced acute and diffuse anxiety. Otherwise, however, the cohe-

TABLE 2
PRODUCTIVITY BEFORE AND AFTER RATING

	Section A	Section B
December, 1948.....	0.64 (619)*	0.56 (317)
January, 1949.....	.70 (941)	.56 (472)
February, 1949 (rating)	.56 (1,342)	.60 (477)
March, 1949.....	.59 (1,335)	.71 (448)
April, 1949.....	0.59 (1,001)	0.67 (433)

* Numbers in parentheses are the numbers of job openings available on which the productivity index—the proportion of these openings that were filled—is based.

sive group was more productive, because social cohesion relieved status anxiety by making the individual's standing in the group independent of his productivity. The very competitive striving that undermined the group's cohesiveness also served to lessen the individual's status anxiety in a non-cohesive situation. The hypothesis that the cohesiveness of the group and the competitiveness of the individual in the less cohesive group both reduce status anxiety explains the paradox that the *less competitive group* as well as the *more competitive individual* in the competitive group each was particularly productive.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

• RESEARCH NOTE ON THE HYPOTHESIS OF MEDIAN LOCATION

THOMAS FORD HOULT

ABSTRACT

That portion of the hypothesis of median location which refers to the relationship between a mobile ecological unit and the units it serves was tentatively confirmed by comparing the apparent effect of a move of approximately 800 feet by a convenience store on the median location of the store customers. To generalize from an isolated study, it appears that even apparently insignificant physical changes in a community can have considerable effect on local social interaction.

The importance of Quinn's hypothesis of median location is that it may be a convenient device for studying the spatial relationships of a number of phenomena.¹ The hypothesis is that, "within a free competitive system, social and aesthetic factors being equal, a mobile ecological unit tends to occupy a median location with respect to . . . the other units that it serves."² Thus, a retail grocery store, for example, tends to be located at a point which would be the intersection of two perpendicular lines, so drawn that one-half of its customers lie on each side of each line. This hypothesis has special implications for the study of certain types of social interaction. If a store tends to be located at a certain point relative to its customers—other things being equal—then its location determines, to some degree, which people will engage in interaction both at the store and on the routes they must take to reach it. Further, if the location of a store (or other mobile ecological unit) is changed, patterns of social interaction are affected. Routes of approach will change; city planning may become involved if, as Hawley pointed out, the relocation of one of the parts of a local group marks the beginning of a new center of activity.³

¹ See James A. Quinn, "The Hypothesis of Median Location," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (April, 1943), 148-56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149. (Words omitted refer to resources utilized by, and units dependent on, the central unit, neither of which will be considered in the present paper.)

³ Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 238.

These are just a few of the theoretical implications of Quinn's hypothesis. To date, however, there have been no published reports of any specific testing of the hypothesis, perhaps because of the difficulties involved. In establishing median location, for example, one should use ecological rather than spatial or linear distance as the unit of measurement. And, so far, the problem of reducing modes of travel to comparable cost units—to speak of only one complication in measuring ecological distance—has not been solved satisfactorily.⁴ It is clear, therefore, that the most practical way to test the hypothesis would be in a case where it would not be necessary to equalize the social and aesthetic conditions involved or to figure cost units of movement. This paper reports such a study.

In 1952 a convenient opportunity arose in Portales, New Mexico, to make a tentative test of the portion of the hypothesis of median location quoted from Quinn above. Many ordinary difficulties were either nonexistent or minimal. In January, 1952, it was announced that in August of the same year the most popular locally owned grocery store in Portales would move four city blocks away from the old location. Hypothetically, then, the move sooner or later should involve a corresponding shift in the median location of the customers, and, if this were found to be the case, the data, of course, would support the hypothesis. Furthermore, if the median location of an adequate sample of customers of the old and

⁴ Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

new stores were calculated, cost units and other factors could safely be left to chance, provided that the medians were calculated under comparable conditions.

PROCEDURE

On four days in 1952, during selected hours, two interviewers stationed at the door of the old store recorded the home addresses of all customers of the store.⁵ Addresses were determined simply by asking the customers. That there were only four refusals was probably due to the co-operative spirit of the store cashiers, who informed all customers that they would be asked for their addresses for survey purposes and not for any kind of solicitation.⁶ A total of 444 addresses was collected during the interviewing periods. These addresses were marked on a spot map of the city. Of the total of 444, 296 were located precisely within the city limits. Because of the vagueness of most of the out-of-city addresses (135 were expressed in terms such as "Rural Route 1," "south of the city," and the like), addresses within the city limits only were used in the study.⁷

On July 25, 1952, the old site was abandoned, and within seven days the store opened for business at its new location. Nine months later, exactly one year after the first set of data was gathered, two interviewers were stationed at the doors of the new store during the same hours and on the same days

⁵ Days and hours (latter selected on random basis after the convenience of the interviewers was considered) as follows: Monday, April 28, 10:15 A.M. to 1:30 P.M., and 4:15 P.M. to 6:05 P.M.; Tuesday, April 29, 9:20 A.M. to 11:40 A.M., and 12:50 P.M. to 1:50 P.M.; Wednesday, April 30, 10:10 A.M. to 12:00 noon, and 4:20 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.; and Thursday, May 1, 7:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M.

⁶ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the personnel of the store (Grady's Market) and to Betty Covey, Mary Ruth Reeder, Blair Hall, and Betty Tadlock for their contributions to the study.

⁷ Only 10 city addresses could not be placed because of nonexistent streets, numbers, and the like. No record was kept of delivery customers who placed their orders by telephone; such customers would, probably, be relatively unaffected by the store's location, an assumption which might bear testing.

of the week as before. Just as the first time, a record of the addresses of all customers was made; no refusals were encountered. A total of 263 addresses was collected,⁸ of which 176 were located within the city limits. As before, the out-of-city (79) and nonlocatable city (8) addresses were discarded.

The median location of each set of city customers was then calculated, and it was possible to observe any effects of the move on the median location of the customers.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research note should be regarded as no more than a report of data that may stimulate adequate tests of the hypothesis of median location in cities of varying sizes. The findings revealed that neither the old nor the new store was located near the median of its customers, contrary to what would be expected according to the hypothesis, that is, if "other things" were equal. Nevertheless, this study confirms the hypothesis: The median of the customers surveyed moved in the same direction as the store, and, measured in feet, the median moved almost the same amount as did the store. The store moved 800 feet due south, measuring from the center of the old location to the center of the new; measured from the old main entrance to the new main entrance, it moved 875 feet south and 87.5 feet west. The median location of the customers moved 762.5 feet south and 75 feet west.

These few linear measurements do not provide a basis for statistical analysis. Nevertheless, one feels justified in drawing a conclusion in comparative terms. Thus, the customer median could have remained stationary or could have moved almost an in-

⁸ The drop in customer volume at the new as compared with the old store (indicated by the relative number of addresses recorded) was due to extraneous factors which probably did not affect results. Examination of state sales tax receipts showed a general decline of business for the whole city amounting to approximately 33 per cent for 1953 as compared with 1952. This decline is said to be due to extreme drought conditions prevailing in the Southwest.

finite number of distances and directions. But it did not. Relative to one another, the positions of the store and the customer median remained constant despite the move. This constant relationship was maintained even though the city in which the study was conducted is so small (population 8,000, total area approximately 3 square miles) that even relatively distant moves within the city are hardly any barrier to physical interaction among the residents.

In the light of these findings, it does not appear unwarranted to assert that that portion of the hypothesis of median location

which refers to the relationship between a mobile ecological unit and the units it serves was verified. Perhaps of more importance from the sociological point of view is the fact that a change in the median of a group of human ecological units implies a change in certain patterns of human interaction. In so far as the case under consideration is representative, it indicates that even apparently insignificant physical changes in a community can have considerable impact on local patterns of social interaction.

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PAROLE PREDICTION USING MULTIPLE CORRELATION¹

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ABSTRACT

From the records of 455 federal parolees data were taken on nineteen items. Prediction tables were prepared by a method of the type of Burgess and others, using the discriminant function, a multiple correlation technique. The latter method achieved some improvement in predictive efficiency, plus three theoretical advantages: in selecting and weighting predictors, an exact measure of association is employed, the statistical characteristics of which are defined; the predictor weights are proportional to the contribution of the variable to the total variance in the criterion; information is exploited regarding associations *among* the predictors as well as between them and the criterion.

The desirability of using more refined statistical techniques in parole prediction has been clear to all students of the subject who have worked with the well-known Burgess and Glueck methods. However desirable, these better techniques have thus far not been used, apparently for two reasons. The first may be the considerable labor involved and the second the well-founded doubt that efficiency will be perceptibly improved. This paper reports a study in which a multiple correlation technique was used. The labor was not excessive, some improvement in predictive efficiency was achieved, and a number of theoretical objections to the older methods were successfully met.

SELECTION OF THE STATISTICAL INSTRUMENT

It seemed clear from the outset that some form of multiple correlation would be necessary to solve certain fundamental methodological problems of prediction. These may be considered to be the following: how to discover the relevant predictor variables; how to weight them in proportion to their predictive significance; how to weight the subclasses for optimum predictive efficiency; and how to exploit the relations

among the independent variables for the prediction of the dependent variable.

Investigators using methods modeled on Burgess² have generally selected as predictors those whose relation with the criterion "parole adjustment" is not only reasonably close, as measured by some statistic such as the mean-square contingency coefficient or Yule's *Q*-coefficient, but also statistically significant when tested in some standard fashion. Variables which correlate highly with ones already chosen may be rejected for fear of overlapping.³

The two weighting problems are then solved by assuming that all variables are of equal predictive weight and that the weights of all subclasses are one of three values: plus one, zero, and minus one.

The fourth and last problem, concerning the use of intercorrelations among the independent variables, is necessarily ignored (for the Burgess computations cannot make use

² The best recent description of this method will be found in Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Selection for Parole* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951). This manual describes current practice in the Illinois Division of Correction, where a research sociologist prepares for the parole board a prediction report for each applicant for parole, estimating the probability that he will violate parole. Burgess' original report will be found in Ernest W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," in Ernest W. Burgess, Andrew A. Bruce, A. J. Harno, and J. Landesco, *The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* (Springfield: Illinois State Board of Parole, 1928).

³ Tests of reliability in coding and of stability in time are also applied by some investigators.

¹ I wish to acknowledge help given me by Professors Paul Horst and Clarence Schrag in preparing the original study upon which this report is based, entitled "A Parole Prediction Study Using the Discriminant Function" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1953).

of such correlations), except that, as indicated above, overlapping variables are rejected so that no one factor may be overweighted.

The substitution of a more advanced statistical technique for that of Burgess may be suggested by the following criticisms, few of which, after twenty-five years of predicting on the Burgess model, can be new.

1. In selecting predictor variables, one cannot lean heavily on measures of association between the variables and the criterion. Such measures are highly specific to a certain population, for each of them is also a function of the values of other variables. For example, in studying federal offenders on the West Coast, one may find that the relation between parole adjustment and race depends upon the proportion of the population who are Selective Service violators. If a high proportion of subjects are Selective Service offenders, these will probably include many Japanese, who, when released on parole, quite uniformly succeed. At another date there may be a low proportion of Selective Service offenders in the population; in that case the Japanese are likely to be not Selective Service offenders and successful parolees but narcotics violators and unsuccessful parolees. One may easily imagine a similar three-cornered relationship among parole adjustment, marital status, and degree of family interest in the inmate.

For this reason and others, a parole prediction table, based largely on measures of association between the predictor and criterion variables,⁴ which may appear successful with respect to its original population will usually yield less reliable predictions on later validating populations. One may, by applying tests of stability in time to potential predictors, weed out those which fluctuate and thus impair later prediction, but at any given time these may be the best

predictors. What is needed is clearly a method of holding each factor constant while measuring the relation of the others to the criterion.

2. Each variable should contribute to the final prediction score an amount proportional to its contribution to the variation in the predicted behavior. This cannot occur, except by coincidence, if the weights of all variables are identical.

3. A three-valued scale of scores for subclasses of variables is unnecessarily crude. That is, it should be possible to score a variable with some value other than plus one, zero, or minus one if our information regarding the factors is precise enough. We would presumably weight the subclasses in proportion to their deviation from a mean or median. A truly quantitative analysis would surely be interested not only in the direction of the deviation (favorable, plus one; unfavorable, minus one) but also in the magnitude of the deviation.⁵

4. The three score values are not properly additive. The plus one and minus one values represent subclass values above and below certain cutting points. But the assignment of a zero score to a subclass is not made in any defined manner. It may be a mean subclass, equidistant from the plus one and minus one subclasses, and in that case perhaps additive. But it may also be a subclass whose association with the criterion, whether high or low, is not statistically significant, or is not stable, or is not reliable, or in some

⁴ See Mordecai Ezekiel, *Methods of Correlation Analysis* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949), p. 216, for a warning against discarding as predictors variables whose correlation with the criterion is low.

⁵ The Gluecks have offered one solution to this problem in their method of determining a parolee's score as the summation of the percentage violation rates of all the subclasses into which he falls. This undoubted improvement results in so little increase in accuracy of prediction as not to be worth the extra trouble in computation, judging from the continued use of methods modeled on Burgess by workers in this field. Several persons have found correlations over .9 between Glueck and Burgess scores on given populations. The many other errors in parole prediction apparently dwarf the decrease in this particular type of error. A theoretically still better weighting scheme was tried by Monachesi, in which subclasses were scored in accordance with the standard deviations of their violation rates from the violation rate of the entire population.

other way seems doubtful. Hence the zero scores are not properly additive. One may of course argue that zero scores are not added, so long as a mean is not computed. Nevertheless, summations of scores are made up of cumulated plus and minus ones and zeros, and upon this total is based the statement of probability of parole violation.

Only one general type of statistics is available to meet these objections—multiple correlation. In this procedure the relations among the predictor variables may be taken into account and a simultaneous relation of the criterion to all the predictors computed. As a useful by-product, the coefficient of determination will show what proportion of the variance in the criterion has been accounted for by the variables selected and what yet remains to be accounted for.

The discriminant function, a special case of multiple correlation, was developed by Fisher⁶ for use when the dependent variable is a multiple classification or, as in the present study, a dichotomy. Paul Horst⁷ has more recently developed a method of applying to the discriminant function the conventional multiple regression procedure, somewhat modified in the interest of much greater computational simplicity. The following ends are achieved: (1) Only those variables are selected which make independent contributions toward discrimination (in this case between success and failure on parole). (2) The optimal weights to be assigned to the selected variables are determined as a part of the selection process.⁸ This method was adopted in the present study. The computational procedures are described below.

CASE MATERIAL

The files of the United States District Court for the Western District of Washing-

ton were chosen as the source of material for the study.⁹ From these, 455 records were chosen and read, of all men, with certain defined exceptions, who had been released to the supervision of the chief parole officer* of this district between March, 1944, and December, 1949. Data on the following nineteen factors were gathered and coded: offense, race, marital status, age at first arrest, length of sentence, number of accomplices, criminal record, behavior in prison, employment record, age at time of release, veteran status, quality of parental home, interest of family in inmate, personality abnormality, education, intelligence, rating of neighborhood to which parolee moved on release, type of supervision (conditional release or parole), and success or failure on parole.

The material was coded under thirty-four variables, including the criterion. This was necessary because all variables had to be quantitatively ordered so as to compute product moment correlation coefficients. The first three factors, offense, race, and marital status, were, accordingly, each divided into series of all-or-none variables, one variable for each offense, race, and marital status. Also, criminal record and work record were each coded as two variables, reflecting slightly different definitions.

By use of computations described in detail below, an experience table was prepared, showing the distribution of scores, classified by success and failure on parole, with parole-violation rates for each score class. A condensed version is given in Table 1. The lower end of the table discriminates excellently between violators and nonviolators, but the upper end does not. This suggests the unreliability of the criterion variable, for actual nonviolators are likely to be recorded as such, while, of the actual violators, an

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁹ Grateful acknowledgment is made of the permission to use these records, granted by Mr. Richard A. Chappell, chief of the Division of Probation of the United States Courts, and by Dr. George A. Killinger, chairman of the Parole Board of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

⁶ R. A. Fisher, "The Use of Multiple Measurement in Taxonomic Problems," *Annals of Eugenics*, VII (1936), 179-88. See also Palmer O. Johnson, *Statistical Methods of Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949), pp. 343-57, for a treatment of the discriminant function.

⁷ Paul Horst and Stevenson Smith, "The Discrimination of Two Racial Samples," *Psychometrika*, XV (September, 1950), 271-89.

unknown portion appears as nonviolators because their violations have not been discovered.¹⁰

If one applies the Guttman measure of predictive efficiency, the percentage reduction in error achieved by using the experience table, as compared with prediction based on the principle of modal probability, is 10.29 per cent.

TABLE 1
CONDENSED EXPERIENCE TABLE OF DIS-
CRIMINANT-FUNCTION SCORES

Score	Total Num- ber	Non- viola- tors	Vio- lators	Parole- Viola- tion Rate
1.0001-1.7000...	61	28	33	54.1
0.8001-1.0000...	80	56	24	30.0
0.6001-0.8000...	110	76	34	30.9
0.4001-0.6000...	75	66	9	12.0
0.2001-0.4000...	61	54	7	11.5
-0.4001-0.2000...	68	68	0	0.0

A similar experience table prepared for the same cases, using the same coded data but applying a prediction method modeled on Burgess, achieved a percentage reduction in error of 6.46 per cent. Here, too, the discrimination was much better at the favorable end of the table.

¹⁰ This, of course, raises the question of whether we are trying to predict criminality as such or the adjudication of criminality, i.e., official parole violation. In this study certainly, as apparently in most others, the attempt is to predict criminality, of which the official finding that there has been a parole violation is merely a more or less accurate index. If this were not so, the prediction student would be obliged to include among his predictor variables such items as the characteristics of the parole board members (or the judge) who pass upon alleged parole violations and of the policeman on the beat, as well as the crowdedness of the prisons and the contemporary state of public opinion on parole, all of which affect the behavior of the parolee relatively little but do greatly affect the decision as to whether or not a given incident of misbehavior shall be reported as a criminal violation of parole.

Investigators have confined their attention largely to items related to the parolee as a behaving person, to the exclusion of items related to the discovery, reporting, assessment, and adjudication of

COMPUTATION OF THE DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

The method of computing the discriminant function developed by Horst commences with the preparation of a matrix of product moment correlation coefficients, showing the relation of every variable, including the criterion, to every other variable. In the present study, this was a 34×34 table, with 561 coefficients on each side of the diagonal. Barring mishap, the computation of these is probably the largest part of the total labor of computation.

Of these many figures, the correlations of the predictor variables with the criterion variable (reproduced here as the first column of Table 2) are of most interest, as first approximations of the regression coefficients. For reasons to be developed later, these may be, however, extremely misleading. The magnitudes of these values were, in general, low. The largest, disregarding sign, was $-.2104$, showing that Selective Service violators tended not to violate parole. There were only four other values greater than $.1500$. It is clear that no single characteristic accounted for more than 4 per cent of the variance in the criterion. (The square of the value $-.2$ is $.04$, the coefficient of determination.)

An iterative procedure is now applied to these coefficients of correlation with the criterion. (This procedure is described in full in the report by Horst and Smith, cited earlier, and is given in condensed form below, in connection with a simplified model.) The result of fifty-one of these iterations is

crime. One concludes that the dependent variable is intended by prediction workers to be criminality, not an administrative act concerning it.

This is not to say that the score groups, and therefore the predictive factors, are in any general way, or necessarily, more reliable as an index of criminality than the criterion "official parole violation." That is a question to be answered by empirical test when an acceptable index of criminality has been devised. There is, however, no *a priori* reason to deny its possibility, and, as indicated above, there is considerable reason to conjecture that it may be true for one end of the distribution of parolees.

the series of regression coefficients, the second column of Table 2. In order that these coefficients may be used to predict from raw data, not classified in standard units, each regression coefficient is divided by the standard deviation of its corresponding variable. The resulting values are the beta weights, which appear in the fourth column of Table 2. It will be noted that some variables are not assigned weights. These generally are those which did not accumulate sufficient value to indicate that they were efficient discriminators between parole violators and nonviolators.

The experience table, Table 1, may be computed quite easily using the beta weights of Table 2. For each parolee separately, the code values for each variable are simply multiplied by the corresponding beta weights and summated. The totals are then classified into score classes by success and failure on parole. One can then say, for example, that, of the 110 men with scores between 0.6001 and 0.8000, there were 76 nonviolators and 34 violators, and the violation rate for that score class was 30.9 per cent.

The pronounced discrepancy in the relative values of the first, second, and fourth

TABLE 2
COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION OF THIRTY-THREE VARIABLES
AND SUCCESS ON PAROLE

Variable	Correlation Coefficient	Regression Coefficient	Standard Deviation	Beta Weight
Selective Service.....	-.2104	-.0498	.3879	-.1284
Auto transportation.....	+.1445	+.0860	.3843	+.2238
Narcotics.....	+.0799	+.1928	.3897	+.4947
Forgery.....	+.0427	+.0620	.2877	+.2155
Larceny, post office.....	-.0101			
White slavery.....	+.0812	+.1028	.1726	+.5956
Other offenses.....	-.0673			
White.....	+.0875	+.0867	.4241	+.2044
Negro.....	+.0010			
American Indian.....	+.0381	+.0211	.1603	+.1316
Oriental.....	-.1538			
Married.....	-.0275	+.0529	.4184	+.1264
Divorced or separated.....	+.1311	+.1250	.4518	+.2767
Deserted.....	-.0260			
Widowed.....	+.0057	+.0371	.1606	+.2310
Single.....	-.0951			
Age at first arrest.....	+.2051	+.1000	.8470	+.1181
Length of sentence.....	+.0240	+.0319	1.3574	+.0382
Number of accomplices.....	+.0740			
Criminal record.....	+.1753	+.0524	1.1524	+.0455
Time previously served.....	+.1394	-.0195	1.9089	-.0102
Institutional behavior.....	+.0938			
Work record.....	+.1678	+.0598	.6751	+.0886
Work when arrested.....	+.1398	+.0295	.8323	+.0395
Age on release.....	-.0804	-.0942	1.5916	-.0592
Veteran.....	+.1302	+.0669	.4877	+.1372
Type of home.....	+.1223			
Family interest.....	+.0618			
Personality abnormalities.....	-.0180	-.0911	.4370	-.2085
Education.....	+.0307	-.0558	1.2552	-.0444
Intelligence.....	+.0516	+.0636	.7843	+.0683
Type of neighborhood.....	+.0317	+.0121	.4254	+.0284
Conditional release or parole.....	+.0108	+.0294	.4294	+.0685

columns of Table 2 may be noted. It is clear that if one column of values represents good predictors, the other two cannot. Obviously, a great deal of "work" has been accomplished by the iterations, as well as by the division by the sigmas. This "work" remains undone by any method of parole prediction which is based on direct measures of association between predictor variables and the criterion. To present as clearly as possible both the process of iteration and its rationale, a much simpler and thoroughly fictitious model is now presented.

in part an adaptation from Horst and Smith, cited earlier, for convenient reference here.

The first column of Table 4, headed " $1r_y$," is taken from Table 3 and shows the coefficients of correlation of the criterion with the other variables. At the base of the column, the figure $-.10$ is the algebraic sum of the values in the column above. The highest value, disregarding sign, in the column above is selected and inclosed in parentheses. This happens to be the fourth variable, "Education," with a value of

TABLE 3
FICTITIOUS COEFFICIENTS OF INTERCORRELATION OF FIVE VARIABLES
AND FAILURE ON PAROLE

Variable	Criminal Record	Religiousness	Health	Education	Type of Home	Criterion
1. Criminal record...	+1.00	-.40	-.10	-.40	+.70	+.70
2. Religiousness....	-.40	+1.00	+.10	+.50	-.30	-.40
3. Health.....	-.10	+.10	+1.00	+.10	-.10	+.10
4. Education.....	-.40	+.50	+.10	+1.00	-.30	-.80
5. Type of home....	+.70	-.30	-.10	-.30	+1.00	+.30
Total.....	+.80	+.90	+1.00	+.90	+1.00	-.10

A MODEL SHOWING THE ITERATIVE TECHNIQUE AND ITS RATIONALE

Table 3 is a matrix of imaginary correlations among five predictor variables and the criterion. The values are purposely exaggerated so that one may see more clearly what goes on at each step. Each variable is postulated to be some index of (1) criminal record, (2) religiousness, (3) health, (4) education, and (5) type of home background, so constructed that the scores are in standard units. Hence the regression coefficients and beta weights will be identical.

The criterion is considered as scored "zero" for success, "one" for failure. Zero scores are also assigned to (1) minimum criminal record, (2) minimum religiousness, (3) minimum sickness, (4) minimum education, and (5) best home. Table 4 is a work sheet showing the values resulting from each of twenty successive iterations, as well as the columns of subtrahends used in the computation. The following explanation is

$-.80$. The square of this value is $.64$, and it is entered in the row marked "Increment." Inasmuch as it is the first increment, it is added to zero, and R^2 is also $.64$. This is the first step toward a multiple correlation coefficient.

The values in the column headed " $2r_y$ " are determined as follows: Each entry in row 4 of the correlation table (Table 3) (because variable No. 4 was just selected) is multiplied by the value $-.80$. These products, which appear between the r_y -columns, are then subtracted from the corresponding elements in the column headed " $1r_y$." That is, the product of $-.80$ and $-.40$ (the first value in row 4 or the fourth column of Table 3) is $.32$. This is subtracted from $.70$, the first value under $1r_y$, and the result is $.38$, the first value under $2r_y$. Similarly, $-.80 \times .50 = -.40$; that value subtracted from $-.40$ is $.00$, and so forth. The same computation is carried out for the totals of each column. The product of $-.80$

TABLE 4
WORK SHEET OF SUCCESSIVE ITERATIONS

Variable	$1r_y$	Subtrahend	$2r_y$	Subtrahend	$3r_y$	Subtrahend	$4r_y$	Subtrahend	$5r_y$	Subtrahend
Criminal record.....	+ .70	+ .32	(+ .38)	+ .3800	.0000	-.0218	+ .0218	-.1289	(+ .1507)	+ .1507
Religiousness.....	- .40	- .40	.00	- .1520	+ .1520	+ .0218	+ .1302	+ .0553	- .0749	- .0603
Health.....	+ .10	- .08	+ .18	- .0380	(+ .2180)	+ .2180	.0000	+ .0184	- .0151	- .0151
Education.....	(- .80)	- .80	.00	- .1520	+ .1520	+ .0218	+ .1302	+ .0553	+ .0749	- .0603
Type of home.....	+ .30	+ .24	+ .06	+ .2660	- .2060	-.0218	(- .1842)	- .1842	.0000	+ .1055
Total.....	- .10	- .72	+ .62	+ .3040	+ .3160	+ .2180	+ .0980	- .1842	+ .2822	+ .1206
Increment.....	+ .64		+ .1444		+ .099856		+ .033930		+ .022710	
R^2	+ .64		+ .7844		+ .884256		+ .918186		+ .940896	

Variable	$6r_y$	Subtrahend	$7r_y$	Subtrahend	$8r_y$	Subtrahend	$9r_y$	Subtrahend	$10r_y$	Subtrahend
Criminal record.....	.0000	- .0540	+ .0540	- .0270	(+ .0810)	+ .0810	.0000	- .0710	(+ .0710)	+ .0710
Religiousness.....	(+ .1351)	+ .1351	.0000	+ .0338	- .0338	- .0324	- .0014	+ .0304	- .0318	- .0284
Health.....	- .0033	+ .0135	- .0168	+ .0068	- .0236	- .0081	- .0155	+ .0101	- .0256	- .0071
Education.....	+ .1351	+ .0675	(+ .0676)	+ .0676	.0000	- .0324	+ .0324	+ .0304	+ .0020	- .0284
Type of home.....	- .1055	- .0405	- .0650	- .0203	- .0447	+ .0567	(- .1014)	- .1014	.0000	+ .0497
Total.....	+ .1616	+ .1216	+ .0400	+ .0608	- .0208	+ .0648	- .0856	- .1014	+ .0158	+ .0568
Increment.....	+ .018252		+ .004570		+ .006561		+ .010282		+ .005041	
R^2	+ .959148		+ .963718		+ .970279		+ .980561		+ .985602	

TABLE 4—Continued

Variable	11 _{ry}	Subtrahend	12 _{ry}	Subtrahend	13 _{ry}	Subtrahend	14 _{ry}	Subtrahend	15 _{ry}	Subtrahend
Criminal record.....	.0000	— .0348	(+ .0348)	+ .0348	.0000	— .0118	+ .0118	+ .0023	+ .0095	— .0125
Religiousness.....	— .0034	+ .0149	— .0183	— .0139	— .0044	+ .0147	— .0191	— .0023	— .0168	+ .0054
Health.....	— .0185	+ .0050	— .0235	— .0035	— .0200	+ .0029	(— .0229)	— .0229	.0000	+ .0018
Education.....	+ .0304	+ .0149	+ .0155	— .0139	(+ .0294)	+ .0294	.0000	— .0023	+ .0023	+ .0054
Type of home.....	(— .0497)	— .0497	.0000	+ .0244	— .0244	— .0088	— .0156	+ .0023	(— .0179)	— .0179
Total.....	— .0410	— .0497	+ .0087	+ .0278	— .0191	+ .0265	— .0456	— .0229	— .0227	— .0179
Increment.....	+ .002470	.....	+ .001211	.....	+ .000864	.....	+ .000524	.....	+ .000320	.....
R ²	+ .988072	.....	+ .989283	.....	+ .990147	.....	+ .990671	.....	+ .990991	.....

Variable	16 _{ry}	Subtrahend	17 _{ry}	Subtrahend	18 _{ry}	Subtrahend	19 _{ry}	Subtrahend	20 _{ry}
Criminal record.....	+ .0220	+ .0089	(+ .0131)	+ .0131	.0000	— .0111	(+ .0111)	+ .0111	.0000
Religiousness.....	(— .0222)	— .0222	.0000	— .0052	+ .0052	+ .0048	+ .0004	— .0044	+ .0048
Health.....	— .0018	— .0022	+ .0004	— .0013	+ .0017	+ .0016	+ .0001	— .0011	+ .0012
Education.....	— .0031	— .0111	+ .0080	— .0052	+ .0123	+ .0048	+ .0084	— .0044	(+ .0128)
Type of home.....	.0000	+ .0067	— .0067	+ .0092	(— .0159)	— .0159	.0000	+ .0078	— .0078
Total.....	— .0048	— .0200	+ .0152	+ .0105	+ .0047	— .0159	+ .0201	+ .0089	+ .0111
Increment.....	+ .000493	.....	+ .000172	.....	+ .000253	.....	+ .000123	.....	+ .000164
R ²	+ .991484	.....	+ .991656	.....	+ .991909	.....	+ .992032	.....	+ .992196

and .90 is $-.72$. This subtracted from $-.10$ results in $.62$, which is the same as the total of the values under $2r_y$, and so checks the computation. The largest value under $2r_y$ is $.38$. This, in turn, is selected and becomes the multiplier for the second iteration. Its square, $.1444$, is added as an increment to $.64$. The total, $.7844$, becomes the new R^2 .

Table 4 shows only the first twenty iterations. The increment which is added to the R^2 by a twenty-first iteration is only $.000026$, and by the twenty-sixth it sinks to $.000004$.¹¹ Hence this table shows the bulk of the work done by the process.

We may now see how this method of successive eliminations makes use, for predictive purposes, of the various relations postulated in Table 3. We first observed that approximately 64 per cent of the variance in the criterion may be accounted for by one variable, "Education." That value is then the first step toward the multiple correlation which will measure the portion of the variance in the criterion which is explained, or accounted for, by the given independent variables.

We may not, however, then add the square of $.70$, our next-sized coefficient, to our $.64$, for we would not then be making use of the information contained in the inter-correlations among the independent variables in order to correct those original values. Instead, we make use of the figures before us, which show that a part of the relationship between criminal record and parole violation may be due to the facts (1) that educated people seem to succeed on parole ($r = -.80$) and (2) that people with bad criminal records tend to be poorly educated ($r = -.40$). We may then say that 40 per cent of the $-.80$ correlation (or 80 per cent of the $-.40$ correlation), i.e., $.32$, represents the portion of the $.70$ correlation of parole violation with criminal record which is *al-*

ready accounted for by the $-.80$ which has been selected. Before selecting the $.70$ and adding its square to our multiple r , we will first subtract the $.32$ which has been accounted for by the variable "Education" and square only the balance: $(.70 - .32)^2 = .1444$. This value added to $.64$ equals $.7844$, the multiple r at this second stage.

But, just as we subtracted from $.70$ the product of $-.80$ and $-.40$, so we may also subtract corresponding products from the other coefficients of correlation with the criterion. We find that *all* the correlation of religiousness with parole adjustment ($-.40$) is accounted for by the facts that religious people tend to be well educated ($.50$) and well-educated people to succeed on parole ($-.80$). The value in the second row of the column headed " $2r_y$ " then becomes zero. The value in the fourth row of that column also becomes zero, because all of the $-.80$ correlation has been "used up" by squaring and adding it to R^2 .

This process may continue quite a number of times. Each r_y -column represents a series of values of thus far unexplained correlations between the criterion and the independent variables. The residuals decline in value as the portion of unaccounted-for relationships diminishes.

Beta weights may be computed, after the last iteration, by summing the values selected for each variable, that is, all values in parentheses on line 1, then line 2, and so forth. No division by the standard deviations is necessary, because it has been postulated that the variables were scored in standard units and the sigmas would all be unity. The beta weights are given in Table 5. The manner of accumulation of aggregate weight may be seen by noting the four series of beta weights, after five, ten, fifteen, and twenty iterations, respectively. Those in the first column are not greatly different from those in the last, for much of the work of the method occurs in the first few iterations, when the values involved are at their largest.

The beta weights here, as in the main study, are very different indeed from the

¹¹ The use of a large number of decimal places is characteristic of the multiple regression problem, despite the fact that the original data in Table 3 were represented as correct to only two places. In such problems as this at least one decimal place is needed for each variable. See, for example, Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 332, n. 1.

correlations of the criterion with the predictors. Two of the five actually reverse their signs, and there are important shifts in the relative magnitude of all. One of the most interesting transformations is that of the fifth variable, "Type of home." It appears, in fact, to be a suppressor variable.¹² Its correlation with the criterion is not exactly negligible, but it is the next to smallest of the five and is less than half as great as its correlation with criminal record, .70.

Why does this variable carry a final fairly heavy negative beta weight, $-.3691$, in the

tween type of home and parole adjustment. Instead, it is only .30, indicating that the component of the "Type of home" variable which is unique to it must be operating in a direction contrary to that expected. In other words, there is a negative relationship between type of home and parole adjustment. This true relationship is exactly what our beta weight shows. (It must be remembered that these "true relationships" are still fictitious.) The relationships involved in the other correlations with predictors (fortunately for our illustrative purposes) tend

TABLE 5
BETA WEIGHTS FOR FIVE VARIABLES, BY NUMBER OF
ITERATIONS USED IN COMPUTATION

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF ITERATIONS			
	Five	Ten	Fifteen	Twenty
Criminal record.....	+ .5307	+ .6827	+ .7175	+ .7417
Religiousness.....	.0000	+ .1351	+ .1351	+ .1129
Health.....	+ .2180	+ .2180	+ .1951	+ .1951
Education.....	-.8000	-.7324	-.7030	-.6902
Type of home.....	-.1842	-.2856	-.3532	-.3691

face of the positive correlation of .30? Clearly, it is in order to suppress a spurious positive relationship. For, notwithstanding the .30 correlation between type of home and parole adjustment (indicating that men from good homes tend to make good parole adjustments), the actual relationship between the type of home and parole adjustment is shown by the predictor intercorrelations to be *exactly the opposite*. Men with long criminal records tend to violate parole (.70), and men from poor homes tend to have long criminal records (also .70). If, *independently* of this and in addition to it (or, as we say, holding this factor of criminal record constant), poor home background should be conducive to parole failure, one would expect a high positive correlation be-

to confirm and augment this negative weighting. One may note that the work involved in developing these more complex relationships is barely begun by the fifth iteration, and considerable work yet remains to be done even after the tenth.

The extremely high R^2 , over .99, underlines the fictitious nature of the values in the table of r 's. Had they been slightly different, R^2 could have been greater than unity, an absurdity. From this one may conclude that there is hidden within the table at least one value, and probably more, which is inconsistent with the values of other coefficients in the table. For each correlation, as has been pointed out, is not independent of other correlations, and its value must lie within limits set by the values of other correlations in the table.

CONCLUSION

The discriminant-function method described here appears to offer one practical

¹² See Paul Horst, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, pp. 434-35, for a discussion of suppressor variables. See also Robert J. Wherry, "Test Selection and Suppressor Variables," *Psychometrika*, XI (1946), 239-47.

working solution to the two problems of selecting the best predictor variables and of then weighting them for the most efficient prediction of parole behavior. It has three notable advantages:

1. In both selecting predictors and assigning weights to them, this method employs an exact measure of association, the product moment correlation coefficient, for which sampling error and other statistical characteristics are defined.

2. This measure permits much finer weighting of variables and subclasses than the plus one, minus one, and zero values used by Burgess and his followers, these weights being calculated so as to be proportional to the contribution of the variable to total variance in the criterion.

3. Both the selection and the weighting of variables exploit the information available regarding the associations *among* the predictors as well as between them and the criterion. The waste of this information in other methods makes impossible the important reduction in error which occurs as a result of the iterative process.

This is not to say, of course, that all predictive problems in this area are solved, for some old ones remain and some new ones are introduced. Perhaps the most important may be the following:

1. Prediction based upon multiple correlation methods is extremely vulnerable to sampling error. It is therefore essential to use relatively large populations of subjects and to classify them only into relatively large subclasses.¹³ Failure to observe this precaution may justify the common and serious criticism that predictability in future samples is much less when multiple correlations are used than when they are not. In the present study, sampling error may be responsible, for example, for the negative beta weight, $-.2085$, assigned to "Personality abnormality"; that is, personality abnormality is found to be favorable to suc-

cess on parole, a very dubious finding that would probably reduce predictive efficiency in future samples.

2. As described in this report, the method employs a measure of linear relationships only, notwithstanding the probability that most relationships in human affairs are, when expressed statistically, curvilinear. It would not, however, be difficult to employ measures of curvilinear correlation. As a result, predictive efficiency might be expected to increase.

3. It is difficult when using multiple correlation to employ such qualitative predictor variables as offense, race, or Burgess' "social type." These may be handled in three ways.

- a) Qualitative variables may be reduced to series of all-or-none dichotomous variables. This was done in the present study, where the variable "offense," for example, was made into seven mutually exclusive dichotomous variables, one for each of six offenses and a residual category of "Other offenses." This, of course, multiplies the computational labor. It also leads to theoretical trouble in the iteration, for, given the value of one variable in a series, the freedom of the others in the series to vary is reduced.

- b) The subclasses of such qualitative variables may be rank-ordered or even given cardinal code values. This introduces for each such variable a whole new research problem: to determine empirically the scores for each subclass which will permit optimum predictive efficiency. Inasmuch as that is the purpose of the entire study, one may become involved in an elaborate lift-by-bootstrap operation, or at best the first of a series of approximations.

- c) One might select a few of the more important subclasses of one or two qualitative variables and set up a complete prediction study for the members of each subclass. One may easily make a virtue of necessity here, for such a plan would make use of another reservoir of yet unused information. The relation of, say, test intelligence or unemployment to parole behavior is probably not the same for an auto thief as for an em-

¹³ See Ezekiel, *op. cit.*, p. 321: "Correlation constants derived from multiple regression studies are even more subject to chance variation than are those from simpler analyses."

bezzling bank president. The beta weights for intelligence and work record would then be different for a population of auto thieves than for a population of embezzlers.

4. This may, in fact, be considered our fourth major problem. Our variables are *not* independent one of another, although all present prediction methods assume that they are. As Horst says, "The weight to be assigned to each variable is not a constant, but rather a function of some or all of the variables in the system."¹⁴

5. Further work is urgently needed, directed at increasing the homogeneity of the subclasses of the variables. This is especially true of the criterion variable. In the present study the subclass "violation" probably included a heterogeneous mixture of persons,

some of whom were habitual recidivists by any standard and others of whom were in most respects reasonably satisfactory members of society. Certainly those in the opposite category, the nonviolators, must have included many parolees who were totally unreformed, perhaps lying low until the "heat is off" or engaging surreptitiously in crime. What our system attempts to predict, using this clumsy criterion, is too often the accident of escape or apprehension. Until our criterion is a meaningful and penetrating appraisal of a parolee's conduct as husband, neighbor, employee, and citizen, our definition is artificial, our predictive efficiency is low, and our findings are vulnerable to attack as trivial.

BOARD OF PRISON TERMS AND PAROLES
STATE OF WASHINGTON

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

PREMISES IN SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRY

SVEND RIEMER

ABSTRACT

Social science premises substitute for the experiment available to most of the natural sciences. Such premises do not carry bias in themselves, although they can support biased argument if they are uncritically turned from methodological assumptions to assertions of fact. Empirical research and student training ought to encompass the difficult methodological problems related to the unavoidable presence of implicit premises or to the explicit formulation of premises which might guide the sociologist in the orderly conduct of fundamental research.

Our interest in ideologies has shifted from concern with problems of imputation. We are not so much concerned any more with the relationship between ideological structures and corresponding social structures, the interest position of which is either promoted or—at least—reflected by means of ideological distortion. Our concern with ideologies has become primarily self-critical.¹ We seek to eliminate ideological distortions from the conclusions of sociological research.

In this light we have to consider the significance of demands that value premises be made explicit.² Such demands are supported by the notion that bias is unavoidable in the conduct of sociological inquiry; it is furthermore implied that such bias expresses itself in the formulation of value premises and that some measure of objectivity is gained as implicit value premises are turned into explicit ones.

Unfortunately, we do not understand well the function of premises in sociological inquiry.

SOCIAL SCIENCE PREMISES TAKE THE PLACE OF NATURAL SCIENCE EXPERIMENTATION

"Premises" are statements of facts. They may either be assumed or proved to be true.

¹ A recent discussion of the sociology of knowledge assigns to it the clarification of two problems: "(a) the imputation of interests or motives to social classes and to individual members of these classes; and (b) the possibility of achieving valid knowledge" (Frank E. Hartung, "Problems of the Sociology of Knowledge," *Philosophy of Science*, XIX, No. 1 [January, 1952], 17).

In the days of Plato and Aristotle deductive reasoning tested the compatibility of scientific premises with each other. To the test of internal consistency there might have been added some speculation regarding the coincidence of premises and empirical observation. Such deductive reasoning and vague references to empirical veracity, then, was to prove the original premise or premises to be true.

In the contemporary social sciences, premises are used for entirely different purposes. Modern empirical science must select from the wealth of real life those data upon which scientific observation is to be focused. In the natural sciences the focus of investigation is gained through the observation of limited aspects of the outside world which have been forced into experimental conditions. The experiment co-ordinates within a simple relationship (admixture, exposure to heat or cold or motion, etc.) those elementary units of the physical world the attributes of which are to be explored. In the experiment these unadulterated substances are brought together without interference from agents extraneous to the situation to be investigated.

In the social sciences, on the other hand, the selection necessary for scientific precision cannot be achieved through the creation of experimental conditions. Roughly speaking, the social sciences find themselves in a situation comparable to one in which Galileo would have found himself if he had

² See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), II, 1041 ff.

to try to glean the law of gravity from the observation of a number of stones rolling and bumping down the side of a mountain. Or we might have to imagine—for purposes of comparison—the plight of a chemist trying to determine the attributes of an element by observing it in various compounds, that is, admixed to and chemically fused with other elements.

In principle there is no difference between the verifications required for generalizations in either the natural or the social sciences.³ In practice the social sciences meet with unique methodological difficulties due to the unavailability of experimental devices. Our attention is called, therefore, to those processes of reasoning by which the nonexperimental sciences substitute for the experiment available to most of the natural sciences.

In the social sciences, premises are exactly the instrument by which the scientist eliminates those conditions from his consideration which might interfere with the observation upon which his inquiry is to be focused. The statements contained in the premises are not necessarily based upon previous empirical research. Premises may be no more than a hypothetical device to hold certain factors constant and to allow others to vary for purposes of empirical observation. At times, a very general assumption will be made of "others being equal," thus eliminating with one broad sweep all but the variables of immediate interest. Through premises, potential subject matter for sociological research is pushed aside for possible later consideration. Sometimes, we miss the point if we raise the question of whether certain premises are either true or false. They may not be intended as more than methodological devices.

PREMISES AS METHODOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

If the premises of economic theory state—among other assumptions—that the market situation is characterized by the presence of an infinite number of competing entrepreneurs, this does not imply that

monopolies or monopoloid situations do not exist or that economic theory does not apply at all where the number of competing entrepreneurs is short of infinite. It does mean, however, that economic theory takes it upon itself to ignore the monopoly—as a complication to be considered some other time—in order to understand the regularities encountered in pure form on a market exposed to the open competition of all comers. Economic theory, developed under the assumption of simplified and—to that extent—unrealistic conditions, will ever remain a partial tool only in the explanation of real economic life. It will take the combination of different theories, each focusing upon some and ignoring other aspects of the situation, to gain a complete understanding of the concrete situation.⁴

Similarly, *sociological* investigation may start out with the statement of certain assumptions. Sociologists may assume, for certain purposes, that social conditions at any given time tend to approach an equilibrium, that is, a state of conditions at which no factors inherent in the social system will tend to promote social change. This, of course, is the premise of the predominant sociological approach to social change.⁵ The assumption to which this approach is committed eliminates from consideration all social change that might develop from existing social conditions. This makes it possible to focus attention upon the adaptive processes within the social system. As a methodological device, the reference to an equilibrium existing in the social system may be well justified by the prevailing emphasis of the investigation. There is, on the other hand, not the slightest justification to turn

³ See the discussion of the "gap that seems to separate the physical and the social sciences" (George A. Lundberg, "Alleged Obstacles to Social Science," *Scientific Monthly*, LXX, No. 5 [May, 1950], 299 ff.).

⁴ Different frameworks of economic theory are discussed by Svend Riemer, *Den Økonomiske Teoris Præmisser* (Copenhagen: Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift, 1937), pp. 132 ff.

⁵ See William F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: Viking Press, 1922).

such a methodological assumption into an assertion about actually existing social conditions.

Nevertheless, methodological assumptions are often turned into statements of fact. In that case the reasoning is frequently this: As applied to empirical research, the premises are not found contradictory to actually existing conditions. They are not refuted by empirical investigation. But how could they be so refuted? Inasmuch as premises have the very task of eliminating certain aspects from scientific consideration, all consequent procedures of empirical observation are so directed as to overlook those aspects of the situation which are clamped down by definitive assumptions. Research conducted within the limitations of certain premises is not capable of testing the veracity of these premises themselves.

PREMISES IN THE SERVICE OF BIAS

Still, after extended research under the sheltering cover of delimiting premises, the sociological investigator may find himself tempted to reconsider the validity of the assumptions that have served him so well. If he finds them methodologically successful, he may be tempted to consider them as coinciding with actual fact. Thus, the original assumption may be elevated to the rank of a conclusive assertion. A methodological device is taken as an empirical test to verify the very conditions which it eliminates from consideration.

Such turnabout will, of course, be readily performed only by investigators that are methodologically naïve or severely biased. Thus, we have been told with apparent scientific authority that society, indeed, tends to approximate a static equilibrium at any given time, that "differential association" is, indeed, the main factor causing crime rather than representing a possible approach to the analysis of criminal behavior, that environment rather than heredity is the determinant of human behavior, or that urban development *must* yield to the competitive forces active on the real estate market.

There have been attempts to convince us

that social history moves in cycles, or that social history moves in a straight line, that social "progress" must be "grown" to endure, or that it must be initiated by man's ability to plan ahead with reason. We have been assured that family disorganization is the outcome of individual maladjustment rather than adverse social conditions, while it would have been more correct to say that present knowledge is available only about the component of individual maladjustment. All these assertions would be perfectly acceptable if they were offered as propaedeutic devices. As statements of fact, they do not belong in the category of justifiable scientific generalizations.

PREMISES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF RESEARCH

With our insistence upon "operationalism" and methods of empirical verification, we tend to neglect the importance of sound interpretive reasoning. While techniques of investigation are improved and used to establish reliable and valid research conclusions, we have made little progress in clarifying the relationship between the so-called frame of reference and the conclusions to be drawn from research carried out within such "frame of reference."

We are inclined to look upon different frames of reference as so many "approaches" which, from different angles, march toward that incontestable social reality which reveals itself naked to the empirical observer. We tend to forget that the premises which establish a frame of reference are not abandoned as we penetrate to direct empirical observation. They hang on and structure the very perception of empirical facts.

We may do well to distinguish between explicit and implicit premises. Much confusion results, indeed, from premises not clearly stated as such though inherent in the method of empirical observation, and perhaps even misused in the course of interpretive reasoning. Just as our students are trained in techniques of empirical observation, they ought to be trained in the assessment of premises that might limit the re-

search conclusions about which they might have learned in their textbooks.

To be sure, we cannot expect all premises to be stated explicitly. Some are too obvious to be reported to an audience of other scientists familiar with current trends of research. At times it will require considerable skill to document the presence of premises by quotations from descriptions of "procedure" or the wording of schedules and questionnaires.

It would be detrimental, as a matter of fact, to our research efforts if the awareness of "value premises" were made an instrument for purposes of name-calling. This tendency is not unfamiliar to those who have tried to cope with problems of ideology. Undesirable research conclusions have been devaluated by vague references to ideological fixations—assumed to have biased the results of investigation. The use of premises for purposes of ideological distortion is linked to a sufficiently precise process of reasoning to permit us to say with some exactness where objective research ends and where ideological interpretations begin.

We are challenged to remain aware of the range of applicability⁶ determined by the research approach to a social science problem. We must remain aware of this "range of applicability" through all stages of research, that is, from empirical observation to generalization and to the theoretical interpretation of such generalizations. Much distortion of sociological truth could be critically eliminated through the confrontation of premises and conclusions, through careful scrutiny of those instances in which the sociologist has extended his conclusions beyond the "range of applicability" delimited by his frame of reference.

Most ideological distortions in the social sciences can be controlled by an understanding of the proper function of premises. We need not limit ourselves to that gesture of

despair which challenges us to confess to our premises, which, by foregone conclusion, are considered as biased value premises. The assumption, under the circumstances, is that we are all unavoidably biased and that we might as well admit what we are about.⁷

What is gained, however, if we confess to some bias which is vaguely accused of influencing the results of empirical sociological research? Such "declaration of intention" would help only if the admittedly partial truth were related to a framework capable of integrating the results of sociological research indebted to different value premises.

The problem of social science relativity cannot be solved through metaphysical reference to the elementary reality of objective sense impressions (objective because shared with others within the same frame of reference). The methodological analysis of the exact relationship between premises and empirical observation alone will extricate us from a dilemma which leaves us, today, uneasy in the advancement of sociological science. As we build such methodological self-criticism into our scientific procedures, and as we train our students to recognize unavoidable methodological limitations, we shall rest more confident that faulty generalizations will not sneak into our workshop.

THE PLACE OF PREMISES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Social science premises without delimiting premises is impossible, because social reality does not reveal itself in all its facets to the naked eye of the investigator. Precision requires focus; and focus is gained through the elimination of all but the immediately relevant aspects of the social situation from further scrutiny. This is done with the help of premises, that is, statements of fact which—for purposes of the investigation at hand—shall not be doubted. They are assumed to be true, although it may never have been proved that they are

⁶ This fortunate term was used by John Dewey in his *Introduction* to the recent reprinting of his *Reconstruction in Philosophy* ("A Mentor Book"; New York: New American Library, 1950), p. 14.

⁷ See Ellsworth Faris' recent review of Talcott Parsons' *The Social System* in *American Sociological Review*, XVIII, No. 1 (February, 1953), 103.

true in fact. They are assumptions which ought not to be turned into assertions.

Premises are unavoidable in social science research. They are not necessarily tied to ideological bias. Such bias will color the conclusions drawn from empirical research only where premises are misused by being turned from assumptions into assertions. Premises are necessary methodological tools. They need not sneak any ideological or utopian bias into our research conclusions, although we have been deceived frequently by having first been invited to accept certain statements of fact "for the sake of the argument" and having later been made to pay for the acceptance of premises by having them presented to us as incontestable fact.

Little is gained, therefore, from the frank confession of so-called value premises. At that, premises are rarely related to values. Our students ought to be trained, however, to recognize the different premises inherent in their own research and those inherent in different sociological knowledge.

We are not in possession of any unqualified truth. Wherever attempts have been made to summarize diversified research contributions in some specified field of investigation, it has always been recognized that facts produced by empirical research do not add up by mechanical addition. Different generalizations result within the protective shelter of different premises. Facts can be related to each other only if they have been accumulated within a framework of identical premises. Nor can different premises be combined by ascent to higher levels of abstraction. The more divergent premises we have to accept in order to integrate the re-

sults of different empirical investigations, the more shall we have to abandon the self-composed limitations of precise social science. In such attempts, therefore, we drift from the clarity of scientific generalization toward the impenetrable chaos of social reality.

While social science, therefore, must proceed with the acceptance of relative limitations inherent in different premises, it does not yield to bias as long as no conclusions are drawn from the arbitrary premises themselves. Social science truth, to be sure, will remain tied to limiting qualifications. Therefore, research procedures should be accompanied by (1) a clear statement of limiting premises. They should (2) be related to similar research by a comparison of inherent premises. Our search for comprehensive sociological knowledge cannot avoid the cumbersome task of (3) lifting necessary premises increasingly from the level of unproved assumptions to the level of proved fact.

The latter concern might establish that orderly process of "fundamental" research which, then, can be defined as research through which the multitude of otherwise necessary premises is reduced and substituted for by known fact. Needless to say, as we gain more knowledge, our increasing awareness of additional interfering facets of the social situation will lead to the formulation of new premises. That utopian state of social science which might proceed entirely without the use of limiting premises is not within the reach of man.

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CONCEPTS OF SECURITY AND INSECURITY

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ABSTRACT

The concepts of security and insecurity, which originated with W. I. Thomas and Alfred Adler, have not been consistently defined, nor has a theory been developed. Most writings fall in one of nine rough categories, according to the meaning or causal explanation employed. The characteristic tone is clinical, normative, and propagandistic rather than scientific, and there has been no rigorous testing of hypotheses as yet. The usefulness of the subjective concept for any scientific purpose remains to be demonstrated.

The terms "security" and "insecurity" have been accepted recently by many behavioral scientists and related practitioners, who use them extensively. They appear principally in the literature of social psychology and allied subjects—sociology, psychiatry, abnormal or clinical psychology, and social work. Although Freud (32) himself seldom employed the concepts, and some modern texts in psychiatry, such as those of White (94), Rosanoff (74), Bleuler (17), Gordon (36), and Henderson and Gillespie (42), seem to find no need for them, many psychiatrists, especially those with cultural leanings, like Horney (44), Fromm (33), and Plant (70), use them frequently.

The notions of security and insecurity probably began with the works of W. I. Thomas and Alfred Adler, although neither employed them exactly as we do today. Adler (4, 5, 6) was concerned with tracing feelings of inferiority to organic inadequacies and the attitudes associated with them, and Thomas (89) made security one of his "Four Wishes." Thomas' notion of a basic need for security, variously elaborated, forms the nucleus of most discussions by succeeding sociologists (e.g., Folsom [29]).

These two concepts are used in many different and even contradictory ways. One writer regards security as a final purpose in the life-organization of the individual in the Aristotelian sense; another treats it as a by-product of certain experiences, either impelling men to strive for betterment and a

prerequisite of progress (58) or damaging and crippling the personality (11).

According to Plant (70), security or insecurity is a state of mind established early in life: noting how Levy has demonstrated the importance of breast-feeding and cuddling in creating the sense of security, Plant concludes that "insecurity is something which defies 'cure' in the ordinary medical sense of the word. It arises out of situations that are beyond logical control, and is combatted through all those mental processes which we subsume under the term 'faith.'" Logically, he advises the psychiatrist or social worker to spend his time on things he can do more about. Howe (46) believes that the way to be secure is to reduce our level of aspirations to the point where we are not easily disappointed and never to want anything very badly. Williams (95), who undertakes to instruct the physician, argues that security can and should be *given* to the anxious: when a small boy is frightened by memories of lions at the zoo, he says that the first thing to do is to embrace him and then begin talking about something else. In the case of adults he recommends concentrating on the "conceptional elements in the situation of which the patient is afraid."

The literature may be classified in nine rough and nonexclusive categories. The categories are necessarily ideas, rather than men, for some writers can be listed under more than one type.

Group 1. Security-seeking as a basic drive, or security as a goal. Besides Thomas, writers exemplifying this point of view include

Sadler (78), Gesell (34), Bird (16), Young (97), Symonds (88), Linton (59), Kardiner (48), and a host of others. The position is familiar to all sociologists.

Group 2. Insecurity as emotional response to sudden external threats. Emotions akin to fright or fear, approaching shock in extreme cases, are aroused by crises, especially when the experiences occur in an area of life which is normally not threatening. In the words of Sullivan (85): "If something always trusted, never doubted, is swiftly wiped out, if it suddenly proves wholly inadequate to support you . . . , then demoralization follows immediately. The state as it is experienced, in so far as one experiences anything, is of suddenly becoming a prey of utter insecurity." Kirkpatrick (49) calls this type "external" and "temporary" insecurity. Berne (12) equates security with peace and freedom from anxiety. It is precipitated by traffic accidents, fires, battles, earthquakes, epidemics, and panics.

Group 3. Insecurity from a relatively constant threatening external situation. As with Group 2, this usage emphasizes the conditions themselves rather than the individual's response to them, which is apparently taken for granted or stereotyped. The situation is often economic. This meaning is attached to insecurity by Dollard *et al.* (25), who say, for example, that the early demand in our society for the choice of a career causes some persons to postpone marriage, while "to others it means a career which is threatened constantly by loss of job, low income, fear of later insecurity, and feelings of inadequacy in the defined social status." Thus security means roughly having an income. A similar meaning occurs in Sutherland and Locke (86). Mannheim (61) includes a number of external conditions, as well as Lewin's notion of structured *versus* unstructured situations. Form and Miller (30) present secure and insecure patterns of employment from occupational histories, which, however, do not seem to be mutually exclusive.

According to Ruesch (77), "flexibility and social change are in America the princi-

pal sources of insecurity, while in Europe stratification and rigidity result in frustration." Dennis (24) believes that the sameness of his world and the social support he received should allow the Hopi child to feel secure. Murphy and Ladd (67) observe that in our society insecurity among college students comes from many sources. The importance of the home for adolescent security is stressed by Cole (22). Farnham (28) generalizes that "the needs of the adolescent are many, but they can all be summarized under security."

Group 4. Insecurity from competition or from inferiority. Insecurity may arise from our estimates of how we compare with our fellows in a highly competitive society—an aspect of Group 3. More than with Adler, writers using the term "inferiority" have much in common with C. H. Cooley and G. H. Mead. T. A. Ross, discussing the sense of inferiority, which in its extreme forms he classes as neurotic, remarks: "Such people are apt to make a composite photograph of a number of other people and then compare themselves with that as if it represented one person" (76).

Schmalhausen (79) attributes much misery to competition, as does Van der Hoop (91), the latter with special reference to "intuitive" personalities who tend to avoid conflict. Elliott and Merrill (26) assert that "there can be no individual security without social security," for deprivation leads to harsh competition, which in turn makes for individual insecurity." Groves (38) regards social danger as much more productive of insecurity than physical peril. Wendell Johnson (47) points out that "persons sometimes 'seek' security through essentially neurotic disabilities," but he observes that "handicapped" people not infrequently exploit their other abilities and so avoid insecurity.

Dai (23) says that Negro children combat insecurity (inferiority?) by the use of intellectual and other assets for "self-inflation" and by "being good" according to the tenets of the Christian religion.

Group 5. Insecurity due to a threat from

within. Here insecurity is regarded as a *personality characteristic*, independent of present external conditions, and largely determined by early, especially infantile, experiences—in the main an elaboration of psychoanalytic theory. Some of the writers use the terms “insecurity,” “anxiety,” “inferiority,” and “inadequacy” interchangeably. The position is taken typically by Biber, Murphy, Woodcock, and Black (13): “There is deep and pretty general conviction nowadays . . . that the only fundamentally stable individuals are those whose personalities have evolved from a groundwork of emotional security . . . the security of each personality [being] primarily a function of the quality and content of early childhood experience.” Literature expressing this point of view is voluminous, including Anna Freud (31), Healy, Bronner, and Bowers (41), Hinkle (43), Shirley (83), Baruch (11), Wallin (92), Plant (70), and practically all other writers on child development, for example, Sontag (84), Amatruda (7), Parkhurst (69), and Ribble (73). The ultimate is probably represented by Otto Rank (72), who stresses birth experiences in relation to later anxiety states.

Group 6. Insecurity as a function of beliefs, especially religious. Like many others, Hallowell (39) regards religion as a source of security when, in a discussion of Saul-teaux society, he refers to “the inner security of members of the older generation who believed that they had powerful guardian spirits to help them.” Kluckhohn and the Leightons (50, 53, 54) agree that fears of witchcraft often produce insecurity.

Group 7. Insecurity as inimical to the sound development of the personality. Writers in this class argue that insecurity often leads to mental illness, a notion so widely held and so rarely challenged that illustration is superfluous. Practically everyone agrees that insecurity is “bad,” and few qualifications are attached to the judgment. Some writers regard insecurity as the forerunner of more serious personality disorders, while others consider insecurity itself a symptom

of neurosis. The prestige of the idea among professionals is indicated by Lawrence Kolb's quotation of Adolph Meyer's opening address at the 1940 meetings of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene: “The sense of security of mankind is at stake, and it is our share and our duty to contribute to the sanity and security of our own people” (51).

Group 8a. Insecurity as one of the causes of some kinds of behavior, especially pathological behavior. Sherman (82) notes the general belief that insecurity is a cause of aggressive attitudes and behavior. Faris and Dunham (27) indicate that alcohol is often taken for temporary relief from insecurity. Campbell (20) finds that feelings of insecurity or inferiority may lead to excessive fantasy life. Cantor (21) thinks that insecurity contributes to a variety of anti-social behavior. Zilboorg (98) relates insecurity to unconscious guilt and criminal tendencies. A similar view is expressed by Abrahamsen (1), who says, in part: “Though aggressiveness hides inner weakness, still it may give rise to insecurity and feelings of inferiority. . . . [When] combined with the aim of gain [it] may instigate criminal behavior. However, if only one of these factors is present, it will not be sufficient to produce antisocial conduct.” Ackerman and Jahoda (2) refer to the “shifts between ingratiating and aggressive behavior, shifts which are hardly related to the real situation but are produced mainly as a result of deeplying insecurity.”

Group 8b. Insecurity as the cause of certain kinds of attitudes and behavior. Leopold (55) discusses the “primitive security of prejudice,” on which we fall back when our values are challenged. Parsons (93), Fromm (33), Wolfe (96), and Lasswell (52) indicate how insecurity may lead people to adopt authoritarian political faiths. Similarly, the Lynds (60) observe: “The heightening of insecurity during the depression has brought with it a greater insistence upon conformity and a sharpening of latent issues.” Horney (44) attributes to insecurity the search,

among other things, for affection, power, or sexual relations and also envy of the success of others.

Group 9. This is a spacious residual category, to cover odd, amorphous, and conflicting usages. For example, one writer may say that security is a basic drive that results in fascism; a second that insecurity comes from unemployment and results in fascism; a third that insecurity comes from harsh child care and results in fascism; others may accept these hypotheses concerning cause but add several new ones concerning effect. Since we believe that little can be learned from such writers, quotations are omitted here.

It thus appears that the concepts of security and insecurity are typically used in the professional literature to refer to feelings which are inferred from some of their supposed causes and effects. The former are commonly conceived to be sudden or persistent external threats, physical inadequacies or illness, frustration, beliefs, neurosis, and the like; and the latter include anxiety, excessive fantasy, prejudice, aggressive behavior, power-seeking, alcoholism. The same term—"frustration," "neurosis," for example—is often used as either cause or effect. Some of the causes and effects are other inferred feelings like anxiety and frustration.

EMPIRICAL AND CRITICAL RESEARCH

Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb (66) catalogue little that can be regarded as empirical research on security and insecurity but fill in with a number of speculative paragraphs, quoted and original. E. L. Horowitz (45) attempts to restate the existing theory largely in topological terms derived from the work of Kurt Lewin (56, 57).

Maslow (62, 63) is dissatisfied with the concepts and undertakes a systematic description of the characteristics of insecurity as they appear in a clinical setting. Later he offers a clinically derived instrument for measuring security and insecurity, the S-I Test (65), which Gough (37) used, with scor-

ing modifications, only to find nonsignificant correlations between S-I scores of high-school students, their academic grades and their intelligence. Maslow and Szilagyi-Kessler (64) investigate the relation of breast-feeding to security, a hypothesis based on the work of Levy and others, and conclude that insecure people have been breast-fed moderately long, while in the case of the secure it was either long or short. H. L. Ansbacher (9), who explored the early recollections of persons with a variety of S-I scores, concludes that secure and insecure persons characteristically report different kinds of experiences and that insecurity is rooted in unpleasant early life-history.

From examining children in a behavior clinic, Ackerson (3) finds that high intelligence and social pressure in the same child lead to a sense of inferiority. Also from clinical evidence, Hilde Bruch (18) connects insecurity with overeating and overdrinking in children. J. W. Swift (87) compares insecure behavior and Rorschach indexes of insecurity in four- to six-year-old children but finds no direct relationships. A. A. Rose (75) collects autobiographies of fifty-six women who reported insecurity in adolescence. J. W. Hancock (40), who submitted check lists to workers, discovered the principal reasons for insecurity among them to include uncertainty about their progress, criticism in the presence of others, unkept promises, and the advancement of others on grounds of seniority.

Prichard and Ojemann (71), disturbed by the lack of agreement about security and insecurity and about methods of identification and measurement, seek to discover what behavior differentiates secure from insecure children. Using fifteen extremely secure and fifteen extremely insecure children selected by their teachers, they develop a rating scale based on voluntary withdrawal from the group, nonacceptance by the group, bidding for adult attention, crying, hyperactivity, and apprehensiveness.

Arsenian (10) bases a study of twenty-

four children under conditions making for insecurity on these propositions: "In any situation the specific evidence of security is assumed to be the appearance of positively adaptive patterns of behavior; conversely, negatively adaptive or emotional . . . behavior will indicate insecurity. Adaptive behavior is defined as behavior directed with reference to goal regions in the situation, while emotional behavior is defined as activity that is not thus goal-directed and presumably concurs with a state of excess tension"(!).

Andrus and Horowitz (8) attempt to determine the effect of age and time in nursery school on feelings of security and insecurity by means of a rating scale applied by teachers to their pupils. The reliability of the scale proves low, the correlations slight and variable, and the authors conclude that their study fails, even partially, to supply the answers.

After citing some of the current research, Thompson (90) complains that child psychologists have talked a great deal about insecurity in children but have done little investigating. However, he is inclined to play safe, recommending that "in the light of these alleged consequences of insecurity in children, we should do our utmost to provide a stable physical and social environment in which children can develop feelings of security and self-responsibility."

Using 162 Wisconsin farm children, Sewell (81) undertakes to test empirically, with more statistical adequacy than usual, a number of familiar psychoanalytic hypotheses on the effects of specific child-training practices on personality development. The term "security," however, appears only late in his paper, in connection with an "infantile security index":

In arriving at the index scores, one point was given for each of the supposedly favorable infant-training experiences. . . . This made possible the testing of an eighth null hypothesis that the *personality adjustments and traits of the children whose infantile security index scores are favorable do not differ significantly from those of the children whose scores are unfavorable*. This

hypothesis, too, must not be rejected on the basis of the statistical analysis. . . . The children with more favorable scores had better tempers and a higher sense of personal freedom than did those whose scores were unfavorable on the index of infantile security. These relationships are in the expected direction, but [their] over-all results . . . provide no basis for the rejection of either the specific or the general hypothesis.

Sewell thus merely equates security with exposure to supposedly favorable childhood training practices, a usage that falls in Group 3 above.

With the help of Billig (14), a specialist in the psychiatric techniques of Rorschach testing and interviewing, Gillin (35) makes a direct attempt to assess insecurity and finds that in the town of San Carlos, Guatemala (population 7,500), the Indians who stay within their own culture are more secure than the Ladinos. He attributes this to the differences between the Indian and Ladino cultures, which he describes in some detail, emphasizing the orientation toward passivity of the Indians as contrasted with the orientation to dominance of the Ladinos. This study is perhaps the most sophisticated of the ethnographic surveys that have dealt with security and insecurity or other psychiatric concepts in relation to whole cultures. The essentially descriptive character of such surveys remains, however, as is indicated by these circumstances: the absence of any initial hypotheses to be tested by the data; the vagueness of the critical variables, with no attempt to quantify insecurity; the possibility of variation between only two cultures; the lack of effort to control or measure intervening variables; and, finally, the nature of the sample, being of only thirty Ladinos and fewer Indians, all males, the method of drawing the individuals from the age groups unspecified. These limitations prevent the results from being more than suggestive; and Gillin apparently makes no greater claim for them.

Even comparative psychologists have attempted some research in this field; for example, Dalbir Bindra (15) suggests that

hoarding behavior among rats is a function of the difference between the degree of security in the cage and in the food-getting situation.

In addition to these more clearly empirical efforts, there are at least a dozen quasi-empirical articles in the literature, in which clinicians offer some thesis about insecurity based on a few case studies. Similarly, there is here and there a critical article which touches on insecurity, like that of Crlansky (68) and of Sears (80).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This sampling of the literature dealing with security and insecurity finds that most of it is vague and tendentious. Statements of "fact" and declarations of policy are generally not documented by reference to any research whatever. Where research is referred to, it is largely unsatisfactory for one or more reasons:

1. No criteria of security and insecurity are specified. Someone has judged someone else to be insecure, but the reader is not told how or why.

2. When criteria are given, they are logically inadequate to distinguish insecurity from other feelings.

3. The kinds of phenomena which are related to security and insecurity are unclear. "Faulty adjustment," "unsatisfactory relations to others," and similar categories are subjective and evaluative, and their sound treatment requires more scientific sophistication than has yet been brought to bear on them.

4. Research which argues for the close relation of insecurity to specific phenomena

(delinquency, overeating, etc.) usually includes so few cases as to be statistically questionable.

5. Where specified criteria for security and insecurity are used in some standardized fashion, and relations with other phenomena are examined in samples large and random enough to justify some faith in them statistically, no clear-cut and dependable relations between security and insecurity and their presumed causes or effects emerge.

6. Much of what passes for research is only the recitation of anecdotal examples which illustrate a thesis the writers already accept. The characteristic approach in the clinical articles and books is to elaborate a theoretical proclamation and then say: "For example, in the case of Sonia. . . ." Such writing is essentially didactic, since, of course, an exemplary case or cases cannot prove the generality of any proposition.

In brief, no consistent definitions or theory have yet been developed around the concepts of security and insecurity, and the prerequisite empirical testing of the hypotheses which might be derived by objective research has hardly begun. We take it that the goal is simply a system of established relationships between verbalization and other behavior, which is an acceptable index of security or insecurity, on the one hand, and certain antecedents and subsequent conditions and resulting behavior, all operationally defined, on the other. To demonstrate the usefulness of the two concepts for reliably predicting or controlling specific behavior should challenge all genuinely interested social scientists and clinicians.

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METHODOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE OF MEAD, LUNDBERG, AND PARSONS

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ABSTRACT

In the methodologies of Mead, Parsons, and Lundberg, both explicit and implicit convergence was discovered in what they say, do, and mean. Convergence is evident in the categories of "science and research," "the object world," "uniformities of nature," "systematic theory," "uniformities and causal imputation," and "process: structure and function."

The stature of Talcott Parsons shows that "system" is not ignored in American sociology. It is conceded that system, in sociological theory, though still important, is somewhat more primitive than in other scientific areas.¹ In one sense, every integrated conceptual scheme constitutes a system of related concepts. Consequently, scientific procedure, which invariably makes use of some conceptual scheme, always implies a system of some sort. The systems may vary tremendously in degree of generality (meaning how many specifics are subsumed under a common rubric); complexity; integration or internal unity; coherence; and closure. Regardless of differences, however, in so far as they fall into the category of "scientific" systems, there will be methodological similarity.

The implication is that the methodological aspects of Parsons' "systematizing" will have something in common with other systems seemingly quite different. It can be hypothesized that the treatment of social phenomena from the institutionalized position of science leads to important methodo-

logical convergence, even though different immediate frames of reference are used. To examine this hypothesis, comparisons are needed, of diverse theoretical positions. G. H. Mead, G. A. Lundberg, and Talcott Parsons have been chosen as being representative of different methodologies.² They are rarely spoken of in the same context and are generally held to be independent of one another, and it may be said that most sociologists conceive of their theoretical positions as almost mutually exclusive—products of separate intellectual continuities.

No attempt is made to play down either the existence or the significance of the dif-

² The data here used to represent Mead, Parsons, and Lundberg are taken from statements of methodology developed at the time of this study: Mead—all four of his posthumously issued books: *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); *The Philosophy of the Present* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1932); *The Philosophy of the Act* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938). Lundberg—*Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939) and *Can Science Save Us* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947). Parsons—*The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951); chaps. i and ii of *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied*; and Part II of Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

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¹ The ideal of science is to achieve a systematic interconnection of facts, not isolated propositions which merely create the opportunity to find connections between them and other propositions. Parsons defines "system" as being "a body of logically interdependent generalized concepts of empirical reference... ideally... 'logically closed'" (Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], pp. 16-17). Being an ideal, this has been only approximated in sociology. The sociologies of Mead, Parsons, and Lundberg are "systematic" in so far as they are attempts at systematizing.

ferences in the methodologies of Mead, Parsons, and Lundberg: the object here is merely to extract their similarities. "Convergence" is defined as being merely "similarity of exposition." In this analysis, similarities of statement or treatment are selected from the three independent expositions and, when they appear on a "general" level, are treated as categories of convergence. Whenever the three men appear to be saying similar things, regardless of terminological differences, they are held to converge.

I. SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

On the matter of science, its nature and its applicability to human social behavior, there is considerable agreement. To Mead, research science occupies the central position. He conceives of research science as underlying all recent important intellectual developments and works from the premise that any thinking, to be scientific, must be subject to reconstruction, the most solid grounds for which are found in research.

Although the problem central to Parsons is the establishment of a deductive, comprehensive theoretical system which in itself has no direct applicability to research, for it contains no testable propositions or empirical generalizations, research is still crucial. He assumes that testable propositions can be derived from the system, which, then, will lead to the establishment of empirical generalizations. Parsons maintains that every empirical investigation is conducted in terms of a conceptual scheme but explicitly states that the sole sanction of such a scheme is its "utility," the extent to which it "works" in facilitating scientific investigation.³ The only scientific test of a theoretical system is pragmatic: whether or not it aids in the understanding of empirical problems.

Lundberg is also committed to research as the basis of science. He starts with the premise that all inquiry begins with a tension or imbalance which indicates disequi-

librium in the organism-in-environment.⁴ Verbalized, such tensions tend to take the form of questions about the universe. To answer these questions tentatively requires hypotheses. Hypotheses enter into all spheres of living, but the most reliable way of verifying them is through the technique of science. This means research, and it is by means of relatively reliable answers to questions, arrived at by research, that tension is removed and equilibrium re-established.

Research is thus pre-eminent in the systems of each of these men. Although Mead and Parsons, in particular, are primarily theorists who add little to the existing body of empirical "facts," they still conceive of empirical research as constituting the ultimate test of both the validity and the significance of any theory. Though always an inescapable commitment, this is often obscured in Parsons' work by the nature of his deductive procedures; but it is never obscured in that of Mead or Lundberg. Thus science, in all three systems, must ultimately be research science.

The realm of science, in the view of Mead, is composed of that which is common to various observers, the world of common, necessarily social, experience, symbolically formulated. The experienced world is conceived to be a realm of natural events that are no more the property of the organism than they are of the things observed.⁵ There is a necessary relationship between observer and observed; therefore, the fundamental feature is the direct and common accessibility to both observer and observed. The completeness of accessibility will vary, with reference to both object and observer, but the fact that it must be common is essential to the method, an unquestioned aspect of the procedure of all science. In so far as it is common, it is necessarily social; therefore, there is nothing more truly universal and social than science.

The foregoing is entirely in keeping with the approaches of Parsons and Lundberg, with two exceptions. Parsons tends to con-

³ *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied?* p. 66.

⁴ *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 5.

⁵ Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act*, pp. xv-xvii.

ceive of science in more absolutistic terms, the emphasis upon the relationship between observer and observed being not quite the same. In conceiving of science as a technique of "reality"-testing, he implies that science is ever moving toward a more ultimate truth: thus only improper or inadequate conceptualization keeps us from the ultimate capturing of "reality." This is in contrast to Mead's emphasis on the observer-observed nexus, wherein "reality" belongs solely to neither but, on the contrary, is a function of the relationship.

Lundberg also deviates from both Mead and Parsons, in that, in spite of his postulate of an external world and variations in it, he places the emphasis entirely upon the reacting organism. Any "thing" that is not responded to has no existence; the data of science consist entirely in the responses of men. This, in effect, emphasizes the act of "knowing" and depreciates that which is "known." The focus is upon response rather than upon that which is responded to, and this position, of course, has ramifications.

Despite these differences in emphasis and focus, it is clearly agreed that science is social, experiential, symbolic, and commonly accessible. A world of existence is postulated, within which problems appear and are tested. Any part of this world may become subject to inquiry. Scientific knowledge does not imply existences and meanings which are given but merely the initiation of an inquiry into a part of the world that for the purposes at hand is treated as problematic. This necessarily proceeds through the formation of hypotheses (no matter whether primarily derived from systematic theory, as in the case of Parsons, or from empirical curiosity, as in the case of Lundberg) and their testing in the unquestioned problematic area of the world. Mead makes explicit what is implicit in both Parsons and Lundberg—that the instruments, the controls, the laboratories, and the verifiers are a part of the unproblematic world that is "there" and goes unquestioned during the examination of a given theory. Scientific knowledge accrues only through the testing of hypothe-

ses in action by "means" which necessarily are held to be real, although they may in other situations be a part of the problematic area.

Parsons and Lundberg take this aspect of science for granted, but Mead seriously concerns himself with its refusing to accept any existence or reality which denies the reality of perceived things, for the entire procedure of the research scientist is at the mercy of perceptions of them. These perceptions control both the overt measurements and the scientific decision to accept or reject hypotheses. If the empirical test of observation is to be the ultimate test for the scientist, and it is so conceived by all three of these men, then it must have a social base in order to assure its objectivity. Here Mead's analysis renders a special contribution to the common positions, one of his major tasks being to demonstrate that the "mental" or "subjective" lies within a context that is "common" and "social."

II. THE OBJECT WORLD

All three men argue that an external world is objectively "there," independent of our experiencing of it, although Lundberg deviates from the relatively similar positions of Mead and Parsons. Mead contends that external objects are "there," independent of the experiencing individual, which makes research a work of discovery. Nevertheless, objects possess characteristics by virtue of the experiencing of them that they otherwise would not possess: their "meanings." The distinction between physical objects and the experiencing of them lies in the fact that the latter is constituted by and concerned with meanings: *only* that which is experienced can have meaning. To Mead the physical object is an abstraction made from our social response to nature. The physical object is one to which there is no social response to call out again the response of the experiencing individual. As an object incapable of carrying on social interaction, it is physical despite its social derivation. This line of thinking establishes a dichotomy based upon a distinction between

objects. Therefore, there is a distinction between a science of physical objects and a science of socially responding objects.

Lundberg, in the positivistic tradition, explicitly denies Mead's distinction. To him all science is "physical," and the data of the sciences are not intrinsically different. All data, regardless of what field they are handled in, consist of the responses of the organism-in-environment. The data are the symbolic adjustments we make to a particular environment. Data are always in terms of response; therefore, they represent a form of behavior regardless of what field they are procured in. The procurement of data not only is dependent upon human reaction but also lies in human reaction. The symbols of the responding organisms constitute the actual data of all science. Lundberg consequently holds the distinction between "physical" and "social" categories to be invalid and misleading.

However, Lundberg does not actually operate consistently from this position. When he comes to define sociology as a special science, he puts aside this "physical" orientation and makes the same distinction that Mead and Parsons make. Lundberg takes pains to establish the concept of interaction as essential to all scientific endeavor: all sciences study the interaction of the phenomena with which they are concerned. He admits, however, that interaction among human beings is *unique*, being conducted through *communication* by means of symbolic behavior.⁶ Sociology, as conceived by Lundberg, is concerned with a *special* kind of interaction—that which takes place by means of communication through symbols. In distinguishing between interaction and symbolic interaction, Lundberg implicitly admits the existence of two classes of objects, those capable of responding and those which are not. This corresponds exactly with the distinction made by Mead. Furthermore, because of it, communication is the focal point in Lundberg's sociology.

Parsons classifies objects into a threefold pattern rather than into the two categories made explicit by Mead and implicit in Lund-

berg's approach. However, the *content* is the same. The threefold classification used by Parsons differentiates between "social," "physical," and "cultural" objects. A social object is an actor or a collectivity of actors who are capable of "responding to" or "interacting" with an actor treated as point of reference. A physical object is an empirical entity that functions only as means or conditions for action, in that it *cannot interact* with the actor. Cultural objects are conceived of as such symbolic elements as ideas, beliefs, expressive symbols, and values. They are cultural objects because they are situational objects—in other words, objects of orientation to the actor and not constituents of his personality.⁷

Parsons has merely broken down the "social" category of Mead by creating a further abstraction. He lifts certain elements out of *social* action and calls them "culture."⁸ Obviously, such elements as beliefs and symbols can lie only in social behavior, and, consequently, they can only be inferred. By treating them as objects of orientation, Parsons is abstracting them out of social action, using a given actor as point of reference. Mead and Lundberg leave these elements in action and treat them no differently whether they function as objects of orientation or are a part of the orientation itself. They are the same thing; Parsons has, for convenience in his system, created the abstraction of "cultural" object based upon the role played in a given situation.

From the foregoing it is readily discernible that all three actually distinguish between social-cultural objects and physical objects. This, despite assertions to the contrary by Lundberg, results in a "difference" between social and physical science. Mead and Parsons consistently hold to this position and accept its numerous implications. Lundberg vacillates between what he would

⁷ Parsons, *The Social System*, pp. 4-5.

⁸ Swanson handles this object classification differently in his critique of Parsons and Shils, *op. cit.* This is indicative of the continuing ambiguities of the "cultural object." See G. E. Swanson, "The Approach to a General Theory of Action by Parsons and Shils," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (April, 1953), 127-28.

⁶ *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 252-56.

like to believe in and adhere to and what he is forced to do in order to study social behavior which is admittedly "different."

III. UNIFORMITIES OF NATURE

In this object world, science evokes the postulate of uniformity. The uniformity of nature is a major premise of science, and it of course is implicit in the systems of all three men. Owing to the fact that all the endeavors of science are predicated on this premise, there is a frequently observed tendency to treat uniformity as more than a postulate. Such a tendency is manifest in the work of Parsons. Uniformities seem to "inhere" in nature very frequently for Parsons. Probabilities are sometimes spoken of as being demonstrative of uniformities of nature. If one were to ask why the probabilities were found, the answer would have to be "Because the uniformity was assumed in the first place." The uniformity of nature cannot be "demonstrated" by assuming it in advance; consequently, "uniformity" remains merely a necessary postulate. Mead and Lundberg, being more pragmatically inclined, see no difficulty in the practice of explaining the world in terms of uniformities—because the assumption has always worked.

Despite Parsons' greater tendency to reify the postulate of uniformity, he agrees with Mead and Lundberg that science is merely *stating* laws in terms of uniformities. Hence science is always ready to change any statement on uniformities, and all universals used by science are postulates, acceptable only as long as they agree with empirical perception. Since all three men accept observation as the ultimate test of theory, then, their systems can only deal with hypothetical universals, and all conclusions will be hypothetical and science inferential. Scientific research does not attempt to establish "laws" as absolutely given. Parsons again demonstrates a tendency to state what the nature of things "is," at the same time, like Mead and Lundberg, busying himself at placing the events of observation in order. Parsons' preoccupation with a "deductive" system frequently obscures this,

but it must be remembered that deduction and induction are not mutually exclusive, and even his "derived" categories and types are based upon someone's observations and inferences, however indirect.

IV. SYSTEMATIC THEORY

The problem of placing the events of observation in order is not merely a matter of seeing what is "out there." The three men agree that seeing, in any significant sense, means conceptualizing. Consequently, seeing is dependent upon looking, which in turn will reflect a system of theory, or theories, interests, and purposes. Our conceptual schemes will lead us to seek one character rather than another in the object or object relationship under consideration. This statement is less applicable to Lundberg than to Parsons and Mead, yet is, nevertheless, generally true. The distinction is based upon Lundberg's tendency to conceive of data as "given," while Mead and Parsons rigorously conceive of them as "taken." Explicitly, however, Lundberg also faces the fact that our treatments of data are guided by theories that inevitably direct our looking. Not only does this enter into discrete theories formulated as hypotheses, but Lundberg also gives evidence of his awareness of it in his concern with systematic theory.

Observation is not merely a matter of establishing receptiveness to the stimuli of the external world but, on the contrary, is always directed according to some sort of problem and reflects some sort of interest. This is consistently expressed in the systems of all three men, although Mead and Lundberg stress discrete problems and theories more than Parsons, who in turn stresses the "conceptual scheme" more. This leads Parsons to give a systematic account of the universe as such, whereas Mead and Lundberg concern themselves with specific problems wherein the "system" remains largely implicit. This is owing to the fact that Mead and Lundberg are more oriented to the research "model," whereas Parsons is more "system"-oriented. The two positions are definitely not exclusive of one another. On the contrary, it is a matter of emphasis.

To the extent that Mead and Lundberg give more weight to the research model, they are influenced by the fact that the work of research starts from a specific problem arising out of an exception to what is regarded as "law," "principle," or "typical uniformity." Given the exception, a hypothesis must be supplied which will ultimately resolve the problem. Indeed, Mead stresses the point that the genius of the research thinker lies in the fact that he does not wait for the exception to turn up but devotes considerable energy to ferreting out instances wherein existent theory is inadequate. Mead, Parsons, and Lundberg are in essential agreement that the approach to the problem can be from either of two sides: from that of the particular experience that controverts the theory or from that of the developed relational theory that offers new objects for scientific investigation. Mead and Lundberg emphasize the former and Parsons the latter. Both approaches are a part of the *same* process, however, which makes theory not only the beginning but the end of research in all three systems. The sole difference here lies in the different degrees of emphasis on discrete, as opposed to systematic, theory.

Parsons' central concern is with the development of systematic theory as such, the generalized conceptual scheme. This system is nonempirical, entirely heuristic, and devised solely for methodological purposes. It contains no empirical generalizations, no testable propositions, and no assertions of uniformity, being just a set of conceptual tools which functions as a "frame of reference" and as the source of structural categories which will have empirical reference. The theoretical system merely *facilitates* description and analysis through the establishment of a framework within which empirical work makes sense. The categories of the system give a basis for judging "what" must be known about a given phenomenon to make it a comprehensible part of an ordered whole. In Parsons' view, empirical generalizations cannot function as the central focus of theory but, on the contrary, are only arrived at on the basis of the pre-exist-

ence of a conceptual system. The arrival at empirical generalizations presupposes a point of departure, which inevitably will be a "conceptual scheme" of some sort. This point, then, leads Parsons to emphasize the scientific necessity and utility of developing a more adequate theoretical system or conceptual scheme in order to conduct both manageable and significant empirical work.

The "system" Lundberg talks about is not the same as that to which Parsons has primarily devoted his attention, although it implicitly contains the features that Parsons has emphasized. Lundberg's "system" is one of interrelated empirical generalizations. These are "laws" in the form of probability statements that have been "systematized." Lundberg pays scant attention to the "conceptual scheme" necessarily used in the selection of problems and the development of hypotheses that resulted in a set of verified propositions, but he *uses* one. His establishment of such forms, processes, and categories as energy, force, time, space, interaction, communication, association, and dissociation indicates that he feels the same necessity for a conceptual scheme that Parsons does. But, unlike Parsons, he does not explicitly recognize the importance, or scientific priority, of this deductive system. Whereas Parsons contends that the system must be rigorously and deductively made comprehensive *prior* to any attempt at the establishment of any "laws" of uniformity, Lundberg leaves the system largely implicit and goes right to work on a system possessing verifiability. This latter is a system of hypothetical propositions, subject to empirical test. Such a system would be a second-level one for Parsons, which could only emerge from a more rigorously developed conceptual system which in itself contained no propositions.

Essentially, the remarks made about Lundberg would hold for Mead in this case. His pragmatic acceptance of the "research" model and his lack of concern with a systematic account of the universe as such also compel him to leave largely implicit this first level of theory, the deductively drawn conceptual system. When he speaks of sys-

tem, he, too, is speaking of a relational pattern of propositions subject to test. When he concerns himself with matters of sociological relevance, however, he also utilizes a categorical frame of reference that underlies the hypotheses actually subject to test. His analysis proceeds only in terms of categories and processes that are "assumed" and are not problematic. The social act, roles, minds, selves, and communication are not testable as such, yet they constitute elements of the framework within which Mead works. Only propositions made about these *aspects* of the universe are testable. Therefore, any system of verified statements that might be forthcoming about any of Mead's elements will necessarily presuppose the prior deductive existence of the elements themselves.

From the foregoing it can be seen that all three have deductively drawn conceptual schemes. Only Parsons, however, spends considerable time on this scheme and regards it as worthy of prolonged and rigorous elaboration. Inasmuch as all three actually utilize a deductive conceptual system, one may assume that Parsons' attempt to make it recognizably explicit is a step in the right direction, dependent, however, on his recognition of the fact that any deductive system can be infinitely elaborated into units of increasing specificity which may or may not contribute to the "utility" of the theory. Parsons apparently does recognize this, for he states in one of his five postulates for systematic theory that the theoretical system should be framed in operational concepts as far as possible.⁹ This is not to be confused with "operationalism" but must merely be taken as meaning that the categories of the system are of such a character that the empirical values of the variables involved are the immediate products of verifiable observational procedures. For example, the cognitive, cathectic, and evaluative modes of orientation are merely constructed theoretical categories, but they are potentially observable in actual behavior as real variables and are therefore susceptible to empirical statement regarding *relative* pri-

macy. The *extent* to which one of these modes has priority within a given concrete course of action is potentially observable and measurable. This points to the fact, then, that Parsons conceives of the *major* scientific task as consisting in the articulation of empirical observation and its standardized procedures with the theoretical categories of the system. Mead and Lundberg do not say this, but it is what they actually do in their substantive analysis.

V. UNIFORMITIES AND CAUSAL IMPUTATION

The articulation of empirical observations with theoretical categories means the development of categorical knowledge, which is merely another way of saying that uniformities have been observed. This, of course, requires the postulate of the uniformity of nature but at the same time requires uniform observational procedure. Thus, inevitably, all three men are committed to the canon of objectivity implied by uniform observation. To ask for a law of nature is to ask for uniformity, but if one asks where that uniformity is found, the answer is: "In the experience of men who observe." They obtain certain impressions and find them uniform. This must be attributed to a uniformity of "looking" as well as a uniformity of that which is "there." These impressions in their totality belong neither to the observers nor to the observed, but their significance lies in the relationship between the two, and it is through this relationship that universality can be experienced. Objectivity, consequently, is an aspect of universality and lies in that which is common. The individual perspective can be the social or common perspective only in so far as it is experientially shared. It is this point that leads all three men to stress the significance of symbolic equipment and communication, for it is obvious that it is only through such means that events may present the same appearance to different people and thereby attain uniformity.

Thus all three men assume that the world (including social behavior) is both explicable and intelligible—explicable in the sense that uniformities are "there" and intelligible in

⁹ *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied*, pp. 4-5.

the sense that it may be objectively comprehended. A knowledge of the world is therefore never the mere contact of the organism with objects in it, although Lundberg expresses this belief at times. To know a thing, to explain it, we put it into the context of uniformities. In establishing a uniformity, one relates an event to the conditions under which it occurs. This is causation in its broadest and least particularistic sense and constitutes the level of usage at which all three men agree.

For Parsons dynamic analysis of problems is the ultimate goal of science, and this implies the pre-existence of a frame of reference, structural categories, and description. The attainment of this goal requires, in the first place, "causal" explanation of past phenomena and prediction of future events, and, in the second, the attainment of generalized analytical knowledge of "laws" applicable to an indefinite number of specific cases. Specific causal explanation is attainable only through the application of some generalized analytical knowledge, and the extension of analytical generalization is possible only in terms of generalization from empirical cases and the verification that they supply. Parsons again attests to the ultimacy of the empirical test. Causality is an inferential linking of empirical events.

Lundberg disowns the notion of cause as a relationship of one-sided dependence between two or more phenomena.¹⁰ He supplants it by using the concept of interaction, which denotes reciprocal or interdependent behavior between or among any number of components in a situation treated as a closed system. When the interaction between the observable components of a situation has been described, all scientific requirements have been met, according to Lundberg. This ties interaction to the "operations" involved in its observation. From the pattern of interaction it is then possible to impute cause operationally to the independent variable when it shows a high probability expectation in its variations relative to other factors under constant conditions. Any factor can conceivably be the independent variable;

therefore, causation is merely an operational imputation based upon a probability statement.

Mead accepts the scientific tenet that natural events have natural causes but rejects the mechanistic assumption that accompanies it, that every effect can consequently be reduced to its causal conditions. He contends that the appearance of the effect constitutes an emergence and that the emergent itself affects an environment which, therefore, could not be known before its emergence.¹¹ The *relation* of the event to its preceding conditions is a factor in itself, and therefore the event cannot be reduced to its preceding conditions. Consequently, Mead substitutes, for the idea of cause as a force, a uniformity that has been discovered and may be expected to continue. Thus he avoids cause and effect in a mechanical sense and speaks in terms of probability—probability that is based not solely on imperfect and incomplete observation but also on the element of novelty contained in the emergence of events that cannot be reduced to their conditions of emergence.

The foregoing makes evident the fact that all three men use causation only in its broadest sense. A uniformity is defined by relating an event to the conditions under which it occurs. In view of the fact that these are empirical uniformities, they can be stated only in probability terms. Consequently, the probability statement in the form of empirical generalization replaces traditional causation in each of these three approaches.

VI. PROCESS: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

For Mead it is necessary to express the nature of the world in terms of dynamics. As opposed to the "static" representation of the world in a "knife-edge" present, he emphasizes the representation as it is in *process*. This means that stress is placed not only upon the interrelationship and interdependence of the parts within a given system but also upon the place of process in the persistence of the system.¹² He uses the exam-

¹¹ *The Philosophy of the Act*, pp. 87-88.

¹² Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present*, pp. 35-39.

¹⁰ *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 217-18.

ples of the physicist and the biologist, but the sociologist could be substituted for the biologist and the distinction would remain valid. The difference lies in the goals of the sciences, for their procedures answer to their goals. That of the physical scientist is reduction, and that of the biologist is production. The biologist's investigation is of a going life-process. There must, of course, be physical means for the process, and the physical means can be legitimately reduced to energy by the physicist and a mechanical statement given. To leave it at that, however, is to deny the reality of the emergence of the life-process out of the physical means. To deny reality to the continuity of the life-process and the conditions under which it maintains itself would be to eliminate biological science, for it eliminates the very perspective from which biology works. The analogy with sociology is clear. To deny reality to social behavior merely because the people manifesting it can be physically reduced to energy is tantamount to violating the principle of scientific abstraction. To the sociologist the continuity of interaction of people is just as real and just as legitimate an abstraction as electron-proton configuration is to the physicist.

Lundberg is also committed to the study of *process* as essential to science. He takes the concept of interaction as basic to all scientific endeavor. All sciences study the interaction of the phenomena with which they concern themselves. Interaction involves transformation of *energy*, which involves *movement*, in which *force* can be figured as a rate of movement or change in time, within a system which is a situation. This can be reduced to its sociological essentials by saying that interaction is movement in a social situation. Interactional behavior is classified from the structural point of view by Lundberg as types of *groups*. From the dynamic point of view the latter are distinguished by their behavior *mechanisms*. Consequently, from the dynamic concept of interaction (necessarily a process) Lundberg extracts the major structural component of social behavior, the group, and also the

mechanisms by means of which groups function and equilibrate as systems.

Interaction among humans is treated by Lundberg as unique among the forms of interaction, in that it takes place through communication by means of symbolic behavior. Sociologists are therefore concerned with a special kind of interaction—that which exists by means of communication through signs and symbols. Communication is obviously a process, and it becomes the focal point of Lundberg's sociology. He subsumes under it various subcategories, such as "association" and "dissociation," "co-operation," "competition," and "conflict," and suggests that all these are processes to be defined in terms of degree of communication.

Lundberg treats process in "structural-functional" terms but clearly recognizes these as aspects of process. When he speaks of "mechanism," for instance, he is referring to any arrangement or relation of parts involved in the production of an effect or event.¹³ Viewed dynamically, these effects are called "behavior" or "function." Statically, the *same phenomena* are called "structure." "Behavior (function) is, in fact, merely a series of changing characteristics (structures), while a characteristic (structure) is merely a persistent form of behavior (function)."¹⁴ Lundberg explicitly recognizes that they are the same phenomena, lying in the same process, and only analytically separable. By treating structure as merely a persistent function, and function as a sequence of changing structures, Lundberg is simply dealing with process in a particular methodological way.

Parsons also subscribes to the notion that analysis of process is the ultimate in scientific endeavor. He contends, however, that process cannot be grasped "as such" in the current state of sociological knowledge. He expresses considerable admiration for sciences capable of dealing with processes but maintains that sociology is methodologically incapable of emulating them at the present time. Insisting that a "structural-func-

¹³ *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 339.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

tional" approach is the currently workable substitute for process analysis, he points to the methodological necessity of using structural categories for simplifying the admittedly important dynamic problems to the point of empirical manageability.

In maintaining that sociology is methodologically confined to a somewhat primitive level, Parsons is really saying that sociology cannot "dissolve" its structure into process, as can analytical mechanics, by virtue of its operation on the dynamic plane. In stressing this, Parsons recognizes the fact that structure is not an ontological reality in itself but refers only to a relative stability of process—in other words, the relatively stable uniformities of process. Parsons' "derived" structural categories therefore consist of a pragmatically convenient way of looking at phenomena in process. The problem then becomes one of linking "static" structural categories to the dynamic variables of the system. This link is supplied by the basic concept of "function."¹⁵

Function implies the conception of empirical systems as "going concerns." Empirical observation of such systems indicates what structural patterns "tend to be maintained" and "tend to develop."¹⁶ Function is therefore inherently teleological in this sense. A process or set of conditions either contributes to the maintenance or development of a system or is "dysfunctional" because of hampering its operation by lessening its integration. Functional conception, then, refers to the relations obtaining between a process or a set of conditions and the state of the system as a going concern. Function consequently provides the tool by which dynamic interdependence of variable factors in a system can be analyzed. To speak of a social system at a moment in time is to speak of it "structurally," but to refer to it as a "going concern" implies the necessity for treatment of it in a "curation" of time. To speak of a system as a "going concern" is to speak of a configuration in

process. Parsons then uses "function" to refer to the relation of a mode of action to the existence and continuity of social structures. Put in other words, it refers to the contribution that a mode of action makes to the creating or maintaining of the equilibrium of a social system. Function, then, is an imputed relationship between ongoing action (process) and relatively stable process (structure).

The foregoing indicates that the concept "function" is necessary to Parsons, owing to the inclusion of the concept "social system," which complicates the analysis of sheer process. Inasmuch as structure is admitted to be nothing but process involving relatively stable action, and function can only be imputed on the basis of observation of process, Parsons appears also to accept process as the point of departure for analysis. To speak of structure and function independent of process is inconceivable. Parsons, like Mead and Lundberg, is studying process but, because of our methodological inability to make analytic statements about it, calls his analysis "structural-functional." His preoccupation with structural categories gives his work a "static" appearance that is not present in Mead's work. This is indicative of a different emphasis on a "stage" of analysis and does not indicate a different ultimate end of analysis. When Mead speaks of the "me" phase of the self or of "institutions," he is speaking of "structure" in the same sense in which both Parsons and Lundberg use the term. When he, for instance, speaks of the role of "gesture" in the emergence of symbolic behavior, he is also imputing "function" in the same sense as both Lundberg and Parsons. Mead's more direct preoccupation with symbolic interaction and role-taking and indirect concern with the social system give his analysis a more dynamic quality than that of Parsons, who operates in the reverse fashion. Essentially the same may be said of Lundberg relative to Parsons, in that he devotes the major share of his attention to symbolic interaction and its subprocesses rather than to a system as such.

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¹⁵ Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CAVAN'S *THE AMERICAN FAMILY*

December 14, 1953

To the Editor:

In the name of fair play, I would like to take exception to Robert Winch's review of *The American Family*, by Ruth Shonle Cavan, in the November, 1953, issue of the *Journal*. In his first paragraph the reviewer uses the expression "*sic*" because Cavan chose the word "temporal" as a synonym for "temporary." Since *sic* is a fighting word with authors and book-reviewers, I was surprised on checking Webster to find that Cavan is correct and Winch is misinformed (see *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* [5th ed.], p. 1027). This little error, it seems to me, is typical of the tone of the entire review.

One of the chief complaints that Winch has against the Cavan text is against "middle-class moralizing." The following statement was cited as an illustration of this: "The new form of the family must be flexible and adaptable to continued change, with norms based on principles rather than fixed rules of behavior." We might admit that this is not one of the clearest sentences in the Cavan text, but we fail to see why it is *middle-class* moralizing. Actually, it is a

very common form of *sociological* moralizing and as such is to be found in every sociology text we have ever examined carefully. In Winch's own text on the family, for example, we find this statement: "It is one of the basic theses of this book that the changes in the family have been necessitated by alterations in our ways of life" (p. 50). We feel sure that millions of persons in the United States, such as devout Catholics and Protestants, do not agree with Winch (or other social scientists) on this point. Such persons believe that the family need not change in a mechanistic way just because the economic system or some other part of the social system has changed. Our point is that to these people Winch is moralizing—he is passing scientific judgment that *it had to be this way*.

It may be that no textbook writer can be completely objective in evaluating a competing product, but it seems to us that the least one could do in such a situation would be to be generous. This we do not think Winch is guilty of in the Cavan review. And this is unfortunate, because the book deserves wide examination.

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NEWS AND NOTES

American Eugenics Society, Inc.—A new journal of the Eugenics Society, *Eugenics Quarterly*, has succeeded *Eugenical News* beginning in March, 1954.

The editorial board's chairman is Frederick Osborn, and Helen Hammons is managing editor. The March issue (Vol. 1, No. 1) includes a "Symposium on Genetic Factors Affecting Intelligence" (American Eugenics Society and American Society of Human Genetics), by J. P. Scott, John Fuller, C. Nash Herndon, M.D., E. Reed, S. C. Reed, and J. D. Palm; an article on "The Burgess-Wallin Report," by Joseph Folsom; and other items of interest to sociologists.

American-Korean Foundation.—Acting under a program developed by the foundation's Educational Advisory Committee, consisting of Hollis Caswell, dean, Teachers College, Columbia; David Henry, executive chancellor, New York University; William G. Carr, executive secretary, National Education Association; Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, Philadelphia civic leader; and Roland R. De Marco, president of Finch College and chairman of the committee, the Foundation has allocated \$235,000 for a program which will include leadership training for Korean educational leaders visiting the United States, educational workshops to be conducted in Korea, educational studies and consultations in Korea, development of demonstration centers in Korea, and grants-in-aid to a limited number of Korean students attending American schools.

As a part of its three-and-a-half-million-dollar program conducted in Korea during the last eight months, the Foundation has supplied professional libraries to twenty Korean teacher-training institutions, made possible postgraduate study in the United

States for Korean educational leaders, provided scholarships for sixty students in Korean colleges, established a center for the advanced teaching of English at Seoul National University, provided Korean-language typewriters, duplicating machines, and supplies to prepare teaching materials as a temporary substitute for textbooks, and is paying the tuition of 2,500 Korean orphans to Korean public schools.

For information apply to the Foundation's offices, 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York 17, New York.

Association of Research Libraries.—The Association of Research Libraries, an organization of representatives of fifty of the largest research libraries in the United States, approved in January, 1952, a program for making promptly and inexpensively available all doctoral dissertations currently accepted by colleges and universities in this country. Forty-three institutions are now publishing all or part of their dissertations in co-operation with this plan. The ARL indorsed publication of dissertations in microform and formulated a basic plan which makes use of the services established by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Any institution granting doctorates may participate in it by writing directly to University Microfilms. Each participating university makes its own decision as to whether the university or the student pays the fee. Full participation, which costs \$20 per dissertation, includes, among other features, filming and the necessary filing at the Library of Congress; publication of a six-hundred-word abstract of the dissertation in *Dissertation Abstracts* and listing in its cumulative and annual indexes; and copyrighting, if desired. More limited participation costs less.

Austrian Sociological Society.—Johann Mokre, of the University of Graz, is reactivating the Styrian Sociological Society, of which he is president. He is undertaking the work with the assistance of Ralph Lewis, regional public affairs officer, Foreign Service, United States Department of State. Mr. Lewis spent last year as a graduate student in the department of sociology at the University of Chicago.

Barnard College.—Mirra Komarovsky has been promoted from associate professor to professor in the department of sociology. Professor Komarovsky is executive officer of the sociology department and author of the recently published book, *Women in the Modern World: Their Education and Their Dilemmas*.

Boston University.—Robert Chin, associate professor of psychology, was appointed in January to the part-time position of postdoctoral fellow, in the recently established Human Relations Center. Dr. Chin's responsibilities are to include the developing of plans for a training course in the broad aspects of human relations, with the aim of producing leaders. The graduate fellowship program will provide ten annual graduate fellowships, covering one, two, or three years.

City College of New York.—Harry Manuel Shulman, associate professor of sociology and for nine years director of the College's community services division, was appointed first deputy commissioner of the Department of Correction of the City of New York, in February. His duties will include planning, development, and research.

Florida State University.—As a consultant to the Committee on Disaster Research, Lewis Killian, of the National Research Council, has prepared research reports on the Houston, Texas, fireworks explosion and the Warner-Robins, Georgia, tornado disaster and a memorandum on military assistance to civilian communities in time of disaster.

William F. Ogburn, emeritus professor of sociology of the University of Chicago, who has been a visiting professor since September, has left to be a visiting professor at Nuffield Institute, Oxford University.

T. Stanton Dietrich has prepared a *Statistical Handbook, Florida's Population, 1940-1950—State and County Data* ("Research Report," No. 1 [Tallahassee: Sociological Research Laboratory, 1953]).

John L. Haer is directing a study of community satisfaction as related to social class and migrant status, under a grant from the University Research Council.

Raymond Bellamy has written the first draft of a course in social science which, after final editing by other members of the sociology staff, is to be published by McGraw-Hill.

Richard Klemer, who received his Ph.D. last June has become chairman of the sociology department at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia.

Theodore Johannis and Stanley Fowler, candidates for the Ph.D. degree, have accepted teaching positions at the University of Oregon and Mississippi Southern College, respectively.

The University of Hawaii.—The University of Hawaii will be hosts to a conference on "Race Relations in World Perspective" to be conducted from June 28 to July 23, 1954. The University of California and the University of Chicago are co-sponsors of the conference.

George K. Yamamoto has returned to the teaching staff in sociology after completing his residence work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago.

International Association for Child Psychiatry.—The association will hold an International Institute on Child Psychiatry, August 13-14, 1954, in Toronto, Canada, with the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health. The theme will be the emotional problems of children under six. Members of the institute will discuss prepared clinical case studies and research reports on the treatment of young children.

Therapeutic work with children and parents, adolescents and the aged, and addicts and delinquents will be presented. The use of organizations in education, industry, government, and ethnic groups are among the subjects of panel discussions. There will also be discussion groups dealing with various aspects of group psychotherapy and group studies during the week of August 16. Representatives of twenty-three nations participate in the organization of the Congress. Wilfred C. Hulse and Wellman J. Warner are chairmen, and J. L. Moreno and S. R. Slavson are consulting chairmen.

For information write International Congress on Group Psychotherapy, Room 916, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

International Scholars Forum.—Since high manufacturing costs in the publishing field make it increasingly difficult to place manuscripts likely to have a limited sale, and since publishing costs are much lower in Europe than in this country, the advisory board of the International Scholars Forum has entered into an agreement with Martinus Nijhoff of The Hague to receive manuscripts, appraise them, and make recommendations regarding publication. While the publisher reserves the right of final decision, this arrangement will both facilitate the flow of manuscripts and assure other authors in the series of the substantial quality of companion volumes. Editions of as few as five hundred copies will be considered.

The advisory board consists of J. Anton De Haas, professor of international relations at Claremont Men's College; Philip Munz, director of Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden; William T. Jones, professor of philosophy, Pomona College; Edward Weismiller, associate professor of English, Pomona College; Frederick Hard, president of Scripps College; and David Davies, librarian of the Honnold Library, Claremont, California, to whom inquiries should be addressed.

Lincoln University.—The second annual meeting of Missouri sociologists will be

held at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, on Saturday, October 2, 1954. All those interested are invited to attend. The main morning session will include research reports by Oliver Cox, of Lincoln University; Robert McNamara, of the University of Missouri; and W. D. Bryant, of Community Studies, Kansas City. There will be an afternoon student session on occupational opportunities for sociologists, with speakers from the Missouri Division of Welfare and the Personnel Division of the State Department of Business and Administration. At the same time the faculty session will discuss the sociology major, on the basis of a survey of R. Clyde Minor, of Lincoln University. A joint student-faculty session will conclude the meetings.

Louisiana State University.—Homer L. Hitt, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, has recently been appointed clinical professor of preventive medicine at the Louisiana State University School of Medicine. Professor Hitt served as chairman of the agricultural economics and rural sociology section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers in 1953-54.

Vernon J. Parenton, Paul H. Price, and Roland J. Pellegrin served as special lecturers in the neuropsychiatry residency program of the Louisiana State University School of Medicine during the first semester of 1953-54.

Alvin L. Bertrand and Paul H. Price are serving as special lecturers in the Louisiana State University English language and orientation program for foreign students. The university has published a text by Bertrand, *Social Life in the U.S.A.*, for use in it.

The department of sociology has been awarded a grant by the Louisiana Heart Association to study the knowledge and attitudes of Louisianians to heart disease. Alvin L. Bertrand has been appointed supervisor of this project, and Clarence A. Storla is project leader.

Marion B. Smith spent the summer of 1953 in Panama as special lecturer in the

University's Armed Forces Caribbean Area Program. While there he studied the marriage and family customs of the San Blas Indians living on small islands off the coast of Panama.

Rudolf Heberle is to present a paper on migratory mobility at the World Population Conference in Rome, August 31 to September 10. Professor Heberle has been elected a member of the European Association for the Study of the Refugee Problem, whose headquarters are in Strasbourg, France.

Marquette University.—A study tour to Europe is offered as part of the summer session. The object of the tour, to be conducted by Rudolph E. Morris of the sociology department, is the study of the political and social problems of European Catholicism in Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Belgium, and Holland. It is open to all qualified students and alumni of any American college or university. The tour begins in New York on June 29 and will end there on August 16, the price for the forty-eight days (New York to New York, everything included) being approximately \$1,000.

For information apply Rudolph E. Morris, Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin.

University of Michigan.—The Seventh Annual Conference on Aging is to be conducted as a workshop in Ann Arbor, June 28-30. Leaders in health, business, employment, labor, education, rehabilitation, social work, religion, housing, recreation, community organization, city planning, and government are invited to attend, as are members and officials of fraternal organizations, women's clubs, service organizations, retirement groups, and voluntary organizations. Older people are especially invited.

For further information write to Wilma Donahue, chairman, Division of Gerontology, 1510 Rackham Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

For the seventh consecutive year the Survey Research Center will hold its annual

summer institute in survey research techniques. The regular session of the institute will be held from July 19 to August 13 with an introductory session from June 21 to July 16, 1954. This institute is designed to meet some of the educational needs of men and women engaged in business and governmental research or other statistical work and of graduate students and university instructors interested in quantitative research in the social sciences. The program of the regular session will include special presentations of the center's current research and five courses in survey research techniques which can be elected for graduate credit: introduction to survey research, workshop in survey research techniques, methods of sampling in survey research, analysis of survey data, and survey research methods.

For further information write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.—Robert C. Sorensen has been granted a leave of absence from the Johns Hopkins University, Operations Research Office, to join the Munich Office of Radio Free Europe. He is chief of the Audience Research Section. His address is APO 108, % PM, New York, New York.

Northwestern University.—A center for metropolitan studies has been established to investigate the prospects and problems of metropolitan areas, giving special attention to metropolitan Chicago. It will function as a co-operative program integrating the work of specialists in several schools and departments in the University.

The chairman of the center's policy committee is Malcolm J. Proudfoot, associate professor of geography. The committee is made up of faculty members, including Harper W. Boyd, associate professor in the commerce school; Charles S. Hyneman, professor and chairman of the political science department; Clyde F. Kohn, associate professor of geography; Raymond W. Mack, assistant professor of sociology;

Harold G. Shane, professor of education; and W. Willard Wirtz, professor of law.

University of Notre Dame.—A grant has been awarded by the American Philological Society to E. K. Francis for the continuation of research on the Spanish-Americans in the Upper Rio Grande Valley. Field work in connection with this project last summer, which was primarily concentrated upon conditions in some mountain villages in northeastern New Mexico, had been made possible through a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation to the University of Notre Dame. The project is part of a more general theoretical study on the ethnic group, a portion of which is to be published by the *Kölner Zeitschrift* under the title "Einige Grundbegriffe zu einer Theorie der ethnischen Gebilde." A manuscript by Dr. Francis, "The Manitoba Mennonites: Materials on their History and Sociology," will be available in microfilm from the University of Toronto Press. A chapter and the bibliography have appeared in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*; reprints may be obtained from the department of sociology.

Oberlin College.—James B. McKee has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Maurice Stein, formerly of Dartmouth College, has joined the department as instructor for the year 1953-54.

George E. Simpson has returned from a seven-month field trip to Jamaica, where he made a study of religious and political cults.

Richard R. Myers and J. Milton Yinger are on sabbatical leave for the second semester of 1953-54. Both are in Florida engaged in writing.

Purdue University.—The Seventeenth Annual Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family will be held on the university campus from April 28 to April 30.

University of Chicago.—A one-year graduate program in communication has been

organized leading to the M.A. for students interested in public relations, journalism, international information, or research in communication. Administered by the University's Committee on Communication, the program offers instruction in the analysis of the communication process and its effects on opinions, attitudes, and behavior. It is interdisciplinary, drawing on the resources of several departments and schools, and its staff includes professors of international communication, library science, marketing, political science, sociology, psychology, education, business administration, and English.

Donald Horton will teach at Columbia University in the summer term.

Lloyd Warner, after teaching in the summer session, will leave in September for England, to be a visiting professor of social theory at Cambridge University.

Syracuse University.—The university's experts in the geography, history, anthropology, and language of Japan will participate in a new program of Japanese studies to be given during the first term of the summer session, June 28-August 6. This summer institute on Japan is being made possible by a gift of the Japan Society, Inc., of New York City, a private, nonprofit, nonpolitical organization which encourages the people of the United States and Japan to learn more about each other's ways of life. Teachers are expected to find the courses particularly important, since high-school and college courses in social studies are increasingly stressing material on Asia. Businessmen who need information about Japan and its culture are also expected to take part, as well as college students, missionaries, and laymen.

Faculty members teaching in the program will be George B. Cressey, Maxwell Professor of Geography, and Douglas G. Haring, professor of anthropology. Kinchiro Sakurai, an economist of Aoyama College in Tokyo, and Betty B. Lanham, a doctoral candidate who recently returned

from doing anthropological research in Japan, will also participate.

Wayne University.—The College of Education has approved credit for the annual European study tour in comparative education. Personally conducted by William Reitz, this seventh annual tour will leave New York June 19, returning August 31. Ten countries will be visited in ten weeks, with a two-week visit to Spain. Qualified persons may earn up to eight hours of graduate or undergraduate credit. Similar credit arrangements are available through Mercy College, Detroit.

Further details may be obtained from William Reitz, Wayne University, Detroit 1, Michigan.

University of Wisconsin.—Hans H. Gerth is on leave for the second semester of 1953-54 as visiting professor at Brandeis University. During the summer he will lecture at Columbia University.

Thomas D. Eliot, of Northwestern University, is visiting lecturer for the current semester.

Orville G. Brim, Jr., has been appointed assistant professor.

John L. Gillin has been made a member of the committee on revision of the model Probation and Parole Act of the National Probation and Parole Association.

Howard Becker has been appointed to the committee on relations with sociologists of other countries of the American Sociological Society. He is doing research on the interrelations of mentality and social

structure in selected Hessian villages.

William H. Sewell is president-elect of the Rural Sociological Society, president of the Sociological Research Association, and a member of the committee on social behavior of the Social Science Research Council.

Douglas G. Marshall is now secretary of the North Central Regional Committee on Population Research.

John L. Miller is secretary-treasurer of the Association for Advancement of instruction in Alcohol and Narcotics.

John H. Kolb is studying social trends in country neighborhoods and in town-country relationships.

Lyle W. Shannon is working on a study of the nonself-governing political entity.

Yale University.—The Summer School of Alcohol Studies of the Laboratory of Applied Physiology will hold its twelfth annual session in 1954. The regular session will be held from July 5 to July 29 inclusive. In addition, a session is scheduled from July 29 to July 31. The program of the School is organized around a number of major topics: the origin, structure, and nature of social problems; theories in the development of personality; society and the problems of alcohol; drinking as a folkway; the chemical, physiological, and psychological effects of alcohol; theories concerning the nature of alcoholism; and theories concerning the treatment of alcoholism and specific contemporary problems.

Inquiries should be addressed to Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sports in American Life. By FREDERICK W. COZENS and FLORENCE SCOVIL STUMPF. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. ix+366. \$5.00.

Any major segment of social and cultural structure—family, social stratification, economic and political institutions, religious organization—reveals the importance of sports in American life. Yet no systematic analysis of sports has been made by social scientists, though there are historical studies such as those of Krout and Wecter, perceptive essays by Riesman and others (as well as the frequently insightful writings of journalists), extensive economic data, and a few empirical investigations of phases of the subject including contributions published in this *Journal*.

The volume under review makes use of some of this material and is a step in the direction of systematic sociological analysis. In 1951 the authors published a brief paper, "Implications of Cultural Anthropology for Physical Education" (*American Academy of Physical Education* ["Professional Contributions," No. 1 (November, 1951)], pp. 67-72). In this larger work they have exploited these implications to the extent of bringing out several of the more or less manifest functions, social and psychological, of physical education, amateur and professional sports, and, to a lesser degree, recreational activities. Employing theoretical leads from functional anthropology, they show how both participant and spectator sports are institutionalized responses to social and psychological needs; how they are interconnected with other institutions and thus contribute to the integration of the society. However, the functional analysis is more superficial than might have been the case if the authors, say, had utilized Merton's concepts of dysfunction and latent consequences. The latter prompts the observation, for example, that *both* large-scale gambling and "fixing" and the lowering of ethnic barriers in sports may be partially the result of bureaucratic rationality.

Cozens and Stumpf are specialists in physical education, not sociological analysis. Their work is in large part a survey of their own field and of sports as they have mushroomed during the

last fifty years. The authors emphasize the ways in which this growth has been interrelated with industrialization and urbanization and the consequent increase in leisure time, with changes in family structure and children's roles, shifts in the attitudes and programs of school and church, the development of entertainment as big business, the rise of managerial and union social services, the enormous expansion of governmental and military supports, and the revolutionary developments in transportation and mass communications. Each of these subjects is treated in one or more well-presented chapters, with additional chapters on the democratization of sports, race relations—"a progress report," sports language and ideology, international sports relations, and spectator sports—"the cement of democracy." ("The bleachers are equally cordial to coal-miners, politicians, and bank presidents.") All along, the authors stress the intrinsic democratic and inclusive aspects of sports, their stress upon universalistic values, and both their character-building and (American) character-reflecting nature.

Limitation of space perhaps accounts for the failure to mention the CYO; the social and psychological problems of women in competitive sports, which are so clearly linked to cultural definitions of sex roles; striking changes in the ethnic composition of various sports, for example, the decline of Irish baseball players and Jewish boxers; changes reflecting alterations in the class and mobility features of American society. But such omissions are matched by especially penetrating and sociologically relevant discussions of the sports page, spectator sports, public images of American Presidents and their prowess, and sports as a cultural value. Here, then, is a useful volume for all students, sociologists or otherwise, of the current American scene.

CHARLES H. PAGE

Smith College

This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travellers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Cen-

turies. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 602. \$6.00.

The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951. Pp. 310. \$4.00.

The Immigrant Takes His Stand: The Norwegian-American Press and Public Affairs, 1847-1872. By WILLIAM ARLOW ANDERSEN. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1953. Pp. viii+176. \$3.50.

Oscar Handlin has become the declared historian of European immigration to the United States of America, as, a generation ago, Frederick Jackson Turner became the declared historian of the American frontier. Not that Turner was the first to study the frontier or Handlin the first to write about immigrants; historians of modern America could scarcely stay away from either subject. Francis Parkman's series on the French in America; Charles Nordhoff's *The Communistic Societies of the United States from Personal Visit and Observation*; H. H. Bancroft's monumental *History of California*, with its fascinating accounts of gold rushes and vigilantes—all dealt with the frontier. Turner, however, gave study of the frontier a new twist by developing a theory about its effects upon institutions. Since then many have taken up the theme. W. W. Sweet has recorded what the frontier did to Protestant Christianity (*Religion on the American Frontier*); S. D. Clark, historian and sociologist, has done the same for Canada in his *Church and Sect in Canada*. Webb added new facets to the theory in *The Great Plains*. Sociologically fascinating as is the frontier, not many sociologists took it up energetically. One of the exceptions has been Carl A. Dawson, who published a series of studies of settlement of the Canadian frontier in our time. Perhaps that gives us our clue. The frontier was still there in Canada when the sociologists arrived. Sociologists are apt to be preoccupied with current problems (although some unkindly say of us that we are generally just a little behind), while historians like their people safely dead.

And here Handlin's case differs from Turner's. Immigration to America was still rampant when the sociologists got to work. They beat the historians to it. A good deal of American sociological theory grew out of study of what happened to people who moved here from Europe

and brought up their children in this culturally alien environment. Americanization gave way to the more abstract term, assimilation; assimilation, in turn, came to be considered as merely a special case of socialization. In time, a certain joining of sociology and anthropology led to even broader and more general theory, as mass migration came to be seen as merely one of the many ways in which the cultures and people of the world come into contact with each other. In spite of the tendency to consider a greater variety of cases and to adopt a more abstract set of concepts, most sociological work on immigrants contained the assumption that newcomers of strange culture would continually become more like the immigrants who had preceded them and that they would gradually disappear into a receptive and inclusive American people which would become ever more homogeneous. Eventually, immigration from Europe was virtually stopped, as that from Africa and Asia had been. The sociologists then turned to the internal migrations which put native Americans of the plantation or backwoods into the slums formerly occupied by the latest immigrants from abroad. Now we hear almost nothing of assimilation; we talk, instead, of reducing tensions among the many kinds of Americans already settled down here. It will be interesting to see what data a declared historian of American migration will elect to use and what he will make of them.

One thing which Handlin, as distinguished from the sociologists, has done is to assemble (in *This Was America*) Europeans' accounts of America at various epochs. These Europeans, who did not remain in America, write with perhaps more comprehension of American society than the majority of the immigrants who stayed here. They are both more cosmopolitan in view, since they knew more of Europe than the usual immigrant peasant, and perhaps more detached, probably because they were not personally involved in American life. I was both pleased and humbled to find that a French priest long ago noticed that the American Roman Catholic parish is an enterprise, requiring both energy and adaptability of the pastor; but, by the same token, the priest has more power in his parish than in Latin countries in Europe, where a parish is age-old and supported by taxes or endowments. I was humbled because I thought I had discovered this myself by contrast with French-Canadian parishes. Handlin does sociologists a service in putting into one book a

variety of ready-made documents which they would not themselves be likely to dig up.

It is in *The Uprooted*, a more general book, that Handlin appears as the avowed historian of migration and the immigrants. It has long been the custom for Americans of some given ethnic background to write the story of their own ancestors' migration, of their struggles here, and of the hybrid institutions they established in their effort to survive and prosper, while also maintaining something of their old-world culture. Such history at its best is found in the many works published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. *The Immigrant Takes His Stand* is an excellent recent example (the sociologists seem to have lost interest in Park's *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*). Marcus Lee Hansen and Theodore C. Blegen are examples of American historians who have grown to broad scholarship and merited eminence from beginnings in self-conscious work on the history of their own people. There is no reason why scholarship should not benefit from a bit of extra, personal motivation (even though some such ethnic history is sometimes overloaded with attempts to prove that the group got here before Christopher Columbus or the "Mayflower").

Handlin does not, however, espouse any special group of immigrants. Nor does he set out to prove the worth of the immigrants in general to American society and economy. His aim is rather to tell what migration from their home lands and coming to this new one did to the immigrants themselves. His thesis is contained in his title, *The Uprooted*. The uprooting, however, began at home; most of the emigrants left because they had to, because "even to stay meant to change." It continued when the immigrants had arrived here, and the whole thing was painful. Those who moved were torn from accustomed ways of living and were given little welcome in the new land. Alienated from home, they saw their own children in turn alienated from them in America.

When one asks what Handlin adds to our knowledge about the immigrants in *The Uprooted*, the answer seems to be a mood rather than a new set of facts or a new analysis. He has distilled a great amount of information into generalization rather more sweeping than most sociologists would be willing to make. Among these generalizations is the astonishing one that sociologists accepted the dictum that social characteristics depended upon racial character-

istics (p. 278). This statement accompanies another that "The certitude with which its [sociology's] practitioners delivered their generalizations covered its fundamental immaturity of outlook." I think that Handlin might at least have noted that sociologists and anthropologists have been far more active than historians in attacking the dictum of which he speaks; in fact, they have sometimes been rather more dogmatic in their denial of possible relations, race, and behavior than definite evidence might warrant. It is only fair to say that Handlin makes his generalization in a brilliant summary of the ideas which the people already here developed to explain the poverty of those who came later and who lived in city slums or were the exploited labor of plantations or construction.

Each branch of social science develops its own stereotype of the weaknesses or pretensions of the others. Historians blame us for generalizing; they thus imply they do not themselves do it. The difference may be mainly that we admit it and sometimes bother to find out what grounds we have for it. It is the virtue of the historian that he keeps on with a problem no matter how far out of date it appears; that he is less subject to fashion in choosing his matter. Those interested in what happens when people leave their cultural, geographic, racial, and national home and try to live in environs strange in some or all of these respects will welcome the continuing and lively interest of Handlin and other historians in American immigration.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, Vol. III. Edited by P. K. WHELPTON and CLYDE V. KISER. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1952. Pp. vi+467-799. \$1.00.

The social, psychological, cultural, and economic grounds and concomitants of the historical decrease in the birth rate in many countries are only imperfectly known. Accordingly, the Committee on the Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility was organized to investigate them. A sample of the population of Indianapolis was intensively interviewed between April, 1941, and January, 1942, the findings being published, for the most part, as indi-

vidual articles in the *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*. Each article is almost a self-contained report dealing with a specific topic. Volume III reproduces Articles XI–XVII inclusive, of the *Quarterly*, where they were originally published between April, 1951, and July, 1952. It can be reviewed only as an article on the birth rate of a sample of about two thousand in Indianapolis, by Jeanne E. Clare, Ronald Freedman, Lee F. Herrera, J. F. Kantner, Clyde V. Kiser, Charles F. Westoff, and P. K. Whelpton, with a foreword by Lowell J. Reed, chairman of the committee.

The articles here reproduced report on the testing of hypotheses concerning fertility planning and fertility in relation, respectively, to feeling of economic security; tendency to plan in general; health of wife, husband, and children; parental preferences regarding sex of children; adherence to traditions; migration and residence history; and feeling of personal adequacy, all obviously, excellent subjects for sociological investigation.

In the years since this study was planned and many of the analyses made, great strides have been made in methodology. Obviously, these developments could not have been always incorporated in this study. For example, attitudes now are measured by asking a number of questions whose replies are combined into indexes or scales; any single question by itself generally has little meaning. Basically, this study consists of measuring "separate" attitudes, as attitude toward "general planning," attitude toward "desired sex of children," feelings of "economic security," etc., and ascertaining how these attitudes affect fertility. Unfortunately, the most recently developed methods for attempting to measure such attitudes have not been employed. Results might have been different if more adequate measuring tools had been used.

To measure the extent of direct relationship between any two factors, efforts must be made to hold constant other factors relevant to the particular relationship under study. This requires a sample large enough for cross-tabulations, but the number of cases in this study was too small for the purpose, with the result that the findings are sometimes inconclusive.

Finally, there may be a little too much emphasis on the phrase "factors affecting fertility." It is not always clear that one factor affects another. In some cases there may be such an effect but not necessarily in all cases. Particularly in the social sciences, two or more factors may be

interrelated and change together; no single one affects another one, and they may be inseparable. Furthermore, in some cases "feedback" may play a part. This may be the case here. For example, when the index of economic security is related to annual earnings, few persons who feel insecure are found among those with "high" average annual earnings, and the converse (p. 528). "Feedback" is recognized in this study with the comment, "As with other factors investigated in the Study, there probably is a two-way relation between fertility and health" (p. 619).

The study is eminently worth while. In the process of conducting it, much has been learned that will strengthen future social science research.

A. J. JAFFE

Bureau of Applied Social Research
Columbia University

Sample Survey Methods and Theory. By MORRIS H. HANSEN, WILLIAM N. HURWITZ, and WILLIAM G. MADOW. Vols. I and II. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1953. Pp. xxii+6383; xiii+332. Vol. I, \$8.00; Vol. II, \$7.00.

Workers in survey research, who have been looking forward for several years to the publication of this book, will find that the final result amply justifies the waiting.

The two volumes constitute a comprehensive and thorough treatment of the modern development of sampling—a development in which the authors of the book have played a major role. The book presents comprehensively and systematically the whole field of modern sampling theory and its practical applications. While the techniques are primarily those of sample surveys, they are directly applicable to a much greater variety of problems and should form an integral part of the training of all social scientists. General use of these volumes will mean that considerably sounder statistical methods are used in the social sciences. Hansen, Hurwitz, and Madow present techniques which are both rigorous enough to satisfy the most exacting statistical purist and practical enough to be applied even with very limited resources.

The books contain a wealth of specific illustration of the application of theory. The authors are particularly well qualified to mediate a wel-

come "legal union" between theory and application. They have contributed substantially to the development of the theory and systematically demonstrated the workability of sound statistical methods in the unique program of sample surveys of the United States Bureau of the Census. Through this program they have profoundly influenced all the statistical work of the federal government and the whole fields of sample surveys and market research.

Volume I is nonmathematical but explains in detail both the method of applying the formulas and the basic logic and restrictions underlying them, with considerable attention to the relative advantages of various techniques. Volume II gives the derivations of the formulas presented in Volume I, many of which have not been previously published. Study of the relatively simple but powerful mathematical methods is valuable to the social scientist faced with problems not covered in the book itself. Since Volume II is designed to present *proofs* rather than *methods of proof*, locating the pertinent techniques is difficult although well worth the effort. For the less ambitious, the range of situations discussed is itself so wide as to cover most of the probable problems of practical research design.

A course for students with limited mathematical background might well be based on Volume I, and an advanced course for those who wish to specialize in statistics, on Volume II. The first three chapters of Volume I are relatively simple and form the core of a good introductory text. The remaining chapters vary from the intermediate to the advanced level. For general textbook use there might be advantage to expanding the first three chapters to give a more comprehensive review of the entire subject on an elementary level.

While a few of the proofs in Volume II are quite complex (one or two of them may be unnecessarily so), most of them are remarkable for their simplicity and comprehensibility as well as for their applicability to the practical statistical problems facing the social scientist. One particularly neat presentation is that of Tchebycheff's inequality in terms of the mean square error rather than the customary variance formulation.

ELI S. MARKS

University of Chicago

As the title suggests, this book concerns itself with the relationship of social problems to social change. Neumeyer attempts to utilize the several approaches to social problems while, at the same time, he emphasizes that he wants to avoid being eclectic (p. v). He implies that social change, social disorganization, cultural lag, and value judgments are somehow related, but the nature of it is never explained.

Neumeyer makes great use of the value conflict situation in the tradition of Frank, Fuller, Cuber, and Harper. He acknowledges the attempt made by Cuber and Harper to re-examine the concept "social disorganization," since, they argue, it involves a value judgment applied to social change. He goes on to state that "progress is possible if effective direction is given to social change" (p. 440). But progress, too, is a value judgment, applied to the technological aspects of social change, and, when the term "social disorganization" is used in this way, it becomes a facet of the idea of progress and is therefore subject to the criticism made by Cuber and Harper.

Social change, social disorganization, cultural lag, and value structure are viewed as explaining particular social problems whenever it seems appropriate. However, the author is not consistent: he tells us, for example, a great deal about the individual criminal but practically nothing about how crime is related to social change. His statement that "dope addiction, alcoholism, and sex offenses . . . are usually regarded as examples of personality disorganization" (p. 333) is not in line with his argument that social problems are a result of social change. The manner in which social change creates social problems is never discussed.

The problems chosen for presentation in this text were selected because "they involve more specifically than some of the other types the operation of social change and social processes, the conflict of values and of value-judgments, and have more direct personal and social effects" (p. 415). The book discusses two problem areas often neglected in social problems texts—housing and mass communication.

In an attempt to avoid a particularistic approach to social problems Neumeyer sacrifices a systematic approach to them—which may or may not be to an advantage, according to one's theoretical orientation. The beginning student may be bewildered, but an instructor may prefer such an approach to one which attempts to handle all social problems from one standpoint. The instructor who seeks a textbook in social problems with a wealth of documentation and

factual information will find Neumeayer's book rewarding.

CLARENCE R. JEFFERY

Colby College

An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. By EDWIN POWERS and HELEN WITMER. With a Foreword by GORDON W. ALLPORT. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. xxx+649. \$6.00.

This volume reports in detail the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study—its inception in the mind of Richard Clarke Cabot, and his establishment of the Ella Lyman Cabot Foundation in memory of his wife for the financing of the project; the many interviews, tests, and measurements involved in selecting a group for treatment and one for control; the treatment program; and, finally, the evaluations, first by staff members, headed by Mr. Powers, and then by Miss Witmer, an independent investigator called in after the treatment program was completed. A survey of the project and a further evaluation are presented in a twenty-six-page foreword by Gordon W. Allport, which the reader will do well to read before proceeding to the more detailed presentations of Powers and Witmer.

Dr. Cabot was convinced that the way to prevent delinquency, and to treat it, is to provide a boy with a counselor who, becoming a friendly ego-ideal, would discover and develop "his potentialities for growth spiritually, intellectually, physically, and socially." This was to be accomplished through a policy of "directed friendship" on the premise that "friendly understanding—implying an ingredient of love—is the basis of all therapy." The project began in 1935 with the selection of a staff and the initial contact with the Cambridge school authorities and others who were to be advisers. The schools, which were the main source of referral for boys, served as a major focus of attention throughout treatment.

Chiefly on the basis of home visits and teachers' ratings, 650 boys were selected for inclusion in the study. They were then paired off as nearly as possible according to "clinical syndromes" and various statistical devices. These "prognostic twins" were then divided into the Treatment group (T-boys) and the Control group (C-boys). The flip of a coin determined whether a boy in a given pair was to be a T-boy or a C-boy. The

T-boys were each assigned to a friendly counselor; the C-boys were not. The effectiveness of the treatment program was to be measured by comparing the conduct and character of the "twins," individually and as groups.

The treatment program began with a few boys in the fall of 1937. The last of the 325 T-boys was assigned to his counselor in May, 1939. Although originally envisioned as a ten-year project, for several reasons the treatment program was terminated at the end of 1945. At this time the average treatment period for the 325 boys was four years, ten months. Seventh-five boys were carried to the end of the program, their treatment averaging six years, nine months. The range of services provided by the study was considerable. A lack of consistent practice among counselors who saw their functions differently makes the testing of hypotheses about a specific technique impossible.

Evaluation of the treatment program was undertaken twice during the program and again at the end. In general, the conclusion of all the evaluations is that the treatment program "was no more effective than the usual community forces . . . in preventing boys from committing delinquent acts." Further studies to assess the treatment brought to light that more C-boys than T-boys were committed to institutions for older offenders and that C-boys were more frequently committed to more than one institution and committed "most serious" offenses more often than did T-boys. On the basis of these "trends," none of which is statistically significant, it is predicted that in the coming years the control group will produce more criminals than will the treatment group.

Miss Witmer undertakes a more ambitious evaluation of the project, ending up with mainly negative conclusions: the treatment program was not successful when group comparisons are made. Miss Witmer then undertakes a virtual case-by-case analysis of the T-boys in an effort to determine what combinations of boy and circumstances and treatment techniques were conducive to good results by the study and what accounted for failure on the part of the study.

The book reflects throughout Dr. Cabot's admonition to social workers to "measure, evaluate, estimate, appraise your results in some form, in any terms that rest on something beyond faith, assertion, and illustrative cases." Yet the chief weakness of the project lies, perhaps, in its inadequate design, as a result of which conclusions are extremely limited in scope. The project's major contribution to so-

cial science is as a *pioneer effort* at evaluation of an action program, setting an example which, it is to be hoped, other programs will follow. Given adequate research design, evaluation need not entail the expenditure of such tremendous resources in money, time, and effort as in this study.

The "rich conclusions" of the Cambridge-Somerville study, anticipated by social scientists since its beginning and heralded by Allport in his Foreword, appear rather to be interesting hypotheses. No generalizations concerning either etiology or treatment of delinquency can be made from the study. In treatment, emphasis on the individual leads to the neglect of the "natural groupings of boys in the community," in spite of recurrent mention of the latter in case studies. In the words of Dr. Cabot, the thing that "keeps any of us straight" is "the contagion of the highest personalities whom we have known." This type of association may seem to sociologists to be less important than the "frequency, duration, priority, and intensity" of association, as stated by Edwin H. Sutherland.

This is a stimulating book. It is scrupulously honest, interestingly written in spite of the inclusion of much detail, and enlivened throughout by case materials.

JAMES F. SHORT, JR.

State College of Washington

Residential Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children. By JOSEPH H. REID and HELEN R. HAGAN. New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc. Pp. ix+313. \$3.50.

This study of twelve rehabilitation centers for emotionally disturbed children was undertaken by the Child Welfare League of America. All available published literature, unpublished manuscripts, annual reports, and other written material from many institutional programs were analyzed and, if necessary, investigators observed a program by living at the institution conducting it. A description of each program was written and carefully validated. The authors of the report observe that the tone of an institution and other intangibles are lost in such descriptions, yet these things largely determine success or failure.

To the sociologist interested in social psychiatry the crucial issues are bound to be: What are

the fundamental social structure and communications system and the nature of interpersonal relations between staff and patients and between staff members? He will obtain no answers to these questions from this report; on the other hand, he will feel that the fate of the patients has much to do with precisely these things.

The list includes most of the country's outstanding institutions, which makes one wonder how it happened that the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School and Pioneer House were not included.

JULES HENRY

University of Chicago

Paths of Loneliness: The Individual Isolated in Modern Society. By MARGARET MARY WOOD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. x+250. \$3.75.

Unlike other contemporary writers, the author of this book on the loneliness of modern man, is not primarily concerned with characteristics of urban, industrial society which are believed to be the reasons. Rather Professor Wood centers her attention on particular categories of extremely isolated persons, on positions which are particularly vulnerable to isolating processes, and on various modes of response to extreme loneliness. She believes that the processes of modern society, normal in themselves, produce almost universal isolation in some categories of the population and in substantial numbers in others. In the first set of categories the "kin-wrecked" persons is central. The state of singleness, owing to the concentration of "sentiment" relations in the small conjugal family, deprives most unmarried people of desirable socio-psychic response. Men in high places are almost universally subject to the loneliness that comes with power and responsibility; and men beyond the pale are isolated by fear in their own group and ostracized by respectable people.

Although the family group helps to reduce isolation among people of the following categories, the family relations themselves may be sundered, and, in any event, there is substantial evidence of isolation: the unemployed, the physically and mentally handicapped, the roamers. Finally, even among the members of families who lead relatively stable lives, there are possibilities of isolation at each stage: the child may be deprived of love or become an age deviate; the adolescent may war with his parents; the

adult may find himself in overwhelmingly bewildering circumstances; and the old person may be both functionless and kin-wrecked.

The author sees four basic modes of response to loneliness. Following Merton, she classifies the responses as the escapism of the "lonely egoist" which may ultimately eventuate in suicide; the conformism of the ritualist and authoritarian; the innovation of the aggressive. She believes also that there may be constructive responses if the individual and society make an effort. Little in her analysis is new.

The book is valuable for bringing together a treatment and classification of categories of the lonely, sources of loneliness, and responses to loneliness. Unfortunately, there are two major weaknesses in the system of classification. The first is the author's failure to maintain her focus on loneliness. It is true that the processes and structural circumstances which isolate may also frustrate, alienate, bewilder, and demoralize; but this is not loneliness, and the latter is frequently lost sight of in the author's concern for all the troubles her isolates have seen. Further there is serious doubt as to whether the basic problem of several of her categories is isolation (e.g., the gang criminal).

The second weakness, perhaps more serious, is that on inadequate evidence the author attempts to link certain sources of isolation with certain responses to it. Thus the "lonely egoist" is responding to lack of intimate relations with others; the "authoritarian" is responding to lack of status and recognition. It is very doubtful if even for purposes of analysis these causal connections are valid.

One can applaud the author's efforts to classify the sources, victims, and responses of isolation, for this is the first step in finding out who and how many in our society are extremely lonely; but effort is not enough. Conceptual clarity and analytic circumspectness are required.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Tulane University

Our Common Neurosis. By CHARLES B. THOMPSON, M.D., and ALFREDA P. SILL. New York: Exposition Press, 1952. Pp. xiii+210. \$3.50.

This book discusses the phylobiological approach to human behavior, a theoretical system developed by Trigant Burrow which deals gen-

erally with the effects of the social environment upon "man" as a species and specifically with the diagnosis and treatment of social ills. Since the theory arose in what appears to be an intellectual movement, the discussion is more persuasive than analytical, defending doctrine rather than formulating tentative hypotheses to be verified. To this extent, it does not differ markedly from other systems of therapy.

Our common neurosis is the modes of behavior which result from faulty socialization. Beginning in the nursery, the neurosis is universal. "We live and move in this neurosis which we call normal life and do not for a moment recognize that every conversation in which we take part, every opinion we form, every liking or disliking that motivates our relations with other people, is from the standpoint of primary organismic feeling, twisted and askew" (p. 101). It leads to the separation of a man's feelings from his physiological reactions, and isolates and separates him from the group. This segmental behavior is opposed to the generic principle of "wholism" which, in phylobiology, is central in alleviating man's ills. The solution of the individual's difficulties, of course, is to unite him in feeling with the total organism and to create a "common feeling-participation with others of one's kind." One way of achieving this state is by group analysis, a method of psychotherapy.

In group analysis the individual is helped in overcoming his tendency to blame and condemn others (i.e., "affect projections") by objectively observing his internal subjective reactions. This leads to a condition called "cotention" as opposed to "ditution." Thus in group analysis cotention was partly or fully attained when "the students were given an opportunity to withdraw their attention from projective focussing on the behavior of others, and to direct it instead upon strains and tensions internal to their own organisms. This was a most important step in coming to grips with the common factors responsible for our manifold, inter-relational conflicts" (p. 200).

Whether this method of individual therapy is effective remains to be seen. But that is true also of many other types of therapy. Plausible or implausible, it merits consideration, but it cannot be taken seriously as a means for alleviating the broader collective ills of our time.

Written for the layman rather than the professional social scientist, the book reveals an insulation from the literature of sociology and

psychology, repeating truisms well-known in elementary social psychology. Its answers are somehow too glib and glittering, reassuring, perhaps, to a troubled reader but oversimplified for the social scientist. Its references to "group mind" and "social mind" will cause the discerning reader to raise an eyebrow. The many illustrative sketches by the students of group analysis provide interesting reading but sometimes are such lengthy parenthetical asides that the continuity of the work suffers. The authors speak of research, but their research appears designed to confirm rather than test their initial formulations.

Despite these theoretical and methodological difficulties, the principles of integration and of the steady state between the organism and the environment which are features of more rigorously tested theoretical schemes are also the aim of this system.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt College

Marriage and the Family. By CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH, GERALD J. SCHNEPP, and JOHN L. THOMAS. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952. Pp. x+502. \$4.25.

The Catholic approach to the study of the family is often regarded as too laden with partisan pronouncements to be of interest to the non-Catholic. The authors have written a text which, while adhering to Catholic dogma on essential points, attempts to integrate findings of non-Catholic sociologists and psychologists. They have also reported several unpublished studies made at Catholic institutions.

A topical rather than theoretical basis provides the organization of the book. This arrangement, while it has its deficiencies, permits shifting the order of topics in accordance with the predilections of the instructor.

A section on marriage includes chapters on the changing family, courtship, and mate selection; the physical, psychological, and economic aspects of marriage; the problem of intermarriage; and religious and civil law. The chapter on legal aspects of marriage, written by Paul Fitzsimmons and Joseph J. Simeone, Jr., provides an excellent description of rights and duties in marriage.

A section on the family deals with it as a sociological unit, the child, crises, divorce, unwilling and unmarried mothers, contraception,

social agencies, history of the family, and population problems. This is one of the few textbooks on the family devoting a chapter to the agencies in the community where the family, unable to perform its various functions, might seek assistance.

On the whole, although the style ranges from the objective to the polemic, this is a well-written textbook.

BERNARD FARBER

Henderson State Teachers College

Probation and Social Adjustment. By JAY RUMNEY and JOSEPH P. MURPHY. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1952. Pp. xvii+285. \$4.50.

A sociologist and a probation officer have collaborated in a study of the first one thousand persons placed on probation in Essex County, New Jersey, in 1937. The stated objectives of the study are comparison of the "social adjustment" of the probationers at the time they were placed on probation with their adjustment eleven years later, in 1948, and an assessment of the value of probation in promoting adjustment.

Probation is considered as a general social work activity rather than as a program for rehabilitating or reforming criminals; consequently, the primary concern is not with the proportion of the subjects having probation revoked or the proportion committing new crimes during the eleven-year period. Rather, the authors concentrate on the extent of "adjustment to a number of basic areas of social life": physical and mental health, family and economic life. An individual's criminality, then, affects his "social adjustment" score only to the extent that it is related to his adjustment in one of the "basic areas." For example, if unemployed, he was considered "unadjusted" even if "a person of high ethical principles and behavior." Criminality is, in fact, used as a criterion for determining *economic* adjustment—a probationer who spent six months in prison in 1948 was considered unadjusted in his economic life. The following statement summarizes the authors' conceptions of probation and of the relationship between criminality and social adjustment: "We consider it misleading to categorize our probationers as criminals, for this neglects other features which may be of greater

importance in evaluating social adjustment. Some of our subjects are adjusted although they may have a subsequent arrest or incarceration record. Others are unadjusted although they may never have had a subsequent arrest or imprisonment."

The probationers generally showed "improvement" in social adjustment from 1937 to 1948. However, the method of determining "improvement" makes it extremely difficult to assess the role of probation in producing whatever changes occurred. In an experimentally oriented study, the fact of probation would be considered an independent variable, and persons subjected to probation would be compared with those who were not. By this *ex post facto* experiment any significant effects of probation on probationers could be determined. But in the current study no control group was used, and no attempt made to determine the role of probation by other experimental means. One "improved" if he said his health was better in 1948 than it was in 1937, and he "deteriorated" if he said his health had become worse. In "family life" a subject was considered to have improved if he supported his wife or child in 1948 and had not done so in 1937. In the economic area itself one improved if he said he was "better off," had a "higher occupational status," had acquired more education or skills, or had acquired more property or financial assets in 1948 as compared to 1937. By these criteria, almost everyone in the United States "improved" in "social adjustment" between 1937 and 1948. It is probably for this reason that among the probationers "the large changes in adjustment take place in the family and economic areas."

The study provides valuable factual information in the history, costs, and administration of probation in New Jersey. It also supplies pertinent data regarding the social characteristics of the persons granted probation by the various types of New Jersey courts and regarding the subsequent criminality of the probationers, approximately 50 per cent of whom were arrested one or more times between 1937 and 1948.

DONALD CRESSEY

University of California at Los Angeles

Written ostensibly for students of Catholic institutions of higher learning by twelve contributors, this textbook is devoted to the analysis of selected social and sociological theorists. Unhappily, the choice of men and materials by Mihanovich has not conferred on *Social Theorists* the modicum of structural unity achieved in companion volumes by mere reliance on chronological arrangement. The first twelve chapters treat theory as the intellectual product of discrete, individual theorists. Though chapter i is entitled "Ancient Social Theories," it is concerned only with Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Augustine. Subsequent chapters on Aquinas, Comte, Sumner, Ward, Buckle, Tarde, Durkheim, Pareto, Sorokin, Pesch, and von Wiese do attain a structural coherence lacking elsewhere by the recurrent use of a scheme for presentation in which there is a biographical profile, a list of works, a statement of intellectual antecedents, a summary of the basic system of thought, and a brief criticism of each theorist. In contrast, the remaining portions focus on theory as generalized theoretical orientations: Marxist and Catholic social theories, Catholic sociology in the United States, and the future of sociological theory. A "who's who in social theory" of some eighty persons is included in the closing pages.

Social Theorists seems to reflect certain unanswered questions in the field of sociological theory. First, a decision as to the role of the history of social and sociological thought with reference to contemporary sociological theory must be reached. If, for example, an explanation of the characteristics of current sociological theory were to be made the explicit desideratum, the problem of just which men and materials to select must be solved and there has to be some clear criterion. Second, the meaning of social, in contrast to sociological, theory must be clarified. When these difficulties have been resolutely confronted, a basis for structural unity will have been laid.

Considered individually, certain chapters justify commendation. Sister Healy's essay on Sumner and Jack Curtis' expositions of Tarde and Durkheim display genuine analytical virtuosity in interpreting the relationship of social setting, personal experience, and the academic-intellectual heritage in the formulation of the basic problems and the concepts, methods, and explanations of these theorists. As interpretations, they are succinct, logically integrated, factually documented, historically sensitive, so-

Social Theorists. Edited by CLEMENT S. MIHANOVICH. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1953. Pp. viii+521. \$6.50.

ciologically perceptive, and, *mirabile dictu*, written in language the college student can understand. The same is true of Father Foley's chapter on Sorokin. However, Father Cervantes' treatment of Comte and Positivism plunges to a nadir of vehement, partisan exhortation almost without parallel in this field.

The final chapter by Father Schnepf constitutes a highly suggestive effort to isolate the major problems facing sociology in the future. Terminology, the meaning of sociological theory, and the relation between theory and research will remain as the elementary unresolved areas of conflict. Only slightly less lively dispute is likely over the questions of whether sociological theory is to be developed independently or interdisciplinarily, whether theory is to be conceptualized at a highly abstract level or at a "middle range," whether the principles of theory can be stated as natural laws, the relation of theory to practical problems, and, of the various contenders which orientation is to be adopted as the most acceptable conceptual scheme.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.

University of Rochester

Teamwork in Research. Edited by GEORGE P. BUSH and LOWELL H. HATTERY. Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1953. Pp. xii+191. \$4.00.

This little volume of proceedings of the Third Institute of Scientific Research and Development will have little interest for the sociologist, except, perhaps, to assuage his feelings of inferiority vis-à-vis the natural scientist. When the eighteen contributors to this discussion, most of whom are administrators of industrial or applied research, turn their attention to the essentially sociological problem of group effectiveness, they flounder, platitudinize, and display so little insight into the subject toward which they are addressing themselves as to suggest that sociology actually is a discipline with specialized knowledge not available to the educated layman on a common-sense basis.

If "teamwork" were consistently and univocally defined throughout these papers, they might have had more point. But development or operations research on industrial and technical problems is a large-scale enterprise, requiring expensive plant and resources and,

therefore, co-ordination and bureaucratic organization, and much of the discussion assumes that everything done to facilitate or to control research in such structures is an integral part of the "teamwork." Thus, the Index is full of such topics as "allocation of space for research," "criteria in groupment of research, development, engineering and patent functions," "indirect costs at sponsored universities," "patent rights under sponsored research," "responsibility for teamwork resides in management," "salaries of investigators," etc. The man who pushed Edison's wheelchair around was an important member of his research team (p. 13). Others define the research team as "the full resources of scientific personnel of the nation" (p. 5) or "the faculty or a department within the faculty" (p. 61). Some equate the research team with any research department, even where there is no collaboration between investigators, if work is formally co-ordinated by a department head.

Finally, however, there are those who concern themselves with the problems of *group* research; that is, with how researchers, frequently of differing scientific training and orientation, can fruitfully collaborate on a problem of common interest. The complex process of group interaction, interstimulation and reinforcement, which *sometimes*, though not so routinely and usually as is assumed in these papers, results in creativity beyond that of the separate individuals comprising the research team, is acknowledged, identified, and totally explained in the single concept of "self-ignition": "with fewer than four [team members], something we call 'self-ignition' does not take place" (p. 66), while more than ten prevents "self-ignition."

We can only recommend to the attention of his collaborators the views of one contributor, who refers to an article in the *American Sociological Review* (Joseph W. Eaton, "Social Processes of Professional Teamwork," October, 1951, pp. 707-12): "Eaton points out that he believes the multi-professional team involves an experience in group therapy and suggests that the multi-professional group study *itself* systematically in the process of making its decisions" (p. 74). Or perhaps this is a project better left to the sociologist.

SHIRLEY A. STARR

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University of Chicago*

The Nature and Elements of Sociology. By MCQUILKIN DEGRANGE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. viii+668. \$8.50.

This book is a rich distillate of the pellucid observations on the course of development of sociological theory by one of America's great teachers of sociology. As Bock has recently shown ("The Study of Social Theory," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, 1953, pp. 219-24) and Abel a short time before ("The Present Status of Social Theory," *American Sociological Review*, XVII [1952], 156-64), there is too great a readiness on the part of modern sociologists and *teachers* of sociology (the distinction must be made) to discount the insight which only an understanding of historical sociology may provide.

In the traditional courses in the history of sociological thought, little emphasis was put upon the contribution which specific doctrines exercised upon modern intellectual perspectives. This distinguished volume is an anomaly, reminiscent of Santayana, rather than Weber and Parsons, or Lundberg and Dodd, just as in scope and objective it is written in the old liberal and neo-positivistic tradition. The primary aim of the volume is to trace the source and development of Western scientific and sociological thought from man's first probing efforts to assimilate and apprehend the natural and social world to contemporary efforts to formulate principles for the scientific analysis of social structure and dynamics. Even in respect to the major categories which sociological theory and investigation should assume—*statics* and *dynamics*—the strong stamp of Neo-Comtean thought is apparent throughout the volume. DeGrange is an acknowledged Comtean, subscribing to the view that the exposition of scientific principles rests wholly upon the dual processes of historical analysis and synthesis—or, as he puts it, "the historical and the dogmatic." The dynamic and compulsive nature of scientific investigation and insight is carefully revealed, moving from the "natural world" to the "moral order" but always manifesting common cognitive principles. Strongly suggestive of former developmental theories of scientific progress, DeGrange indicates what appears to be an inescapable compulsion of scientific logic itself, operating in all areas of scientific inquiry, irrespective of the character of the organized data which are being systematically investigated. He demonstrates this sequential development in field after field, moving from the broad

generalities of mathematics to the later dependent sciences of astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, and, today, psychology, which DeGrange places at the apex of his scientific pyramid. The early positivist view of the advance of science from areas of greater generality to those of lesser generality but greater complexity appears to be rigidly upheld.

The writer points out that a knowledge of the sequence of steps should make it possible to avoid the difficulties and the running into innumerable blind alleys which the untested development of new instruments so frequently entails. "Why here or elsewhere regard as inevitable the procedures or the expedients that grew out of inexperience?" Why, indeed, except for the fact that sociologists, unfortunately, do not share (as do other scientists) a common scientific tradition and further, are not even entirely agreed as to the necessity of using a common historical tradition.

In DeGrange's historical analysis of the development of sociological theory there is a conspicuous absence of names which have become closely identified with modern trends in social thought. The classical system-builders are all there and strongly stressed, but there are no references to the modern functionalists, the anthropological theorists, and the neo-Freudians. The break is clear with the functionalists who can accept, with Merton, the dictum of Whitehead, that "a science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost."

The laborious evolving of special isolates for study, strictly delimiting the character of each special frame of reference and rigorously excluding data extrinsic to such specialized areas, is an index of the maturing science, according to DeGrange. The societal isolate is already firmly established, its components ("subisolates") being material accumulation, association, communication, and direction. Many modern sociologists might cavil at DeGrange's insistence that the fundamental course of scientific development is invariably the same for all disciplines and that historic dependency upon prior fields of inquiry is logically indispensable. If there is a gross defect in this stimulating work, it is that it has hewn too closely to a particularized tradition, without recognizing the need for keeping distinct the functioning of broad scientific principles as a form of logic and the innumerable independent forms in which such principles may express themselves. On the other hand, DeGrange does make it extremely clear

that a developing science must produce methods germane to its own data and restricted fields of interest. Some of his own insights are particularly timely and incisive. DeGrange points out, for example, that we must forge our own mathematical tools, instead of relying upon the hackneyed usages and procedures of other disciplines.

What DeGrange has given us finally is, in a sense, a *Kulturgeschichte*, in distinctive Comtean lineaments and characteristics. As a history of ideas, formulated in such terms, it is still a very valuable document and should constitute an important addition to our fund of social theory. Nevertheless, it is significant to recognize that the setting-up of a scientific enterprise ultimately rests upon its own empirical and logical criteria and that the logical conditions of such distinctive frames of reference are not necessarily related to a given historical view.

HERBERT A. BLOCH

St. Lawrence University

Sociology: The Science of Society. By JAY RUMNEY and JOSEPH MAIER. New York: Henry Schuman, 1953. Pp. viii+192. \$3.00.

Following an English version some fifteen years earlier, Rumney and Maier have sought—in less than two hundred pages—to provide the college student and general reader with “a useful and intelligent guide to the fundamentals of sociology.” In the first of three sections, sociology is defined, its major fields, methods of inquiry, and relationships to other disciplines are indicated, and the role of the specifically nonsocial factors in social relations is suggested. Sociology is conceived as *the* synoptic social science which assumes a *vue d'ensemble* of the totality of human relations. Its dependence on other sciences is manifested in the description of the role of the physical environment, human nature, history, and race in human association. The presentation of race and the problem of racism is superlatively lucid, cogent, and concise. By implication, the second section (of chaps. v–viii) seems to represent the execution of the intellectual mandates with which sociology has been charged: isolation of the units of a social taxonomy, analysis of the nature of the structural-functional interdependence of these units, and derivation of the laws of social sequence and change. It is only on the subject of culture, groups, institutions, and the variability

and development of the particular institutions of property, state, family, social strata, religion, education, and recreation that any effort is made to deal with the stated tasks of sociology. The third and concluding section (chap. ix) is a historical inquiry into the intellectual currents in modern German, French, British, and American sociology.

Sociology is admirably suited to its audience. Its style is lively and engaging. Its level of experience is neither too commonplace and trivial nor excessively esoteric and erudite. Its vocabulary does not underestimate or overestimate its audience's background. Although readers may obtain a conception of sociology not wholly typical of the American tradition, they will be sociologically literate from Plato to Parsons.

Four principal objections can be raised against Rumney and Maier's statement:

The claim advanced for the social relevancy of sociology commits the discipline, both directly and indirectly, to a value orientation which the authors never specify. Their direct argument is prefaced by the assertion that human happiness is the value requirement of science and reason (p. 5). As a particular science, sociology's knowledge of society is to be used for planning (p. 5), to permit the sociologist “to control the conditions of social life and improve them,” and to aid the student in learning “to formulate and bring about what ought to be” (p. 6). In the second place although social facts are held to exist as “a reality *sui generis*” (p. 39), the conception of social causation is not in keeping with this Durkheim-like phraseology. An earlier idealist subject-object dichotomy of subjective wants and desires reacting to the material conditions of life (p. 23) is later expanded into a declaration that a complete account of a social event demands knowledge of “the nature of human nature, the laws governing the interaction of men with one another, with their environment, and with the culture and institutions they have devised” (p. 39). Even allusions to sociological interpretations of personality formation, such as symbolic interactionism, are curiously missing from their analysis of human nature.

Third, the treatment of social change ignores *societal* change and is confined entirely to the development of specific institutions. Although they explicitly disavow adherence to a unilinear stages formulation (pp. 35, 103–4), the authors have a penchant for social evolutionary theorization.

Finally, documentation is dubious. For instance, no supporting evidence is cited to justify the allegation that "most empirical investigations seem to show that generally people [in America] think in terms of two classes only" (p. 124). Furthermore, the cited material scarcely reflects current developments of the last fifteen years in sociology. An actual tabulation of the works referred to in footnotes disclosed that 70 per cent were published before 1935.

ROScoe C. HINKLE, JR.

University of Rochester

Methods in Social Research. By WILLIAM J. GOODE and PAUL K. HATT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952. Pp. vi+386. \$5.50.

This is an outstanding addition to textbooks in research methods. The authors saw their purpose as twofold: to show how the principles of scientific methods apply to sociology; and to give the beginning student some command of the usual techniques. In both they have succeeded. Their treatment of scientific method includes excellent introductory statements of the interrelation of theory and fact, the role of the concept, and the use of hypotheses. They point out that the type of problem dictates the kind of experiment needed and they discuss logical proof. The section on techniques covers clearly and succinctly questionnaires, interviews, scaling, sampling, the analysis of data, and special techniques used in population research. The sections on the construction of the questionnaire and the uses of the mailed questionnaire are especially excellent; Goode and Hatt explicitly instruct the student in many of the technical aspects of questionnaire construction often overlooked in texts of this kind.

In general, *Methods in Social Research* ranks at the top of current textbooks designed for its particular audience. The presentation is lucid and objective; its simplicity is the mark of its sophistication.

ETHEL SHANAS

Evanston, Illinois

Refrigeration in America: A History of a New Technology and Its Impact. By OSCAR EDWARD ANDERSON, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953. Pp. ix+344. \$6.00.

The author of this volume, professor of history at the University of Cincinnati, has produced what is primarily a detailed account of the development and diffusion of the refrigerative inventions in the United States. It is a comprehensive, scholarly, documented study that should be of considerable value to the student of technological history, economic history, and social change. It is of interest to the sociologist, since the author frequently, and wherever possible, demonstrates the impact of refrigeration on American society. The relation between refrigeration and urbanism, the problem of supplying perishable foods to cities many miles away from producing areas, the dependence on refrigeration of several large industries such as meat-packing and frozen foods, are made clear and precise. An excellent section of the book is devoted to the role of refrigeration in aiding depressed economic regions of the United States. Anderson deals very interestingly with the accounts of resistances to the spread of inventions in refrigeration. Here we find Ogburn's resistance types of conservatism and vested interests applicable. (The author, while presenting evidence of Ogburn's types of resistances, fails to refer to his concepts. However, here are additional historical data to back up Ogburn's propositions of resistance to the spread of inventions.)

Anderson's book may rank with the work of Webb, Burlingame, and Williamson in illuminating the role of technology in historical social change.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science. By DAVID EASTON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. Pp. xxiii+320. \$4.00.

In this brilliant little book Easton describes "the peculiar condition among the members of this discipline of nominal acceptance of their role as scientists, with the rejection in practice of the recognized logic and techniques of scientific method" (p. 6). He tries to show the reason for this state of affairs. He also attempts, in a modest and tentative fashion, to provide a conceptual framework which will lead political science in the direction of scientific maturity.

In his search for an explanation of what he calls the "malaise of political science," Easton

first considers some of the problems common to the social sciences: the rejection of reason in solving problems in human affairs; the multiple variables which plague the social sciences; the self-fulfilling and self-denying prophecies; the problem of the culture-bound science; etc. But to explain the lag of political science behind the other social sciences a deeper analysis is needed. After pointing to some probable causes, such as lack of concern for precise method, traditionalism, and the fact that political science meets resistance because its subject matter concerns the very locus of power in society, he concludes that the reason is the lack of an adequate theory to guide research.

A keen sense of where and how to look for the locus of power and its influence, a clear perspective on the fundamental problems of logic behind scientific method, unambiguous terminology, the introduction of new techniques and a deep awareness of the need to seek out intimacy with observed phenomena, even the growth of a professional spirit that in research seeks to rise above the value premises of the political system that research students may approve as citizens—these must all add up to little in the absence of a conceptual framework or systematic theory to give meaning, coherence, and direction to ongoing research. To the lack of no other single factor can we trace such grave consequences for the present condition in political science [pp. 51–52].

Easton classifies political theory into value theory or the discussion of political values or the philosophy of politics and causal theory which seeks to show the relation among political facts. In causal theory he criticizes the "hyperfactualism," which is the mere description of discrete facts of political life with a vague hope that enough facts will somehow "add up to something"; and a rejection of theorizing as something impractical. He also attacks its attempts to be a "premature policy science"—leaping in to give advice on matters of politics without an adequate analysis or even an understanding of its assumptions. Easton justifies value theory because "rational inquiry into systematic theory requires intimate knowledge of the moral frame of reference within which the research takes place" (p. 233). But he feels that instead of performing this important task modern political theorists have retreated to a barren "historicism" which he defines as "the belief that history is governed by inexorable laws of change and that human actions are guided by permanent ultimate purposes" (p. 236). He concludes that "as a result of this preoccupation

with historicism in moral matters, the [current] study of political theory . . . is manifestly unsuited for training political scientists in the skills and knowledge of genuine moral clarification. Without such clarification, a research worker is unable to estimate the full extent to which his moral frame of reference might limit and distort his efforts towards the construction of systematic theory" (p. 254).

Whether the students of theory should bear as much blame for the condition of political science as Easton believes, the fact remains that political science has not enjoyed the growth in theory characteristic of the other social sciences.

Easton also attempts to provide a core around which he hopes future theorists can build meaningful and constructive theory. He rejects the attempts to mobilize political theory around the two most frequently used concepts—the state and political power. The former, he feels, leads to a juristic and metaphysical morass; the latter is incomplete because it fails to take into account that system of moral "oughts" which provides the cement for political systems. However, he does not, like Talcott Parsons, reject political theory as a logically independent field of inquiry. Instead he seeks to define political science in terms of "the authoritative allocation of values." As he says, however, the development of positive theory is only fragmentary and incidental to his main purpose which is to provide a frame of reference within which theory development can proceed. At this he succeeds admirably.

DONALD W. SMITHBURG

Illinois Institute of Technology

Readings in Marriage and the Family. Edited by JUDSON T. LANDIS and MARY G. LANDIS. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. Pp. xv+460. \$4.25.

This collection of readings contains seventy-five items grouped in sixteen categories, contributed by sociologists, writing originally in profession periodicals, and anthropologists, psychologists, zoölogists, clergymen, medical men, lawyers, and educators. In spite of its deceptively small format, the book contains a tremendous amount of information, well selected to illustrate for students the rich confusion of research and speculation on family life.

The editors have selected, condensed, and

simplified the materials with student readers in mind. The sociologist, familiar with the original sources, finds no handbook at his disposal, for the excerpts omit background material and often lack the content in which he is interested. No frame of reference is supplied by the editors beyond a brief introductory paragraph to each reading. Students probably will report uneven difficulty with the various sections. Yet the literature concerning the family does vary from technical, scientific description to pleasant reporting of common-sense observations, and the book faithfully mirrors the literature.

The editors have done a good job of its kind and have made available in convenient form the most significant information concerning marriage and the family. Judicious selection based on wide knowledge can guide students not likely to explore professional books and periodicals. Such guidance is one sort of creative contribution.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

Indiana University

Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary. By HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. Pp. xi+127.

This volume is the fourth book on Gandhi by Dr. Muzumdar. The others are *Gandhi, the Apostle* (1923), *Gandhi Versus the Empire* (1932), and *Gandhi Triumphant* (1939).

The purpose of the book is expressed by the author in the Preface: "By understanding Gandhi we may build a bridge of understanding between ourselves and India, between ourselves and the Orient, between ourselves and noble free spirits the world over."

The first chapter presents a social psychological analysis of Gandhi's career: the influence of his nonconformist family, members of a caste of the third order; the early development of an experimental attitude; his meeting with Western culture as a law student in England, particularly his negative reaction to the growth of industrialism; his appreciation of the English regard for civil liberties; and his acceptance of the Sermon on the Mount.

Muzumdar then traces the genesis of Gandhi's moral equivalent of war, and the technique of nonviolent resistance, in the incapacity of the Hindese in South Africa and India to offer violent resistance to oppression; in the traditional predisposition of the Hindese for the

practice of *dharna*, or nonviolent resistance; and in Gandhi's devotion to the principles of Christ. He analyzes Gandhi's theory of the technique of soul-force as involving not only nonco-operation with the British government and its institutions but a fivefold constructive program. The latter aimed at Hindu-Moslem unity; the abolition of untouchability; prohibition of narcotics and liquor; the greater participation of women in the nation's fight for freedom; and the encouragement of home industries, such as spinning, weaving, and other handicrafts.

In three chapters Muzumdar describes the differences between Gandhi and Tagore as to the means of achieving freedom for India, Gandhi's economics, and Gandhi's pedagogy. In the final chapter on Gandhi as an apostle of nonviolence, Muzumdar contrasts the methods of soul-force with the evolutionary methods, including the constitutional procedures advocated by Western democracies and the brute force of totalitarian ideologists, Fascists, and Communists.

Muzumdar argues persuasively for the application of Gandhi's methods to the solution of present world problems, notably the defeat of communism.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

University of Chicago

My Days with Gandhi. By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE. Calcutta: Nishana, 1953. Pp. viii+309. 10s.

Professor N. K. Bose of Calcutta University, by his own admission, is a man more given to detached contemplation and objective analysis than to fervent propagation of ideas and enthusiastic prosecution of movements. Like the youth of his generation, he fell under the spell of Gandhi during the nonviolent nonco-operation movement of 1920-22 and enlisted himself in the cause of "national service" for India's freedom. In the thirties he withdrew from active work in behalf of India's freedom and compensated for it by immersing himself in Gandhi's writings. He has produced two creditable volumes, *Studies in Gandhism* and *Selections from Gandhi*.

The present work dwells "on his [Gandhi's] personality and on the actual manner of his execution of ideas into practice," as shown in the last three years of his life. Attlee's bold policy of liquidating the British Empire in India, on condition that India be divided into

two sovereignties on the basis of religious affiliation, was enunciated in the midst of blood-baths of Hindu and Moslem all over India. The worst tragedies occurred in East Bengal and in Bihar. Bose recounts the story of Gandhi's pilgrimage on foot and his ministry of healing and reconciliation through these devastated areas.

Gandhi was firmly opposed to the religious division of India but, once Nehru and his associates accepted Lord Mountbatten's plan, he backed partition. Even so, he refused to make any distinction between the citizens of the two newly created states. Until his last breath, he deeply concerned himself with "social, moral and economic independence in terms of the seven hundred thousand villages," comprising both India and Pakistan.

Against this backdrop of history, Bose brings out Gandhi's abiding qualities of humor, cheerfulness, concern for others, dedication to service, and unflinching devotion to truth. In his last days the architect of India's destiny was a lonely man. Nonviolence was conspicuously absent from the thinking of the newly freed Hindese nation. His closest associates of previous days—Mahadev Desai and Mrs. Gandhi—had passed away, and some of his disciples began to suspect he was in his second childhood.

"In his endeavor to subordinate the lower elements of human nature," says Bose, "in order to follow more fully the discipline known as *brahmacharya* (celibacy), Gandhi adopted a curious mental attitude which, though rare, is one of the established modes of the subordination of sex among spiritual aspirants in India. It was by *becoming* a woman that he tried to circumvent one of the most powerful and disturbing elements which belong to our biological existence." This phase of Gandhi's personality is critically examined through the lens of psychoanalysis—with results of dubious value. It is a curious coincidence that all Gandhi's Gujarati associates, whose judgment Bose had sought prior to publication of his book, doubted the wisdom of psychoanalyzing Gandhi. His data are interesting, and I could add some more data from my own observation, but the time for interpretation is not yet ripe.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

Cornell College

vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+695. \$8.00.

This book might well bear as an alternate subtitle "The Sociology of an Immigrant Language." Dr. Haugen, Thompson Professor of Scandinavian Languages at the University of Wisconsin, has here accumulated and systematized a vast store of personal documentary materials revealing how an ethnic minority group's language reflects its changing social context. Beginning with the arrival in New York harbor in 1825 of the "Restauration" (the "Mayflower" of Norwegian immigrants), the author describes the rapid rise of bilingual communities in the North Central States, the flowering of American-Norwegian dialects and their relation to dialect areas in Norway, and, finally, the giving way of these dialects to English after a century of assimilation.

Contrary to the position taken by literary purists, Haugen sees the incorporation of words of English and American origin into American-Norwegian as a normal and vital part of the process of acculturation. English, he points out, was learned together with new technical procedures, new social customs, new attitudes of approval and disapproval (p. 369).

As a contribution to the study of bilingualism, Haugen's presentation of what might be called the natural history of an ethnic minority language in American life is outstanding. In contrast to Weinreich's *Languages in Contact*, his book may be described as a vertical rather than a horizontal or comparative analysis, since it deals primarily with a sequence of linguistic and other cultural changes in successive generations of one ethnic group. Among the most interesting theses advanced by the book are that bilingualism provides a strong bridge between groups of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and that bilingualism will persist as a social phenomenon as long as its speakers are under social pressure to function as a link between two monolingual groups. When one or the other of these monolingual groups is dissipated, bilingualism usually disappears.

For the convenience of the general reader the author has left Volume I, "The Bilingual Community," largely free from technical linguistic discussions. Volume II presents a detailed analysis of "The American Dialects of Norwegian," together with the author's methods of investigation. Yet even this second volume is far from dull to the nonlinguist, as much of it consists of interlineally translated interviews on Norwe-

gian-American customs, history, and folklore. Ample footnotes and an index provide bibliographic and reference aids.

GEORGE C. BARKER

University of California at
Los Angeles

Fabric of Chinese Society. By MORTON H. FRIED.
New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1953.
Pp. x+243. \$4.25.

In the year and a half just before the Communists took over the area, Morton Fried lived in the walled town or small city of Ch'u, located in the Yangtze plain about thirty-five miles northwest of Nanking. He came as an anthropologist who, as an "observer finding all to be new, does not suffer the blindness of familiarity." Moreover, as has been made evident by other published works, Fried does not accept uncritically time-honored conceptions as to the nature of the society in which he finds himself. Thus it is not surprising to find him not only de-emphasizing the so-called "familism" of China but decidedly emphasizing the significance of nonkin relationships in social structure. More important than ties of blood, from his point of view, is friendship between equals and between those of different social classes—a personalized and emotionally tinged relationship called "*kan-ch'ing*." Good *kan-ch'ing*, rather than formal contract, is the type of bond sought between landlord and tenant or between merchant and steady customer, for example. Worse than bad *kan-ch'ing* is none at all.

This report of connections other than those of kinship is consistent with what other writers have reported of China. Friendship is celebrated by the poets. And it has been assumed that it was the basic assumption of a traditional familial society which, carried over to guild organizations or even to factories, have tended to promote personal relationships of the *kan-ch'ing*, relationships which by Western standards seem often inconvenient or unethical. From Fried's own reports one is struck not by the impersonality of life but by the fact that in this area (earlier ravaged by the Tai-ping rebellion, open to foreign commercial influences from its nearness to the coast, just recovering from Japanese occupation, and about to receive the full weight of communist "liberation") so much of the traditional ways of exercising power and influence still remain.

Fried, however, does not allow us to interpret these relations in the light of traditional assumptions. Indeed he sets them in opposition to the relations created by blood ties rather than seeing them as an extension of them. "Kin-ties," he concludes, "are not the main binding force in the society of Ch'uh-sien." And he adds, "it is even less likely that they are a major force in Chinese society at large, a generalization that may well apply to the past two millennia of Chinese history, as well as the present." If Fried is right, four hundred million or so people will have been wrong, and wrong for a very long time, since the Chinese themselves have consistently reported the importance of these ties.

Even those who must read his facts not quite as Fried reads them may learn something from his book. We would learn even more, however, had he told us more about how he went to work and what were his sources of information and his main difficulties.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Desplaines, Illinois

Les Fondements de la géographie humaine, Vol. III: *L'Habitat. Conclusion générale.* By MAX SORRE. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1952. Pp. 499.

Those who currently urge closer interdisciplinary co-operation have paid little attention to the possibilities of integrating geography with sociology, demography, institutional economics, and cultural anthropology. That such a combination of disciplines would be as fruitful as that now evolving between psychology, sociology, and social anthropology is suggested by several works of contemporary human geographers. Yet sociologists have tended to shy away from collaboration with geography, perhaps because of painful memories of the inflated claims of older anthropogeographers (e.g., Semple, Huntington). Sociologists will be making a serious mistake if they ignore this latest, and greatest, work of human geography. The book under review should be required reading for all those specializing in rural and urban sociology, ecology, and demography, and it should be of considerable interest to those concerned with social organization and culture.

M. Sorre is professor at the Sorbonne, currently director of the Centre d'Études Sociologiques, the leading living cultivator of human

geography in France, and successor to Vidal de la Blache. He is amazingly familiar with the work of American sociologists, and the scope of his interest is world wide and not limited by traditional disciplinary boundaries. The book under review is the final volume in a series on the "Foundations of Human Geography," of which the earlier works dealt primarily with human biological aspects of ecology, man's utilization of the geographic environment, and techniques of production. The present volume deals with the possibilities and limitations of community organization in the geographic setting. The central organizing concepts are *oekoumène*, a Greek word combining the ideas of human habitation and geographic territory, and *genre de vie*, or mode of life. The specific chapters consider: the development of a characteristic mode of life in a given habitat; the problems of rural living; world distribution of rural societies; the ecological structure of the rural community; the historical development of certain rural communities into urban ones; historical and geographic conditions of urban development; the functions of cities; topographic factors and cities; the metropolis; the internal ecology of large cities; the urban population and its occupations; the influence of population density and climate on the social life of cities; the "urbanization of the world." Data as well as literature are drawn from all over the world.

The last chapter speculates about some of the long-run implications of human geography for politics and culture. The main prediction is that there will be a trend toward world uniformity, an overcoming of the limitations of the locality by means of the modern technology of production, transportation, and communication. This "general conclusion" is a beautiful essay, in the French humanist tradition, on the "gift" which the science of human geography can bring to "men of good will."

This work is a scientific and scholarly work in the grand manner. If it receives the attention it deserves, it will become a classic.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Der junge Arbeiter von heute—ein neuer Typ. By KARL BEDNARIK. Stuttgart: Gustav Kilpper Verlag, 1953. Pp. 159.

The young unmarried Austrian factory worker of today, who is analyzed in this book, has

lost the political idealism and the devotion to his craft of the previous generation. Instead he revels in consumption of movies, dress fads, jazz, hot rods, alcohol (even dope), and excitement generally. He is becoming a blue-collar version of the bourgeois existentialist, living for the moment, cynical, and seeking always to escape from those who try to convert him to some social or political responsibility. Therefore he identifies himself with the movie star, the outlaw or hero who is seemingly independent of society and can do as he pleases. He moves in a new social group, the street-corner gang. In it he develops an exhibitionism focused on consumption designed to lead him from the working class to the middle class, a set of blatant tastes resembling the *nouveau riche* traits observed in America among those who want to move from the middle to the upper classes.

Compared to the socialist worker of the 1910's and 1920's (who is pictured as an intellectual idealistic fighter for political democracy, free love, and nonconformity generally), the new worker, argues the author, is an undesirable and even dangerous type in a free society. He then searches for the conditions that have produced the new type.

The new worker earns enough and is reasonably secure in his job. He can therefore live for the pleasures of consumption and at a level that allows him to approach those of the middle class. At the same time, the rationalization and bureaucratization of the factory, of traditional leisure pursuits, and of society as a whole have taken excitement and mystery out of his life. Therefore, he constantly searches for new frontiers and pursuits in which he can satiate his basic desire for excitement. Bednarik hints that this is true not only of the workers but also of the young men of the middle class.

The author fears that the worker's lack of individualism and cultural creativeness will lead to a totally bureaucratic society. The book is therefore an appeal rather than a scientific study of the young worker. In Bednarik is combined the ascetic, almost Puritan, ideology of the socialist intellectual with nostalgia for a type of socialism no longer in existence. As a result, the picture of the socialist worker seems too angelic; the one of his contemporary counterpart, too villainous. The author underestimates perhaps the extent to which the contemporary worker's self-centered need for excitement was already present in his socialist predecessor, which made it ideologically relatively easy for him to shift

his allegiance to a chauvinistic fascism a few years later and for his son to become what the author has described as a new type.

One of Bednarik's solutions is for the intellectuals to come forth, each take a worker or two under his wing, and help him to become an autonomous (in Riesman's use of the word) semi-highbrow who can participate critically in the political and socioeconomic issues of his society and who knows how to use his leisure time properly. It is a charmingly naïve notion.

From a frame of reference compounded of Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, vestiges of Marx, and his own original ideas, Bednarik has written a highly readable and surprisingly hopeful analysis of contemporary society. Because he states his position so clearly, one's disagreement with some of his value-judgments and prognosis only make the book more stimulating.

But as the reader may already have guessed, the most startling aspect of the book is the apparent similarity between the Austrian and American young workers and their styles of life. The primary value of the book may therefore be in the application of Bednarik's hypotheses and insights to our own situation, as well as its contribution to the yet sparse comparative sociology of the Western world. The book merits translation and a wide audience in this country.

HERBERT J. GANS

University of Pennsylvania

The American Family in the Twentieth Century.

By JOHN SIRJAMAKI. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. vii+227. \$4.25.

It is a pleasure to read a book which achieves an avowed goal. This contribution to the Library of Congress series in American civilization is intended to give the lay reader a general picture of the contemporary American family. Professor Sirjamaki presents this picture in clear readable style, utilizing the best research findings which are effectively but unobtrusively documented.

The reader is given first a sociological account of the nature and functions of the family. European backgrounds are then traced as a preliminary to revealing the distinctive aspects of the American family system. Chapters v through vi, following the life-cycle, discuss courtship, husband-wife relationships, and children in relation to their parents. The succeeding

chapter relates the family to social structure and especially to class stratification. The eighth chapter contains an excellent discussion of family dissolution including recent evidence, interwoven with a calm, enlightened viewpoint, concerning divorce trends, practices, and implications. The ninth and final chapter, entitled "The American Family Today and Tomorrow," briefly highlights the picture previously sketched.

The American family is shown as adaptive to circumstances. The independent nuclear family in which members view family life as a means to personal ends is the dominant theme. Rather than decaying, the family is adapting to the needs of individuals living in present-day society, which creates in them certain expectations and aspirations.

A pardonable defect of the book is an occasional generalization from limited studies and biased samples to the country as a whole. Too much is inferred from studies of Hollingshead (pp. 141 and 150) and Landis (p. 94). Misapprehension as to family size may result from failure to explain the census definition of families (p. 100). Simplicity is sometimes achieved by ignoring contradictory evidence and fine, but important, distinctions. It is remarkable that a brief survey reflects so accurately complex and contradictory evidence.

This book, however, illustrates popularization at its best. Thorough, well-digested knowledge is communicated by simple, lucid prose thus demonstrating that a sociologist without journalistic aid can present to the general public the findings of his science.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

Indiana University

Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Interpretation. By

DAVID RIESMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. Pp. xv+219. \$3.00.

Joseph Dorfman has written of Veblen's life and writings in a leisurely, detailed fashion. John R. Commons, John S. Gams, and Wesley C. Mitchell, to mention only a few, have written of Veblen's economics. But none of these or the host of others who have written an essay, a chapter, or a few pages on Veblen have attempted to analyze his personality and its various manifestations with the aid of explicit social-psychological concepts and hypotheses. David Riesman does this, frankly admitting the tentative

character of interpretations based upon scanty evidence. The result is an entertaining and provocative sketch, both sympathetic and critical, which will anger some Veblenites but will seem generally reasonable to the less devout.

Veblen's father was stern and aloof, at home with machinery but inept at business relations. Veblen's mother was gentler and more sympathetic. Young Veblen could not adjust himself to the tightly-knit Norwegian religious community, yet to the surrounding Americans he was a "Norskie." From these well-known facts Riesman constructs a plausible pattern of Veblen's personality. His pose of the aloof observer, his refusal to commit himself to either causes or definite positions, his faith in technicians and condemnation of administrators are readily, if not definitely, explained by his peculiar background.

Veblen's unsuccessful academic career is shown to be rather more a product of his unwillingness to co-operate in the necessary activities of a university, such as giving audible lectures and meaningful grades, than of the prejudices of unappreciative administrators. In view of Veblen's continuous efforts to sabotage teaching, in which he had no faith, it is rather surprising that he was kept at the University of Chicago for fourteen years and left Missouri on his own initiative after seven years.

Riesman dwells on Veblen's peculiarities with sympathy and understanding. While the study necessarily re-exposes Veblen's contradictions or ambiguities as a systematic thinker, it reaffirms his stature as an artist. (It was William Dean Howells' review of his *Theory of the Leisure Class* that first attracted wide attention.) "It is largely because, in his picture of the captain of industry or erudition, he created a type," writes Riesman, "that we remember him; in stripping individuals of unessential features and connecting them with historic predecessors, he held up a magic mirror in which Christian gentlemen could 'see' themselves as latter-day pirates substituting chicanery for coercion; and in this there was sufficient truth to be clarifying."

Each generation may enjoy Veblen's penetrating satires in its turn, while more precise analyses of the society of Veblen's time have become outmoded by changing situations and theories. It seems a bit too soon, however, to agree with Riesman's introductory statement that "The vested interests of business which frightened him seem only marginal menaces to

us, at least in the United States. . . ." Some aspects of the conflict between the profit-maker and the consumer, between holding a market and benefiting the community, between influencing government for special purposes and influencing it for the public good have been softened by more comprehensive definitions of self-interest. The scope of understanding is broader on both sides. But a dash of Veblen's stark pessimism may be good treatment for the over-optimism of the present day.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

University of Pennsylvania

Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytic and a Cultural Study. By GERHART PIERS, M.D., and MILTON B. SINGER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953. Pp. x+86. \$3.25.

This little book examines the concepts of shame and guilt from two points of view. Piers, a practicing psychoanalyst, is interested in the individual patient; Singer, a professor of social science, is interested in holistic culture patterns.

Piers introduces some interesting conceptual distinctions between shame and guilt. Shame, to him, is a consequence of tension between ego and ego-ideal, while guilt arises from tension between ego and superego. Hence the latter results from transgression, the former, from failure. But shame and guilt may be unconscious as well as conscious, and, when unconscious, they may be distinguished, Piers thinks, according to the threat they offer to the individual. In the case of shame the threat is fear of abandonment; in guilt it is fear of annihilation or mutilation. The validity of these distinctions, as well as their meaning, is difficult to assess, since no data are presented.

Singer's contribution consists primarily of an analysis of the postulated distinction between shame and guilt cultures, a distinction which has been used by some anthropologists as a criterion for distinguishing "primitive" and "civilized" cultures. (Singer's contention that this distinction "has become practically axiomatic" is an exaggeration, to say the least.) This distinction, he feels, is untenable on two scores. In the first place, the criteria which have been employed for distinguishing shame from guilt are by no means unequivocal. It is not always the case that guilt feelings depend upon internal sanctions and feelings of shame depend upon

external sanctions; the reverse may also be true. In the second place, the correlations themselves are not supported by some data at least. An examination of guilt and shame variables in five American Indian tribes—Hopi, Navaho, Sioux, Papago, Zuñi—all studied by the Indian Education Project, reveals many differences among these five cultures and many similarities between them and white cultures. These Indian studies, as analyzed by Singer, indicate that “the Indians certainly have an individualized conscience” (p. 64), and that “their awareness of moral standards and sanctions does not differ essentially from that found in Western culture” (p. 61).

Hence, shame and guilt may be found in any culture and may not be correlated with the place of a culture within such broad typologies as “primitive” or “civilized.” However, the degree of shame or of guilt may be correlated, according to Singer, with culture types and, in his view, it is not at all improbable that guilt feelings are greater, not less, in primitive societies than in modern industrial societies; for in primitive societies individuals feel morally responsible not only for their own behavior but for that of other members of their group as well. Although this last point, like some others, may be challenged, Singer’s analysis is usually sound and always stimulating. Indeed, the severest criticism that can be directed against his section of this book is its brevity; it leaves the reader with an appetite for more.

MELFORD E. SPIRO

University of Connecticut

The Therapeutic Community: A New Treatment Method in Psychiatry. By MAXWELL JONES, M.D., et al. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1953. Pp. x+1+186. \$3.50.

This volume is a report on inquiries organized to explore the possible effectiveness of planned group life as a mode of therapeutic treatment for chronic neurotic and character disorders not responsive to short-term methods of orthodox psychiatric treatment.

The first four chapters, written by Dr. Jones, begin with a brief description of experiences with the forerunners of the present study—an Effort Syndrome Unit at Mill Hill and an Ex-Prisoner-of-War Unit at Dartford—and proceeds with a report on the Industrial Neurosis Unit established at Belmont Hospital in 1947,

including a description of the social structure of the Neurosis Unit in terms of social roles and the social therapies employed.

The formulation, elaboration, clarification, and integration of the staff roles are defined in relation to the treatment needs of the patient population. The organization of the hospital community in terms of conceptualized integrated role relationships is conceived as effectively therapeutic to the patient group and comprises one of the central features of the “therapeutic community.”

While the therapy is based on all the experiences embracing the patient’s day-to-day activities, rather than on isolated therapeutic efforts, special attention is given to the methods by which discussion groups, “work therapy,” and psychodrama are employed to facilitate and acting out or verbalization of feelings and attitudes. Brief examples illustrate the value of such social therapies for evoking the patient’s definition of feelings and attitudes and the modifications that occur in the process.

The remainder of the report, comprising six chapters including general conclusions, is written by Dr. Jones’s colleagues. The chapter title “Techniques in Group Formation” (by Dr. B. A. Pomryn) is a misnomer. It is a discussion, for the most part, of the types of activities in which the groups engage, with examples intended to illustrate that certain changes occur as a result of group experience.

The follow-up inquiry was initiated to ascertain: “How well in fact, do the Unit’s patients adjust to their environment after leaving hospital?” and “What distinguishes the patients who do well from those who make a poor adjustment?” Research, carried out six months after the patient had left the hospital, including an unsuccessful attempt to establish matched treated and untreated groups, provides no adequate basis for judgment.

Having been informed of the staff’s “Strong conscious urge to study and formulate such roles as an essential factor in the development of a therapeutic community,” one is disappointed at not finding a treatment of the norms emerging from the stratification inherent in this “guided” organized hospital community. Since such standards of ranking undoubtedly existed, it is not unlikely that they either thwarted or facilitated efforts to achieve the personality changes conceived to be desirable.

The sociologist and social psychologist will find nothing new in this report; yet, its associa-

tion with the recent trend to study and analyze small groups may enhance its value.

DAVID W. MCKINNEY

Brooklyn College

Other People's Money: A Study in the Social Psychology of Embezzlement. By DONALD R. CRESSEY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953. Pp. 191. \$3.00.

The simple question which prompted this study was: Why do people embezzle? To answer this question, the author interviewed 133 inmates, in three penitentiaries, whose records revealed that they had in one way or another misused a position of financial trust. At the outset the investigation was guided by the idea, proposed by Sutherland, that embezzlement occurs because trusted persons learn that some violations of trust are merely technical and not really illegal. This hypothesis was abandoned shortly and another was applied, which in turn was rejected as its inadequacies became apparent. This process of trial and error continued until a statement was attained which seemed to fit every case.

The terminal formulation is that trust violation occurs when a person conceives of such behavior as a solution to a financial problem that cannot be shared with others, and at the same time as compatible with his usual standards of conduct. The secret difficulty, the perception of trust violation as a resolution, and the appropriate rationalization are regarded as circumstances both necessary and sufficient for the occurrence of embezzlement. The author makes no claims for the finality of this explanation, presenting it simply as most adequate for the sample in hand. He sagely acknowledges the possibility of negative cases under broader sampling, which results would of course force a revision of the hypothesis as it now stands.

It is obvious that this research has both procedural and theoretical significance. It demonstrates that much can be learned about the processes of criminal behavior from the study of prisoners. Undue concern over the idea that prison populations are so selected as to make their study worthless has doubtless contributed to the neglect of the prisoner as a fruitful source of criminological data. Studies such as this one should help to rectify that bias.

The theoretical significance of this study consists in the light that it sheds on criminality

which cannot be attributed to direct contact with criminal influences but which, nevertheless, is cultural in its origin and not a consequence of personality disturbance. With minor exceptions, the 133 cases do not appear to have been exposed at any time to a predominantly criminal environment; on the contrary, they appear to have been mainly surrounded by persons who were opposed to unlawful conduct. These findings reinforce the idea that there are elements in American culture which, when properly joined, can produce crime, in the absence of prolonged or intensive association with criminal patterns. This is consistent with Taft's general notion that American culture is saturated with certain ingredients which have only to be mixed in the right amount and combination in order to create crime.

This book, like all serious studies, is not without its methodological difficulties. The chief one, characteristic of all similar *ex post facto* studies, is based on the fact that the sample was composed of persons who had already engaged in the behavior to be explained. The finding that all cases in the sample had a single set of circumstances in common does not, unhappily, prove that all persons in such circumstances will embezzle. The empirical validation would require an unselected group of persons having in common the hypothesized circumstances who then should all subsequently display the expected behavior. Needless to say, Cressey's proposition is practically impossible to test.

This research is a significant increment to the sociology of crime. It is a needed reminder that the prison population may be used as an important source of criminological information.

KARL F. SCHUESSLER

Indiana University

Drinking in College. By ROBERT STRAUS and SELDEN D. BACON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. vii+221. \$4.00.

This is an extremely well-written report of the drinking customs and attitudes of some 17,000 college men and women, in 27 colleges and universities of varying size, character, and location, who filled out questionnaires for the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies between 1949 and 1951. The authors are careful to point out that their sample is to some extent self-selected and consequently cannot "represent" all college stu-

dents; but they are at their best when dealing with *relationships* rather than with frequencies. Thus formal institutional sanctions seem to be related to the use of alcoholic beverages but have little or no effect on the extent of drinking among those who drink; parental sanctions against drinking appear to be much more powerful than those imposed by school or church; socially active students (including athletes) much more frequently report themselves as drinkers than students who engage in no extra-curricular activities; no significant differences in drinking behavior are found to be related to previous military service; and so on. The book is a mine of useful and provocative information.

The most sociologically significant materials are to be found in the authors' incisive analyses of deviations from group norms. As they repeatedly point out, drinking is essentially a social custom which is related to religion, ethnic background, economic status, and the like; but "that the degree of individual deviation from group norms varies inversely with the internal consistency of a given behavior pattern and its integration within the group culture."

Of particular interest to sociologists is the deliberate oversampling of certain religious groups to permit detailed analysis. Thus, for example, "the Jewish group presents an instance of well-defined drinking customs closely integrated with family and religious structures," whereas the Mormons, who enjoin complete abstinence, "obviously [are] found at the opposite pole. If drinking behavior is adopted, variation must be the rule since there is no norm." And the empirical findings of the study provide striking support for these cultural consistencies. Thus, as compared with Jewish, Mormon respondents reported more frequent intoxication and more social complications attributable to drinking. Nor can these differences be accounted for by quantity-frequency indexes, since on all counts the Mormons drink the least. Rather, as Straus and Bacon accurately sum it up, "extremes are likely since the behavior itself represents rejection of social roles."

One of the more interesting analyses is the construction of a "social-complications" scale designed to order respondents according to the extent to which drinking has ever interfered with their normal social lives. On the basis of four items (failure to meet college obligations, damage to friendships, accident or injury, formal punishment) distinctions are made among various degrees of trouble resulting from drink-

ing. Thus, if the universe is scalable, students who report formal disciplinary action will also report having experienced all of the less severe social sanctions, i.e., the remaining three items on the scale. The authors indicate that they have found such a scale and that its reproducibility is .97. Now, the unidimensional property of a cumulative scale makes it a potentially powerful instrument in social research, but it involves difficulties. The percentage distribution of scale types for students who drink is shown in the accompanying tabulation.

SCALE TYPE	PER CENT	
	Men	Women
0 (no complications)	66	85
1	17	8
2	11	6
3	4	1
4 (serious complications)	2	0

The figures in the tabulation show that two-thirds of the male and five-sixths of the female students who report themselves as users of alcohol suffer no social complications. This is interesting and worth reporting, but it casts considerable doubt on the meaning of the "scale"; for, in order to get such distributions of scale types, the items in the scale had to have inadmissibly lopsided marginals. (The convention is that no single item should claim more than 80 per cent of the cases.) In other words, a social-complications score would have been appropriate, but these particular items do not justify a Guttman-type scale. This observation, however, is not intended to detract in any way from the sound interpretation of the data. The investigators, in fact, quickly saw that a simple dichotomy, with scale types No. 1 through No. 4 collapsed, served their purposes adequately.

It would be carping indeed to berate the authors for not doing what they deliberately chose not to do, namely, to write a technical report for sociologists; but to have omitted all numbers in the samples from the tabular materials, as well as the exact wording of the questions is a price to pay for readability. Yet the fact remains that this is a readable and informative book and well worth the attention of sociologists.

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